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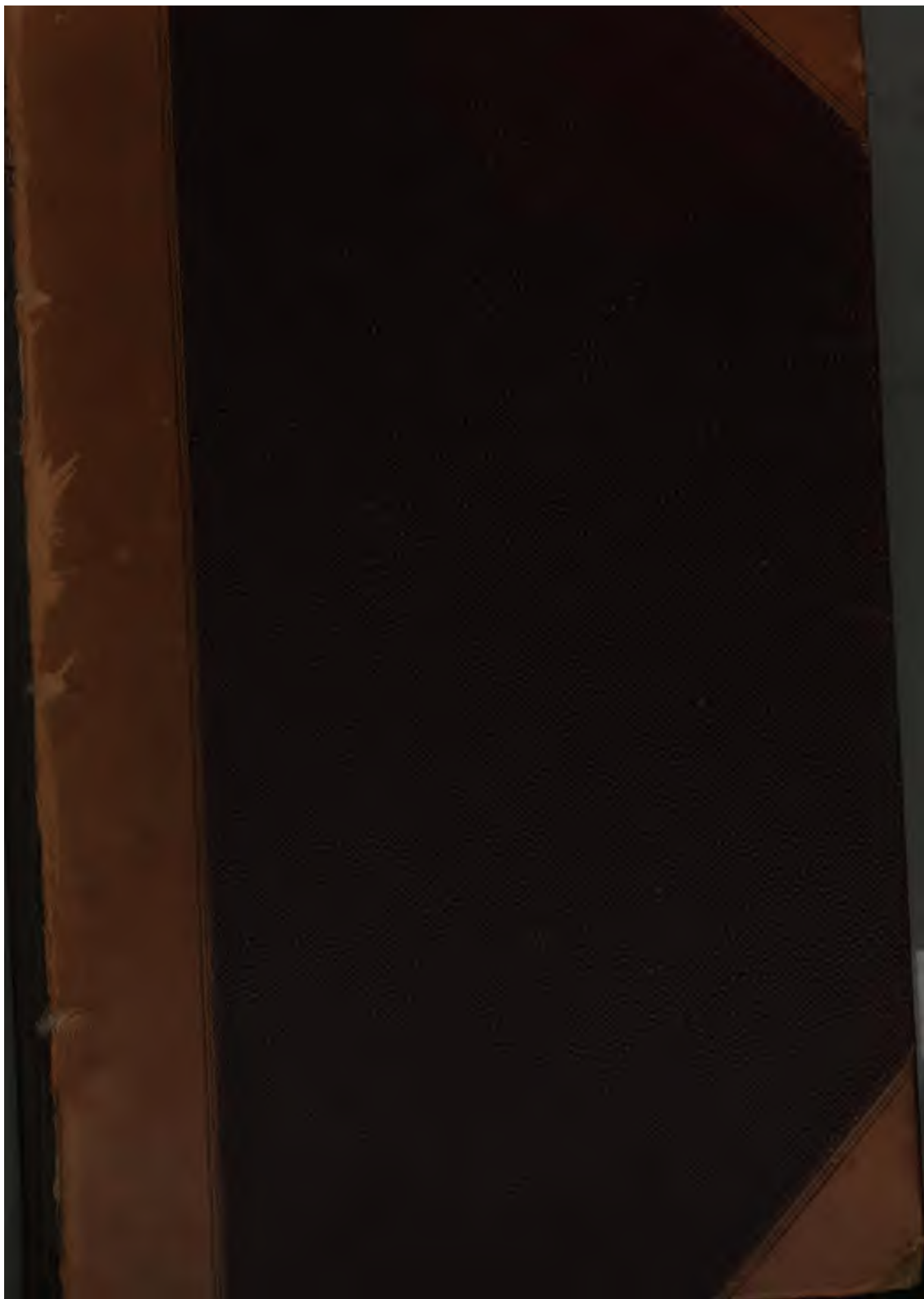
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HOME RULE AND HOME RULERS.

THE possibility that the future of Ireland and the integrity of the United Kingdom may depend on the issue of a suit in the Divorce Court suggests some curious reflections. The part which accident plays in the determinations of history is a favourite branch of speculation with those philosophers who have a fancy for dealing with the "might have beens" of the world, erecting themselves into a sort of amateur Providence and constructing a succession of events which never happened. If Eve had not listened to the serpent and eaten the apple the whole course of the world would have been changed. If the Persians had not been defeated at Marathon, Europe might have been another Asia. If Julius Cæsar on the fatal Ides of March had listened to the soothsayer and to Calpurnia, and had stayed away from the Senate House, the Roman Empire might have been built up on more durable foundations than those which the inferior genius of Augustus was able to lay. If Cleopatra had been a plain and unprepossessing person ; if, as Pascal puts it, her nose had been an inch shorter than Nature actually made it, Antony would not have taken flight at Actium ; rather, there would have been no sea-fight there for him to fly from. If the fates had granted long days to Marcellus, there might have been no Tiberius, no Caligula, no Nero. If the accident which was nearly fatal to Richard Cromwell in the banqueting house had actually brought his weak and worthless life to a close, and his brother Henry had succeeded to the Protectorate, there might have been no Stuart restoration in 1660. If Queen Anne had lived long enough—a few weeks or months would have sufficed—to give Bolingbroke time to complete his plans, there might have been a Stuart restoration, and all that it implied, in 1714. If the disreputable Fred, who was alive and then dead, and left nothing more to be said,

had lived to succeed his father on the throne, there might have been no American War and no dismemberment of the British Empire. If George III. had died before Pitt, Catholic Emancipation might have come twenty years earlier than it did, and the course of Irish history have been other than it was. If, in 1885, Mr. Gladstone had had a majority independent of the Irish vote, we might never have heard of Home Rule from his lips. Finally, if the O'Gorman Mahon had not introduced Captain O'Shea to Mr. Parnell, we might be looking forward to Home Rule a few years hence.

This doctrine that Chance is King, this historic casualism, was the theory of Bolingbroke, who saw in mortal changes and events simply the cruel bantering of a capricious fortune. It was the doctrine which Pope borrowed, as he did many other things, from him—"What great effects from trivial causes spring"—though he departed from it when he perceived in chance but invisible direction, and in a Borgia or a Catiline effects as natural as plagues and earthquakes. But here too his philosophy was inconsistent with the recognition that the Providence which bound Nature fast in fate left free the human will. The fact is that your "if," though sometimes a very effective peacemaker, is a very imperfect historic philosopher. It requires no great discernment to see that if a thread here and a thread there are plucked from the texture of history, the whole web will be unravelled out and fall in pieces. The particular thread which the attempt is made to disentangle is part of the web, and cannot be severed from it. Instead of holding that the great revolutions of history depend upon shifting and trivial accidents, it is more natural to hold that these apparent accidents are themselves effects of the general causes which they are vainly supposed to originate; bubbles, or at most ripples and eddies, on the great stream of tendency which carries them along with it. If the Duke of Burgundy, Mr. Lecky argues, had succeeded Louis XIV., and France had been spared the Regency and the reign of Louis XV. the Revolution might have been effected peaceably, and without solution of the continuity of French society and institutions. But what reason is there to suppose that the social pestilence which corrupted into moral rottenness the Duke of Orleans and Louis XV. would have left the character of the Duke of Burgundy unassailed, or that the pupil of Fénelon would have turned out better than the pupil of Seneca, of whom even more extravagant hopes were at one time, and with apparent reason, entertained. The murder of the Duchesse de Praslin by her husband, and M. Teste's conviction of bribery, ostensibly led to that revolution of contempt which overthrew Louis-Philippe; but they were simply instances of a general deterioration of morals, personal and public. The popular imagination and indignation fastened on them; but, if they had been wanting, other examples of wickedness in high and

official places would not have been lacking to supply the individual offences and offenders which are necessary to concentrate and sharpen dissatisfaction and disapproval into indignation and punishment. A saying of Mirabeau's has been recently quoted, which, in its general effect, amounts to this: that his private excesses had marred his power of serving his country; but his private excesses were characteristic of his day and his time. It was a particular instance of a general malady, which probably would have been fatal even though Mirabeau had not taken the infection.

In the considerations which have been indicated is the true answer to the argument that the personal character of Mr. Parnell is entirely irrelevant to the question of Home Rule, and that if Home Rule is right it remains right, no matter how wrong he may be proved to be. A very bad man no doubt may be, let us say, a very good mathematician, and the worth of his demonstrations does not depend upon his fidelity to the Ten Commandments. But in matters of government, and especially in creating a new government, the question of institutions is scarcely more vital than that of persons. The character of the men into whose hands the conduct of affairs is to be put requires to be as carefully weighed as the powers with which it is proposed to invest them. From the time of Alcibiades to that of Charles James Fox, not to travel beyond the beginning of the present century, great and brilliant statesmen have often pushed profligacy to excess. Bad as Mr. Parnell's conduct is in itself, it is such as, after the decent interval of retirement which Mr. Gladstone judiciously suggested, and after such atonement as is possible, is usually condoned. What has shocked men was less the sensual offence into which Mr. Parnell has been betrayed, than other qualities, which in one sense magnify his guilt and in another dwarf it. The cold treachery, the protracted hypocrisy, the sneaking concealment under false names and in constantly shifted residences, the lying responses to the friend whom he deceived and to the political colleagues to whom he solemnly declared his innocence, all the ignoble expedients of fraud and falsehood to which he had recourse, double and treble the iniquity which he has confessed. It is viler in its accidents and attendant circumstances than in its essence. It is these things which fix the deepest brand upon Mr. Parnell, and render the proposal to hand over to him—for to this Home Rule comes—almost unlimited power in the government of Ireland an act of criminal lunacy. Mr. Parnell's deposition from the leadership, however, by no means gets rid of him. Even if it should be ratified by the opinion of the Irish race, as it is called, on both sides of the Atlantic, that judgment is not irreversible. There will be an appeal from Philip sober to Philip drunk.

If Mr. Parnell should be driven from English public life without hope of return to it, the matter is not much mended. The Irish

Gladstonians, to give them the name which best expresses their political position, and the tenure by which they hold their political existence, have never said any deliberate word in moral condemnation of Mr. Parnell's conduct. They are not in the least shocked by it. The outcry of the English Nonconformists, which alarmed Mr. Gladstone, did not in the first instance move them. They gathered together in Dublin to denounce what they described as the Pharisaic cant of Ebenezer and Little Bethel. They declared that the spheres of politics and morality were distinct, and they proclaimed their unabated confidence in their "gallant" leader, and the unchilled fervour of their devotion to him. They as little dreamt of any political disqualification attaching to Mr. Parnell as Mr. Parnell did himself. Mr. Parnell perhaps thought that he could better defend his leadership as elected leader than as a candidate proscribed by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Parnell, with all his shrewdness and tactical skill, lacks the dexterity which half a century's Parliamentary experience has conferred upon his antagonist. His acceptance of Mr. Gladstone's proposal would, in return for temporary effacement in the English Parliament, have practically secured him, in the event of Home Rule being carried, the Irish Premiership; it would not be too much to say, the Irish Dictatorship. That, indeed, an Irish Parliament would probably in any case confer upon him. Sharp as have been the conflicts, and bitter as are the animosities, between the Parnellites and the Irish Gladstonians, they are not likely to be very long-lived. For a time there will, no doubt, be the strongest mutual denunciations. There may be rival Gladstonian and Parnellite candidates in every vacant Irish constituency. Mr. Parnell, who has of late years been the moderator of his party, will probably, as against his successors and rivals, whose business it now will be to temporise with and reassure alarmed English feeling, make appeal to the extreme section, the men of outside action. As he formerly incited the tenants against the landlords, he is likely now to address himself to the labouring class as against the tenants, if the tenants rank themselves with his adversaries. The more formidable each section of the party can prove itself to the other, the more anxious each will be for reconciliation with its antagonist—such reconciliation, that is to say, as is the condition of common action. Mr. Parnell is not a sentimentalist, and is indifferent to the union of hearts, provided only there is a union of hands. The very fury and clamour of the first conflicts between the Parnellites and the Irish Gladstonians is a sign of a coming understanding. Hatreds may soon burn themselves out. The sense of a common interest is a very durable feeling. There can be very little doubt, therefore, that after a suitable period of alienation, though the two separate organisations may be maintained, in order to keep up appearances with Mr. Gladstone, and through Mr. McCarthy to keep open

communications with him, the divided Irish party will practically become again one party, secretly directed by Mr. Parnell, and working under his astute guidance for the gratification of his insatiable political ambition. Mr. Parnell may think that Home Rule may be for the benefit of Ireland, but he is determined that Home Rule shall be his rule. His feeling, to adopt an illustration of the late Lord Derby's, is not that of the father who is anxious for the happiness of his child, through whomsoever it may come, but of the lover who cannot bear that the object of his passion should owe her happiness to any one but himself.

Those members of the British portion of the Gladstonian party who are trying to persuade themselves that Mr. Parnell's compulsory retirement from the Irish leadership in Parliament, or even the repudiation of him by Irish organisations in the United Kingdom and in America, will permanently banish him from public life, do not understand the man and the influences which work for him.

Supposing that he were banished for ever, matters would not be sensibly improved. Except that they were not, and could not be, co-respondents with him in the divorce suit, the Irish Parliamentary party are nearly all of them accomplices in Mr. Parnell's offences. There are some honourable men among them, notably the distinguished Chairman of the Irish Gladstonian party, whose character and accomplishments partly cover the multitudinous sins of his colleagues. With these deductions, whatever Mr. Parnell has done they have done. All the offences which have been proved against him have been brought home to most of them. Men who would shrink from handing over Ireland to Mr. Parnell, will not mend matters by handing it over instead to the anti-Parnellite Parnellites, even if that should be more than indirectly giving it to him. It is not to be supposed that the scruples of English Gladstonians are merely geographical, and that, though they will not tolerate Mr. Parnell as leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, they think him quite good enough to be First Minister of the Crown in Ireland itself. Home Rule, in the sense which the word has now acquired, is Parnellism, and the character of the thing is not changed by getting rid, if that could be done, of the man.

II.

Mr. Parnell's position in Irish politics very strikingly illustrates the fact that democracy, in curious contradiction to its name, is practically the "one man power." Where it does not take this form, as in France for the moment, and in the United States, it is not because the tendency is lacking, but because the man is wanting. There does not seem to be in those countries any one possessing the qualities necessary even for a sham hero. There is no one whom, by much making-believe, his fellow-countrymen can dress up into an

object of admiration and devotion. The "boss," the wire-puller, and the log-roller have it all their own way. Politics exhibit often a meanness and a squalor, and almost always a paltriness, which is incompatible with a lofty national temper. Sentiment cannot be excluded from public affairs without lowering them to the level of the counting-house and the Stock Exchange. Perhaps political sentiment is most naturally and healthily expressed when it fixes itself upon the representative of a long line of kings, whose history embodies the whole course of the national life, with its long series of struggles and defeats and final triumphs, the traditions of the past and the hopes of the future.

In the absence, through permanent causes or temporary accident, of this steady and steady national feeling, the personal element in politics is apt to give itself up to vagaries of admiration and execration, which are full of political danger. To a statesman who has taken the popular fancy, so long as he keeps it, nothing is denied. The institutions of the country are given him to do what he likes with, making or marring them at his caprice. There is no need that his qualities should be admirable in themselves. When Lord Byron wanted a hero for his most unheroic poem, he pitched upon Don Juan; and it would appear, from recent events, that a nation is capable of making a somewhat similar choice. It does not seem to matter much what a man's characteristics are, so long as they are striking. Charles II. was popular through his gay vices; George III. through his domestic virtues. The contrast was not confined to kings. It was exhibited in the careers of Charles James Fox and the younger Pitt, and contemporary parallels might be found without difficulty. The popular imagination is impressed by courage and coolness, by variety and promptitude of resource, by the power of fighting a long battle against great odds. It admires the skill of the swordsman without taking much account of the cause in which he draws the sword. This feeling explains the reprehensible indulgence shown to Mr. Parnell after the exposure before the Special Commission of offences on his part which makes the repudiation of his companionship and leadership which has followed on the Divorce Court scandal a gross moral inconsistency. The character of the man, as it was shown in the later proceedings, would probably have justified those who think that personal honour and good faith are essential in a politician in withdrawing from personal and public relations with him. But not one quality was there displayed which was not equally manifest when the Town Council of Edinburgh bestowed on him that freedom of the city which they have now withdrawn, and when Mr. John Morley sounded him as to his willingness to take office under any new Administration which Mr. Gladstone might be called on to form. His admission that he had made deliberately in the House of Commons a statement which, at the time of making it,

he believed to be untrue, with a view of deceiving the House, was known to the statesmen who were cultivating his friendship, and courting his alliance, and offering him office—for Mr. John Morley, who was authorised to make the inquiry, was not, it may be presumed, empowered to say "No," if Mr. Parnell had happened to say "Yes." A lie by which a public man, supposed to be speaking as a gentleman in an assembly of gentlemen, abuses the good faith of the House of Commons is, perhaps, as black a lie as can be. Mr. Gladstone has said as much; and his casuistry is sound. Yet a falsehood of this order was not merely brought home to Mr. Parnell, and admitted reluctantly by him under pressure, it was spontaneously confessed by him in easy and incidental explanation of a statement which he could not otherwise account for. The Commissioners reported that allegations by the dozen against Mr. Parnell were fully established, the truth of which he denied on oath.

In France, the term of unpardonable insult is, we believe, *Lâche*; *Menteur* may be overlooked; but in England to call a man a liar is a more deadly affront even than to call him a coward; and a man who calls himself a liar leaves other people nothing worse to call him. They can only, if he be a politician, decline future relations with him, and this until now they have done. But the ethics of public life have undergone a change since the year 1885. The proof and confession of mendacity, conviction of criminal conspiracy for the dismemberment of the Empire, and for the expulsion of a class of the community from its homes, property, and country, have not been thought to deprive the men who practise them of their title to be considered a Parliamentary party pursuing constitutional ends by legal means. The solemnly recorded verdict of three Judges of the land that Mr. Parnell and his followers, including some of the most prominent of the men who have now revolted from him, were guilty of these things, has been greeted as a triumphant acquittal, because a particular letter attributed to Mr. Parnell was found not to have been written by him. In everything except the one private injury of which Mr. Parnell has by his silence made confession, the followers are as their leader, and even in that particular they ridicule the prudery and Puritanism to which they have been obliged to submit in practice, and deny that morality has anything to do with politics.

They are perfectly consistent. The whole action of the Parnellite party from its formation to the present day has been based on the systematic extrusion of morality from politics. What distinguishes the period before from the period after 1886 is simply this: that English statesmen have palliated and excused these practices, and, by associating themselves with the ends sought, have made themselves accomplices in the means used for the attainment of those ends. Theirs, we are inclined to think, is the greatest guilt of all. The bulk of the

Irish party, though not Mr. Parnell himself, are of a race and a religion which as yet has had only two generations of complete enfranchisement. The faults of a people debased by centuries of servitude are not to be effaced by threescore years of freedom. If it be true that the day on which a man becomes a slave takes half his worth away, it is unfortunately not true that the day on which he is invested with freedom invests him with the virtues of a citizen. The servile vices survive the servile condition. The freedman and his descendants bear the marks of the degradation from which they have escaped, rather than those of the condition into which they have been lifted. Between the freeman and the freedman there is more than the difference of the letter *d*. The words "libertine" and "libertinism" are terms which, in their moral censure, express a social and political truth which has the closest bearing, if not upon the Home Rule Question in itself, yet upon the demand for the immediate concession of Home Rule. The Irish people require a longer training than they have yet had in association with the law-abiding and orderly people of Great Britain before they can safely be trusted to themselves. It may be that we have them as we have made them; that is possible. But that they are what they are is certain; and, being what they are, it would be an imprudence verging on criminality to confide not merely the Home Rule majority to itself, but the lives and property of the dissentient minority to it. History may make many excuses for them; it will have only condemnation for the English statesmen and gentlemen who, differently trained, have countenanced and profited by the crimes which they ought to have rebuked and which their rebuke would have checked. Renunciation of boycotting and the Plan of Campaign would have been a price cheerfully paid for the Gladstonian alliance, if it could not have been had upon any other terms. The men who have sold their leader to purchase it would more readily have made this lesser sacrifice if it had been exacted. English statesmen are responsible for the crimes which they could have hindered and did not hinder.

The blind confidence which has allowed public men to take this course has been abetted by a strange apathy. The indifference of the British people to the Home Rule Question is shown by the fact that the majority of those who vote for it are quite content to remain in ignorance of what they are voting for. They are satisfied that it should remain locked up in the bosom of Mr. Gladstone. This brings us to another point which marks the political management of the present time. The ostentatious publicity which is its most striking characteristic is a sham publicity. It disguises a secrecy more absolute than was ever before practised. Orators are effusive at public meetings, and at the windows of railway carriages, and simple people believe that they are taking the country into their confidence, and that the business of the nation is

being done in the light of day. In reality, it is settled in empty houses in Belgravia, or in confidential walks and talks at Hawarden.

The only people who are kept out of the secret of Home Rule are the British nation and the Irish party. No doubt, they will be told it some time or other, but only when, without having had sufficient time for deliberation, they are called upon to say "Yes" or "No." The objection that to announce a scheme prematurely would be to expose it to a long period of adverse criticism, is a practical confession that the scheme will not bear adverse criticism. If it is good, the better it is known, the better it will be liked. If it is bad, it may need to be carried by a surprise, in which the heats of party fight will make real deliberation impossible, and in which, perhaps, a conflict between the two Houses of Parliament may blend a revolutionary struggle in England with a revolutionary struggle in Ireland.

It is a rule of the College of Physicians not to give their sanction to any remedy in ignorance of the ingredients of which it is composed. The principle is as sound in politics as in medicine. The probability is that a secret remedy is a quack remedy. Until Mr. Gladstone declares what he means by Home Rule, he might as reasonably go to the country with the cry of Abracadabra. Perhaps it would rally to him many supporters.

If the English nation by clear premonitions during the next year or two, and by a decisive majority at the general election, stamps out the Home Rule project, or adjourns it to an indefinite future, a great danger will be averted. But great difficulties will remain. It is possible that a settlement of the land question, on the lines of Mr. Balfour's scheme, if that is happily carried through, will indispose the tenant farmers, on their way towards full ownership, to further agitation. *Beati possidentes*. Political change with them has always been means to agrarian ends—Church and State mean the land. The end being gained, the means may be dropped. After a Land Bill, they would probably welcome a stringent measure of Coercion to secure their tenure of life and property. For this settlement, it is too probable, would be the beginning of a fierce struggle on the part of the politicians and adventurers who live by Irish disturbance, or seek notoriety and power in it. Mr. Parnell threatens an agitation among the labouring classes, appeals to the hill-side men, and talks of being forced into modes of action other than Parliamentary or constitutional. Mr. Davitt is as much opposed to peasant proprietorship as to any other form of private property in land. Mr. Patrick Egan, whose suspected connection with the Phoenix Park murders has never been disproved, has given in his adhesion to Mr. Justin McCarthy's party. In the event of the Home Rule movement collapsing in Great Britain there would probably be a triple alliance of crime and rebellion. But against it there might be in

Ireland not only all the forces which have hitherto stood at the side of law and freedom, but also in the case of the purchasing tenants the most important of the forces which have hitherto covertly or openly sustained disorder.

It is possible that, in the case supposed, the clergy, as a body, may permanently renounce the Jacobin alliance into which they have been drawn. The priests, both as peasants and as dependents for their dues on the Irish farming class, would, in the main, rank themselves on the side of order. The influence primarily exercised by their flocks on them would be reflected back by them on their flocks, who would be glad to find a pretext in the injunctions of the Church for taking the course to which their interest inclines them. In the event of Home Rule being decisively negatived, everything at present points to the conclusion that, in the future, the struggle in Ireland will be between law and naked and unabashed lawlessness, and that in it the tenant-purchasers of the land, the trading classes, to whom the repudiation of debts is of bad augury, and the Roman Catholic clergy, pecuniarily dependent on the farmer and the shopkeeper, will be found on the same side with the landed gentry, the merchants, and the clergy of the Protestant churches, against agrarian spoliation and the breaking of the last link.

III.

The remarks which go before were written and in the hands of the printer before the elections at Bassetlaw and North Kilkenny had taken place. Interesting as those events are, a man must be a very convinced believer in the new science of political meteorology to regard them as decisive of anything beyond themselves. The science of which this is the parody and the burlesque, is selected by writers on method as the type of an imperfect science, in which prediction is impossible, and in which speculation, even when limited within the narrowest conditions of time and space, has the value only of more or less plausible guesses. A forecast of twenty-four hours, when confined within a specifically indicated district, is perhaps more often approximately right than positively wrong. Forecasts, which, like those of the old almanacs, should affect to foretell the weather for all England twelve months hence, would bear the brand of quackery on their face. The same remark is true of political weather forecasts. To argue from the state of the social atmosphere in England, E., or in Ireland, S., in December 1890, to its condition over the United Kingdom a year or two hence is egregiously to trifle with common-sense, if not with good faith. The elections at Bassetlaw and North Kilkenny do not necessarily indicate more than the momentary impressions and impulses predominant in these constituencies a few weeks ago.

Varium et mutabile is a human, and especially a political, characteristic.

Keeping this caution in mind, it may be well to inquire what the two elections mean. They have one feature in common. They suggest, at least, that the tactics which in 1886 broke up the Liberal party, are gradually crumbling away its Home Rule successor, while they have shattered, as by dynamite, Irish Nationalism into two unequal fragments. The Home Rule minority in Bassetlaw in 1890 fell short by 419 votes of the Liberal minority in 1885. It is not doubted or denied that Nonconformist abstentions account for this difference. The seceders could not see that Mr. Gladstone's friendly suggestion to Mr. Parnell to withdraw for a moment from the chairmanship of his party was equivalent to a solemn excommunication of him, as permanently disabled, on moral grounds, from the Irish leadership in Westminster, and for the future Premiership of Ireland. On the contrary, the proposed arrangement was a pledge of speedy reinstatement in his leadership, and ultimate gratification of his ambition. It is possible that the defeat of the Home Rule candidate in Bassetlaw may have meant something more than this. It may have indicated an awakening to the fact that Mr. Parnell's political character and conduct typify in a marked individual instance the character and conduct of his party as a whole, and of its leading members on either side of the present line of division. The laws enacting

“*Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter,*”

cannot, in any English reading of them, be suspended as regards offenders of the two former classes—rent-stealers, for example—and enforced against the third only. That the men who have found out Mr. Parnell, or, rather, to whom Mr. Parnell has shamelessly discovered himself, should straightway become the dupes of his associates, would argue a degree of fatuity incompatible, if it were general, with the national safety. Mr. Chamberlain has recently said that many Home Rulers of 1886 have approached him with overtures for a reconciliation with the Unionist party, and a return to the Liberal policy as it was in 1885, the question of Home Rule being abandoned or indefinitely adjourned. If Mr. Chamberlain does not exaggerate the number and weight of these expressions of opinion, it would seem that there is a revulsion, in the light of recent disclosures, from the Home Rule surprise of 1886, and that the author of the Liberal rupture of that year may see the gradual melting away of the Home Rule party in the coming months and years.

The North Kilkenny election is valuable as disclosing what the real Ireland is of which so many fancy pictures have been drawn. Any one who would understand what Home Rule in present circumstances

would mean has only to imagine the control of the police and the nomination to and tenure of magisterial and judicial offices, dependent on the Administration of the day at Dublin. Yet this authority, and the liberty of dealing on the principles of Mr. Dillon with the rents and rights of landlords, are the two points on which Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites join in insisting as vital to any future measure of Home Rule. In the technical language of Irish turbulence and turmoil, a party-fight and a faction-fight are distinguished. A party-fight is a fight between members of opposite parties, Orangemen, say, and Ribbonmen. A faction-fight is a fight between members of the same party, and has something of a family character. Besides the party-fight between Unionists and Home Rulers, we have now very literally, and in the streets, faction-fights amongst Home Rulers themselves, between Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, between bishops' men and hill-side men. The necessity of opposing a single front to the enemy—the *Pax Anglica* is the enemy—had brought irreconcilable antagonists into the same camp, the justification of whose mutual hatreds was only postponed to the satisfaction of their common hatred. Not for the first time in Irish history is there now an alliance between Romanism and Jacobinism. It began with talks and projects of a United Ireland in 1791, and ended in rebellion and civil war in 1798, the reconciled sects and factions flying at each other's throats.

The party of the bishops, if we may argue from North Kilkenny, is for the moment in the ascendant in Ireland. A majority of two to one has returned their nominee. Probably a general appeal to the country would show that Mr. Parnell divides it more equally with his opponents than the votes recorded for Sir John Pope Hennessy and Mr. Vincent Scully indicated. But taking the lowest estimate, he is master of a third of the Home Rule party in the constituencies and in Parliament, to say nothing of the turbulent masses of the towns; and with much smaller forces than these a protracted contest can be waged. If the bishops were as conclusively victorious as they hope to be, the position of affairs would still, assuming the Home Rule controversy to continue, be difficult and dangerous. The enemy is within as well as outside their camp; their present allies are their future foes.

A victory to which Mr. Davitt should contribute would be a victory for the predatory Socialism of Mr. Henry George, which Mr. Davitt has adopted, and which the Church has condemned. Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. Dillon are for the moment as docile to the bishops as they are indocile to the Pope, because the bishops are on their side and the Pope is against them. But on the first difference arising the bishops will be told, as the Pope has been told, to attend to the interests of religion, and not to meddle with politics. An accommodation may be patched up between Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, but the irreconcilable divergence between the Home Rule

which is Rome Rule, and the Home Rule which is the rule of the Americanised Irish, must sooner or later break forth. There may be for a time, a division of temporal and spiritual functions. If Mr. Davitt, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Brien are allowed to deal at their pleasure with the property of the Protestant minority, the Catholic bishops and clergy will be satisfied with the guardianship of the Protestant religion. That the faith of Ireland should be divorced from the property of Ireland is to their minds a crying grievance. The earth is the Lord's, and the land is the people's, and therefore, on the combined principles of the Bible and Mr. Henry George, the Catholic people of Ireland should be the owners of the soil. It is well known that the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy discourage in every way the social intercourse between Protestants and Catholics as involving, even when the sin and scandal of a mixed marriage are avoided, a serious danger, through the influence of Protestant ideas, to strictness of faith and fervour of devotion. Penal laws and open persecution would no doubt be impossible even in a Home Rule Ireland; but small and vexatious interferences, intolerably oppressive in their cumulative force, yet singly insufficient to justify the interference of the Imperial authority, are more than probable. Home Rule granted to Ireland in the present condition of the country would be accompanied by the danger of a combined priestly and Jacobin assault on the religion and property of the Protestant owners of the land, to be followed by a war between these confederate foes when they had driven away the common enemy. The defeat of Home Rule and the settlement of the land question would probably bring the clergy and the farmers of Ireland to the side of law and order, besides securing those guarantees of religious liberty and equality which, apart from the Union, have but illusory safeguards.

FRANK H. HILL.

AN AGE OF DISCONTENT.*

WHOEVER, reaching middle life, sees twenty or thirty years of manhood lie behind him, is apt, if he be of a thoughtful temper, to ask himself in what respects the world as he sees it now differs from the world as he knew it at twenty years of age. He perceives that he is not thinking the same thoughts as he did then, nor are others round him. He feels that his ideals and his hopes, his fears and his aversions, have undergone a change. He notes a difference in the moral and intellectual atmosphere he breathes. He pauses often to muse on the question what the difference is and how it has come about. I propose to-night to inquire what is in the main the bent and outcome of the reflections of those who in England look back over the last twenty or thirty years, and what they take to be the distinctive note of the present temper of Europe. To address ourselves to this inquiry is to undertake a study in contemporary history, and in that difficult kind of contemporary history which deals, not with patent facts, but with underlying principles and tendencies.

Observers in Europe are struck by the prevalence of the spirit of discontent. I do not mean despondency, still less despair, but merely discontent, that is to say, disquiet, restlessness, dissatisfaction with the world as this generation finds it. Some one may think that such discontent is the natural and normal habit of mind of middle age as compared with youth; and others will add that in all the centuries there has been discontent, chiefly manifesting itself among those who have passed their first youth. You will hardly suppose, however, that I have overlooked such a trite remark, or failed to allow for so obvious a cause. It would be absurd to compare the men who were twenty in 1860 with the men who are fifty in 1890. We must compare the men who were fifty in 1860 with those who are fifty now, the men who were twenty then with those who are twenty now. And the discontent I

* An address delivered before the members of the Brooklyn Library, U.S.A., on November 3, 1890.

discover is in the more anxious and less buoyant tone of society and literature as a whole, of political speakers, of private conversation, of books, of newspapers, of sermons. In the years from 1850 to 1860 men in Western Europe were far enough from being satisfied with things as they were. England, indeed, was prosperous and peaceful; but France was darkened by the degrading tyranny of Louis Napoleon and the sordid group that surrounded him. All the best spirits of Italy were silenced or in exile; Germany was vainly, as it seemed, struggling for unity and liberty; Hungary lay bleeding and prostrate; Russia was in the iron grasp of the Czar Nicholas. And when Englishmen looked across the Atlantic they marked how the problem of slavery had risen and spread till it covered the whole sky like some black thundercloud, from which at any moment the lightning flash of war might break forth. Yet, with all this, there was, I repeat, and not in England only, but in Western Europe generally, a greater confidence in the speedy improvement of the world, a fuller faith, not merely in progress, but in rapid progress, a more pervading cheerfulness of temper than we now discern. Men acknowledged the presence of great evils, but expected them to be soon removed. They saw forces at work in whose power they had full confidence—the forces of liberty, of reason, of sympathy; and they looked forward to, and were prepared to greet, the speedy triumph of the good.

To-day we in Europe have by no means ceased to believe in and to value these same forces. They are at work, and their work is visible. But it is slower than the men of 1850 expected; and because it is slower, we are less disposed to wait patiently for the results. We are less sanguine and more unquiet; less resolute and more querulous. We do not see our way so clearly, and are more pressed by the sense of surrounding difficulties. We are like a party of travellers who have started to climb some lofty mountain. At first the vivid flush of dawn and the keen morning air fill them with delight and make even the difficulties of the path enjoyable—the morasses to be crossed and the rocks to clamber over and the narrow ledges that it needs a steady head to traverse. But when after a time the air has grown sultry and the limbs have lost their spring, then the roughness of the way begins to tell upon their spirits, and the peak that looked so near looks no nearer, and one doubts if they have not missed the way, and another is sullenly silent, and a third regrets that he ever started, since what was meant to be a pleasure has turned out a toil.

I will not for the moment stop to inquire how far the temper I have sought to describe exists to-day in the United States, though it will be fitting to say something presently upon this point. What I now wish to convey is an impression of the prevalent—I do not say the universal, but only the prevalent—temper of Europe, that is, of the thinking minds in the four great nations of Western and Central Europe, as it appears to us in England. It is not a melancholy or

gloomy or—to use an expressive American term—a “disgruntled” temper, but one which is restless and uncertain, eager, and even earnest, yet doubtful, resolved to move in some direction, because displeased with what lies around it, but doubtful in what direction to move or which of many summoning voices to follow.

If I have not made my meaning quite plain, I must hope that the illustrations that are to be given will make it plainer. And I go on to ask—Assuming the fact to be as stated, what cause can be assigned for it, and are the phenomenon and its cause such as ought to depress and overshadow our view of the future?

The cause, you may think, needs no long search. What more obvious explanation of disappointment than that the things which men expected have not happened. Thirty or forty years ago men were elate with hope, confident of attaining the objects that lay before them. These objects remain unattained; and from disappointment there springs discontent, and a despondent view of the future. You may remind me that it was always so throughout history. Sometimes we are high on the crest of the wave. Sometimes we are low in the trough. Hope springs eternal, but it springs more fresh and buoyant at some times than at others, and the coldness of disheartenment is proportioned to the warmth of the hope that went before. The question, therefore, comes to be, In what have we been disappointed? What were the particular hopes that then raised us to the crest of the wave? What have been the failures that have brought us down into the trough?

I admit the force of this remark. History does no doubt tell us of such an alternation of cheerfulness and despondency in the minds of nations. But what is significant in the record of the last thirty years is the fact that our generation has been depressed not so much by failure to attain the objects it strove for, as by the failure of these objects, when attained—and some of them have been attained—to produce their expected results. The trees have thriven, but the fruits that were looked for have not ripened. This also is no new phenomenon. It is in this form that the most grievous disappointments often come upon nations no less than upon men. Let me illustrate what I mean by two or three familiar examples. There are epochs in history when great movements are in progress, when they excite men's minds, and stimulate them to unusual exertion; when hope and effort are concentrated on some great object, and measureless blessings are expected from it. Such a movement was seen, such a swelling tide of hope had begun to cover the world, in the first centuries of Christianity. With the triumph of the still youthful religion, with the submission of the imperial power, and the disappearance as well of heathenism as of the vices it had fostered, a new age seemed to be dawning, in which the sins and miseries of the past would soon be forgotten. In the days of Constantine, Christianity did triumph, and soon came to be mistress of

that civil and military power which had theretofore been exercised against her. What had been striven for had been won; for heathenism shrank into corners, and by degrees vanished away. But the desired results did not follow. New dangers appeared within, for the now dominant Church was more and more distracted by heresies and schisms. New dangers appeared without, as strange tribes poured in over the frontiers. The Church after a time absorbed these tribes, and in Western and Middle Europe extinguished heresies and schisms. Her power grew till it covered the earth, as the waters cover the sea. Yet the condition of the world did not grow better, and religion itself grew less and less reasonable, less and less like that which had been first delivered to the saints. Moral purity and public peace, happiness and contentment and serenity were as far off as ever, further off, perhaps, than in the days of persecution. New evils, which no one had foreseen, had appeared, and the gains that had been won had not borne the fruits that were expected from them.

Something like this, though on a smaller scale and within a shorter period—for the process of disenchantment I have just described extended over five or six centuries—happened in the age of the Reformation. Then, too, although much was attained, and certain benefits secured for the countries that remained subject to the Roman Church as well as for those that rejected her authority, the results fell immeasurably below what had been hoped by the contemporaries and helpers of Luther and Zwingli. Or let us come nearer our own times and take our instances from the political instead of the religious sphere. The first generation of men in this American Republic expected from the principles of liberty they proclaimed in 1776, and from the independence they finally secured in 1783, a peace and unity, a good government and prosperity, which democratic institutions and independence, things excellent in themselves, were not found capable of bestowing. In 1787, many of the best men in the country, such men as Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, had almost begun to despair of the new Confederation. They applied the remedy for which the times called and drew closer the union of your States. Yet soon thereafter the fire of party spirit blazed out as fiercely as it had done before democracy and independence had been supplemented by the creation of a national government. Coercive laws were passed of that very kind which it had been meant to make obsolete, and the disruption of the swiftly growing commonwealth was more than once with difficulty averted. The example of the great French Revolution, with its contrast between the hopes of 1789 and the realities of 1793, is so striking and so obvious that we need not dwell upon it. It exactly illustrates what I desire to convey. Many of the great and necessary reforms in government which the opinion of the wise demanded in 1789 were secured, and have been, since 1815, or at least since 1830, enjoyed in France, and in those

other parts of the Continent over which the wave of the Revolution spread. They have conferred solid benefits on those countries. But the benefits fell so far short of what was expected in 1789, and went so short a way towards bringing back the Golden Age which men then dreamed of, that the disappointment was bitter and the reaction severe.

So has it been in our own time in Europe. During the decade from 1850 to 1860, men were full of earnestness and hope, having their eyes fixed on certain objects, and expecting from those objects, when they had been won, if not a millennium of concord and happiness, yet assuredly a condition of things far better than the world had yet seen.

Among these objects four were specially desired—viz. :

Political liberty.

Freedom of thought, speech, and worship.

The so-called principle of Nationalities—i.e., the right of every Nation to constitute a separate political community.

International peace.

Of these four objects the first three have been in large measure attained in Europe. Political liberty has made great advances in France ; the tyranny of Louis Napoleon has been overthrown, and the Republic which, in 1871, replaced that tyranny has weathered all the storms that have broken on it. In the German Empire, and the States which make it up, constitutional principles are far more fully recognised than they were forty years ago, and though the monarch sometimes prevails against the Chamber, and the people submit to repressive legislation, these things happen by the will of the people itself, which does not complain of the bit and reins, so long as it is driven in the direction it wishes to take. Italy has rid herself of the swarm of petty despots that vexed her, and basks in the sunlight of representative government. Spain has tried a republic and come back willingly to a monarchy, under which the nation has as much freedom as it seems to desire. Greece has shaken off her Otho, and shown herself capable of an orderly parliamentary system. In England the Constitution has become much more popular by successive extensions of the franchise, and there is now no country in which the power of the numerical majority is more firmly established, and where the laws interfere less with individual freedom. Political liberty has indeed gone so far that many of our Transatlantic visitors tell us that the time has come when we ought to borrow some of their " checks and balances."

So, too, the doctrine of Nationalities has been not only recognised, but applied on a great scale. Italy, which used to be described as a " geographical expression," has become a united and compact State. The Germans have gathered themselves into an Empire whose parts are coming to cohere more and more perfectly as the sentiment of the people attaches itself to the Emperor and the Reichstag, and cares less for the old divisions. Hungary has won back her national

existence with her liberties. Serbia and Bulgaria have been delivered from their Turkish oppressors, whose barbarous rule is evidently destined soon to vanish from the regions it has so long desolated. There remains in Europe scarcely a people, scarcely even a tribe, which has now reason to complain of being subjected to the dominion of aliens.

As respects the other kinds of freedom—freedom of speech, writing, and worship, the deliverance from priestly influence of places of education and learning—wonderful progress has been made. Except in Russia, and to some extent in Spain and parts of the Austrian dominions, a man may say, write, and teach whatever he pleases, provided that he does not outrage the religious feelings of his neighbours, or incite to violence. In France and Italy, indeed, this liberty goes so far as sometimes to become a cloak for licentiousness. The freedom of press, school, and pulpit, has wrought upon the conditions of politics and society on the Continent of Europe a transformation more extensive and profound than Americans can well realise, because Americans have never known what it was to want such freedom. And even in England there is a change. The latitude which the law permitted was, until lately, circumscribed by custom and opinion. These checks have been now removed, and English opinion is as indulgent to those who flout it as opinion is in the United States.

In estimating what has been gained and what might have been gained during the period we are considering, let us not forget those developments of physical science which have made popular government easier and more effective, as well as expanded the productive powers of man. Railroads and steam vessels have promoted intercourse between nations, and have gone far to fuse into one homogeneous body the different elements in each nation; they have lessened class-distinctions, and enabled each people to know its neighbours better; they have given an enormous stimulus to trade, have made most of the necessities of life cheaper, and have brought not a few of its luxuries within the reach of the less opulent. The telegraph has given to the largest countries advantages formerly confined to a small community in enabling nearly every citizen to know each day what is passing in every other part of the country, and, in particular, what is being done by his Legislature and the officers of his Government. No such means of gathering, diffusing, and concentrating public opinion, of quickening its formation and strengthening its action, had even been dreamt of before our own time. Here, then, we find forces and organs of enormous potency which have been at work over the whole world, and which have co-operated with an enlarged freedom and a more widely spread knowledge, in providing for men an improved machinery for self-government, and many other means whereby they may become wiser, happier, and more contented.

This brief examination has shown us how much of what was sought and hoped for in Europe thirty or forty years ago has been won. Popular government, civil and religious liberty, the unity of each people under a national government, have advanced all along the line. Russia must be excepted, yet even in Russia the extinction of serfdom over an area equal to the half of Europe marks an enormous gain to liberty. And we may now therefore ask what have been the ulterior consequences of this advance. The patriots and philosophers of forty years ago sought free government and national independence, not as ends in themselves, but as means to larger and higher ends. How stands it then with these higher ends? Has there been a quickened intellectual growth, a finer type of civilisation, a warmer and more earnest moral sentiment? Have Governments grown wiser and more stable? Has the spirit of faction withered and been replaced by a stronger sense of national patriotism? Is the condition of the masses better, and their temper more contented? Do the upper classes spend their leisure in a more graceful way? are their manners nobler, their morality purer? Is there less of hatred between nations, fewer provocations to war and preparations for war? Has the world become, as every one trusted that with fuller liberty and more diffused knowledge it would become, a more serene and happy world? These are questions which men will answer differently, according to their temperaments, their political and moral standards, even their forms of religion. Some will admit no progress. Others will see progress in all directions. But every one must agree that the progress has been less than was expected, and expected not by enthusiasts only, but by reasonable and cool-headed men thirty or forty years ago. Let us take a rapid survey of the great European nations, and see how each has fared.

That France is better circumstanced under her Republic than she was under the Second Empire must be the judgment of lovers of liberty, both in America and in England. Yet the Republic has disappointed both Frenchmen and strangers. Public virtue, which is the life-breath of a free Government, does not seem to have been revived as we had expected. There is, one is told, at least as much jobbery, at least as much that deserves the harsh name of corruption, as there was under Louis Philippe. Citizens who came so near as the French voters lately did to throwing themselves into the hands of an unscrupulous charlatan, now happily discredited, cannot be well satisfied with their existing institutions. France has always influenced Europe powerfully through her literature. Her science, and the graver branches of learning, maintain a level of solid excellence. Her criticism retains its old subtlety and fineness. But her imaginative literature and her art, though they abound with brilliant cleverness, do not seem to be directed to high aims or inspired by high feeling. And the influence of her fiction on the rest of

Europe, and especially on those parts of Europe which produce little literature of their own, is far from wholesome.

In Italy the machinery of government works smoothly, and the dangers apprehended from the Clerical party on the one side, and the Revolutionary party on the other, seem year by year to decline. Yet there is a visible despondency among the best minds of the country. The great generation, they tell one, the generation to which Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, Manin, D'Azeglio, Ricasoli, Mamiani, Saffi belonged—the generation which gave to Italy not only the work of their lives, but the inspiration of their heroism and devotion—this generation is gone and has left no successors behind of equal moral power. It is a day of small men, though the problems are not small, for the material condition of the peasantry in large parts of the country is deplorable, and yields to none of the remedies that have hitherto been applied.

Germany, like Italy, has attained that unity for which her patriots sighed so long. She is a great military and commercial State, proud of her position in Europe, and willing to forego a measure of civil liberty in order to maintain her efficiency against attack. But she is menaced by far graver internal maladies than in the old days when she bewailed her political disunion. Socialistic organisations grow steadily, and contemplate nothing less than the overthrow of the whole existing fabric of institutions. There is a general unrest and fear of what may come, a sense of danger in the air. There is also, as it strikes some of us, who were students in German Universities nearly thirty years ago, less elevation of aim and purpose now than there was then, less delight in philosophy and learning. Nowadays, when Germans meet even at a university celebration, their pride seems to be less in those intellectual labours and triumphs to which all Europe owes so much than in their military prowess and the expansion of their trade. They have certainly shown talents for pursuing material success which the world had scarcely credited them with. Yet it is not the best sign of a nation, when material prosperity seems to be taking the first place in its thoughts, especially as that prosperity has not greatly improved the condition of the masses, or made them more attached to the institutions under which they live. I may be wrong in the impression I am giving you, yet it is prompted by no carping spirit, but by the admiration which I felt as a youth for the ardour with which the leading spirits of Germany pursued their ideal aims, and by the gratitude which I feel now for the splendid results which German learning produced in the first half of this century.

Of England it is hard to speak without entering on matters which I might be suspected of treating in a partisan spirit. This much, however, may be said;—that the process of change which has now made England, under the form of a monarchy, an almost pure democracy, has brought no sense of finality, no political repose and satisfaction

with it. There is hardly a limb or joint, so to speak, of our Constitution which is not threatened. Thirty years ago the praises of the Constitution were in every speaker's mouth, and although reforms were discussed, they were cautious and slight reforms compared to those we hear advocated now. In England, as in France and Belgium, and indeed everywhere in Europe, there is now an impatience of, I might almost say, a disgust at, what is called *Parliamentarism*. Men complain that legislative bodies are dilatory, undecided, distracted by factions, wanting in the power to frame large schemes of policy, or carry them consistently through; and there seems to be a growing desire to substitute for Parliamentary methods the authority of a man or small group, controlled by public opinion, or perhaps by some direct popular vote. And in England, no less than in France and Italy, instead of finding that wider freedom has stimulated intellectual effort, we lament the disappearance in swift succession of illustrious figures in statesmanship and literature, and see no worthy successors arise to inherit their fame. In the moral temper of the country there is some gain and some loss. Literature is accused of being more frivolous; amusements are certainly more generally and eagerly pursued. But there is also a greater volume of active philanthropic work than was ever seen before, and a more active and intelligent curiosity.

It is not, however, only in the unrest and internal discord of the chief European States that alarming symptoms are to be discerned. There was nothing which the idealists of forty years ago more ardently desired and felt more sanguine of attaining than international peace. It was believed that wars sprang from two sources: the selfish ambition of monarchs and the ignorant prejudices of their subjects. So soon, therefore, as the issues of peace and war had been transferred from princes to peoples, so soon as peoples had gained by freedom the sense of responsibility, and by enlightenment a knowledge of their neighbours, together with a rational view of their own interests, wars would come to an end. Freedom has now arrived, and princes count for little. The conditions of responsibility are present; nations mix far more with, and know far more of, one another, than ever before. Yet the European Continent is to-day a vast camp, in which the five Great Powers are beginning to count their armies by millions rather than by hundreds of thousands, and the slightest incident may produce a panic of immediate war. The hatred which exists between France and Germany, and between Germany and Russia; the reciprocal jealousy of Italy and France, and the suspicion which forces Austria and Russia to watch every movement of frontier troops, are not the passions of rulers only, or of ruling classes, but to a large extent of the peoples themselves; and they are therefore abiding sources of peril. Nor is war the only form which national antagonisms take. Cobden and Bright believed and preached forty-five years ago, in the famous campaign which destroyed the corn laws in England, that the commercial interests of

different countries were not opposed but identical, and that a system of unrestricted exchange of commodities would make for the prosperity of every country alike. They thought that this view would so soon prevail that not only would custom-houses fall, but States be linked together in perpetual peace and friendship by the bond of a common interest. Their predictions were over sanguine, but their view was in the main (subject to some qualifications in the case of States exceptionally situated) a sound one. Yet we find that to-day most nations are still deluded by the notion that their gain is necessarily another's loss, and another's loss their own gain, so that to show that a tariff will damage the trade of some other country is accepted as proof that it will benefit the country which imposes the tariff. Liberty and reason have as yet failed to dispel an error which is a fertile source of national animosities, as well as, in nearly every case, injurious to national prosperity.

The progress of physical science, and the amazing extension of man's command over nature which that progress brings with it, were among the signs of the future which forty years ago most rejoiced forecasting minds. How much they have contributed to make popular government, and especially representative government, more simple and effective; how much they have added to the national wealth and to the comfort of the humbler classes, has been remarked already. But they have also had formidable consequences then quite unforeseen. They have made engines of war infinitely more costly, and also infinitely more destructive. They have increased the ability of a single man, or a small knot of men, to inflict tremendous injury on their fellow creatures, whether from a selfish and sordid motive, or with a view to a supposed public benefit. And they have raised up a new and formidable foe to Democratic government by enabling men to amass stupendous fortunes, which, unlike the great fortunes of earlier centuries, may have no relation to the land and those that dwell upon it, and are therefore, so to speak, detached and irresponsible fortunes, which may be swiftly and secretly employed to overcome the virtue of legislators, or to effect operations oppressive and pernicious to the whole community. No kind of power, short of that of a Greek tyrant holding a city by his mercenaries, has been ever more free from the ordinary checks of opinion and law which ought to surround all power, than we see vested to-day in the commercial, or financial, or industrial, or communication-controlling millionaires.

Here the sanguine prophets erred by omitting to notice incidental evils that were likely to accompany the good results they dwelt on. It might have been foreseen, for instance, that the vast increase of scale on which modern science permits enterprises to be carried on, would tend to vast accumulations of wealth, and that the owners of this wealth would have strong motives for bringing it to bear upon politics. In other cases, the error lay in attributing to ascertained

causes an undue and a too rapid efficacy. Political liberty and freedom of discussion have been attended by comparatively few incidental evils. Their action has been almost wholly for good. But they have not transformed and softened human nature, as many hoped they would. When men have constitutional means of agitation open to them, insurrection becomes criminal, and political assassination doubly culpable. But the examples of the Parisian communards in 1871, and the horrible callousness of the dynamiters who, in later years, and on both sides of the Atlantic, have not recoiled from the slaughter of innocent private persons, show that, even in the freest countries, the educational power of freedom works but slowly. Passion and cruelty, and the habits of violence, are not to be at once exorcised. Men do not, as the followers of Mill have been apt to assume, become fit for their duties as citizens merely by being entrusted with those duties. Reason is repulsed over and over again from strongholds of prejudice which she might have hoped to carry at the first assault. I will venture to give you two illustrations which naturally rise to the mind of a European visitor to America. Whoever travels in the United States, or in Canada, must be struck by the perfect satisfaction which every one expresses with the total separation of the Church from the State. Here, members of all sects are agreed that this is incomparably the best arrangement for both the Church and the State, and find it hard to understand how there can be persons in Europe who think differently. This American view is confirmed by the experience of contemporary Europe. It is strongly supported by history. It is still more clearly in accordance with the spirit of the New Testament. Were it not for the respect due to some eminent men who are otherwise minded, I would venture to say that the argument against State Establishments of religion is absolutely conclusive. Yet this argument wins its way very slowly in European countries. History and experience, and the example, not only of yourselves but of all the British Colonies, effect but little against prepossession and habit. The other illustration is suggested to me by a visit which I recently paid to the Constitutional Convention now sitting in Kentucky. In that State I asked many of the leading men, including several members of the Convention, whether the unfortunate change effected by the Constitution of 1850, which made all judgeships elective instead of (as formerly) appointive offices, would not now be reversed, and the selection of the higher posts in the judiciary again entrusted to the Governor. These eminent persons, without an exception, answered that this ought to be done; but they declared, with equal unanimity, that there was not the least use in proposing such a reform, because the sentiment of the vast bulk of the people was strongly in favour of choosing judges by popular vote, deeming this to be the more democratic arrangement. There is, I suppose, scarcely a point in which the constitutional arrangements of one State vary from those of

another on which the ample experience of the working of both methods is more decisive than this. The example of the Federal judiciary and of the judiciary in States which have retained the appointive plan and a life tenure, as contrasted with the example of States which elect judges at the polls for short terms, shows incontestably the evils of the latter method. Nevertheless, in Kentucky—a flourishing commonwealth, with a striking and brilliant history—a commonwealth full of able and thoughtful men whose opinions ought to carry weight, a commonwealth whose Bench has confessedly suffered from the change made in 1850—the great majority of the voters seem to prefer their own prepossessions to the voice of reason and the plainest teachings of experience.

We may now, after this somewhat rambling survey of what was expected and what has been attained in the Old World, proceed to answer the question from which we started. The discontent of contemporary Europe is due not so much to a failure to secure objects which were the direct and primary objects of desire three or four decades ago—for those objects have mostly been secured—as to a disappointment with the fruit they have hitherto borne. It is a scantier crop than we had hoped for, and, if I may pursue the metaphor, while some of it is still unripe some of it is already rotten. Reformers are in every age apt to make the old mistake of expecting too much from the destruction of bad institutions, because they forget that the evils they suffer from are caused not solely by those institutions, but by permanent faults of human nature, which, when they have been driven out in one shape, will reappear in some other. Better institutions are worth fighting for, since they may give these faults less scope for mischief. But the faults are not expunged. Nor is it superfluous to add that this disappointment at the result of our reforming efforts has come just at the moment when there is a natural reaction of fatigue after effort. The sense that labour put forth has been, not indeed wasted, yet inadequately requited, coincides with the listlessness which follows on ardour and excitement.

There is also another cause for unrest and discontent. The world during these forty years has been spinning swiftly onward, and new problems, faintly foreseen by our fathers, have come to the front. They are not really new, for most of them are as old as civilisation itself, but they have taken new forms and acquired a new urgency. The admission to political power of the masses of the people has given a stern significance to every question that affects their material condition. The relations of labour and capital, the methods of relieving want, the readjustment of public burdens, the possibility of using State agencies more largely for the benefit of the community—these are all forms of the great problem how far that measure of comfort which is now enjoyed in Europe by the less wealthy section of the so-called middle or educated classes can be extended to the whole population, so that none, save

the vicious and idle, need have absolute penury to fear. Now that the masses have become, in two of the greatest European countries, masters of the situation, it is natural that they should desire to use their power to improve their prospects. Social reformers and economists are much concerned—some to find the best way in which the masses can accomplish this, others to dissuade them from ways which can lead only, like the two paths that in the “Pilgrim’s Progress” diverged to right and left of the straight track, either into the thick wood of Danger, or among the dark precipices of Destruction. But dissuasion is not enough. Some positive measures are demanded. And whereas the work of thirty years ago was largely that of clearing away old things that needed to be removed, our work in Europe to-day is to devise new means for checking the mischiefs and the waste of unrestrained competition and for moderating the pressure of the strong upon the weak. It is constructive work, and therefore far more difficult than that of expelling tyrants and abolishing restrictions. The path is not clear before us, and we feel the pains of perplexity.

So far of Europe. If you ask whether the visitor from Europe discovers here in America any phenomena similar to those he has left behind, I hesitate to answer, because one does not catch in a few weeks or months the true temper of a people, but must observe them long and carefully before he pronounces on a matter so subtle. Your citizens are at all times more buoyant and sanguine than either the English or any continental nation. A few weeks ago an English Socialist was reported to have observed, as he sailed for Liverpool, that he left the New World profoundly depressed by the cheerfulness of the masses of its people. “Nothing,” he said, “can be done for them till they begin to resent their lot. What they need is a ‘divine discontent.’” Nevertheless it has struck me that your people are at present somewhat less jubilant, less thoroughly satisfied with their circumstances and their prospects, than they were in 1870, when I first visited this country, or even than in 1881, when I came for the second time. The kind of pressure we are familiar with in Europe, the pressure of overcrowded cities, of an over-stocked labour market, of a mass of ignorance which makes men the easy prey of demagogues, is beginning to be felt here, though as yet only in a few spots, where the flood of new immigrants has swept in with a full stream. Some among you doubt whether you have not bestowed the active rights of citizenship upon those immigrants with too generous a hand. Others are alarmed by the cry which has arisen for State interference in matters hitherto left to individual action, and fear that the characteristic self-helpfulness and enterprise of Americans may suffer. Others lament the continuance of misgovernment in your greatest cities; nor can the visitor who recollects Tammany as it flourished in 1870 and sees Tammany to-day flourishing like a green bay-tree, fail to perceive that municipal reform does not advance at lightning speed. Travelling in the West

and South, through those regions where the Farmers' Alliance is rampant, there is abundant evidence of dissatisfaction with the existing conditions of production and transportation and commerce, a dissatisfaction not unlike that of older communities in Europe. The New World is, in many points, economic and industrial, growing more like the Old World. Twenty years ago one felt the likeness as far west as Buffalo or Cleveland. Now, when the traveller, retracing his steps from the Pacific, reaches Minneapolis and St. Paul, he is inclined to say, varying the famous *mot* of Alexandre Dumas, "Europe begins at the Mississippi." Our experience, therefore, has its value for you; nor is Europe so remote as you sometimes think. It used to be said that in political matters the United States were what Europe would be. With equal truth it may now be said that the economic problems of Western and Central Europe at this moment are what the problems of the United States will be before many decades have passed. Happily the United States have many advantages for confronting the problems of population and pauperism which we in Europe want. Happily, also, you are still but little depressed by them or by any other difficulties. Our English Socialist was right in the main. The vexations which flit across your minds are no more like the anxious broodings of Europeans than the light mists that hang on autumn mornings over your harbour resemble the murky gloom of a London December.

One question remains on which you will expect something to be said. Does this discontent, which prevails so widely in Europe, show the marks of permanence? Is it a deep-seated despondency or a passing depression of spirits?

There are two kinds of discontent. One is that of those who wish to be as they once were, or, in the case of nations, as their ancestors were. The other is that of those who would fain be what they have never been, neither they nor their predecessors. There were long centuries, during which the state of perfect happiness and peace, the Golden Age of the poets, was deemed to have lain in the distant past. This was the belief or fancy of the ancient world; and a somewhat similar belief filled the minds of mediæval poets and churchmen, who looked back to the early centuries of Christianity, after she had been delivered from persecution and ignorance, but before the barbarians had descended upon her, as a time from which the world had degenerated, and to which it must strive to return. The discontent of those ages was regret, a melancholy sense that things had worsened and were worsening, a sense of inability to climb again to a height whence one has fallen. You may find it to-day among the Mohammedans, and notably among the sluggish and surly Turks.

Very different is the discontent whose signs we have noted in Europe. It looks forward, not backward. It is due, partly indeed to disappointment with the results of past efforts, but partly also to the belief that many evils exist which we ought not to tolerate. It is a

revolt against the mass of poverty and misery that still exists among us, a belief that man was made for something more than to spend his days in incessant toil, winning from nature nothing more than food and raiment. Poverty, and misery, and toil are, however, no more general or severe now than they have usually been in the world. In England, at least, they are, relatively to the increase of the population, less general and less severe. It is we that have grown more sensitive. The chords of sympathy vibrate to a lighter touch. Sufferings which fifty years ago would have been accepted by the philosopher as a necessary part of the world's economy, and justified by the divine as essential to give scope for the exercise of Christian virtue, are now felt to be a slur upon civilisation to which remedies must be promptly applied. This kind of discontent, though its sentimentalism has sometimes a mischievous side, is, on the whole, a laudable state of mind, a necessary condition of progress. It is turning many people in England, especially the younger sort, to ideas which savour of Socialism and even of Communism. There is evidently a similar tendency among yourselves, which in the East takes the form of what are called "Nationalist" societies, and in the West seems to have prompted the one-tax agitation, and a good deal of the paternalism of State Legislatures. In England, the adherents of the old economic doctrines—now sadly reduced in numbers—are distressed by this tendency, being less accustomed than you are to take things lightly, and to rely on the ultimate good sense of the people. They swell the volume of our discontent, prophesying nothing but evil from the new departure which the more cheerful disquietude of the younger generation insists on taking. One need not, however, be a Socialist, or have much faith in sweeping remedies, in order to sympathise with the spirit which propounds this new departure. It is a protest against hide-bound acquiescence in the existing arrangements of industry and the existing distribution of wealth. It is a vehement expression of the same desire to improve the condition of the great toiling and enduring lower strata of mankind which has given birth to all our modern philanthropic schemes.

The language held by our young Socialists is sometimes not only vehement but acrid and intolerant. Yet their scoldings stir us up, they dispel the apathy that steals over most of us as life goes on, they force us to examine our assumptions, they impel us to try experiments by reminding us that the world is constantly changing, and that nations can keep abreast of it only by open-mindedness and resourcefulness. Nations and individuals, we all of us need to be continually roused and kept moving, perhaps even threatened, by the preachers of new doctrines, and even by that personage who is so often the butt of your newspapers, the personage for whom we, among whom he is less actively vitalised, have no name, but whom you call a Crank. It is one of the merits of a democracy that it produces the Crank, and deals leniently with him. He is one of the voices of dissent and dissatisfaction, not useless even when

he preaches some old fallacy, for he obliges us to refute him, but eminently useful when he has got hold of a fragment of a forgotten or only half-discovered truth. Many merits and many faults have been untruly ascribed to Democracy, but one merit, at least, may safely be claimed for it. It disposes men to listen, and to listen peaceably, even to an unwelcome voice. Mr. Lowell has happily said that the greatest discovery in politics was made when men took to counting heads instead of breaking them. The counting, however, does not always give the right result. To-morrow you hold your biennial elections. Of the half million of men who will cast their ballots within the next twenty-four hours in this and the adjoining cities, how large is the percentage who will merely follow a party name or a plausible leader. But where there is voting, there must be publicity, and publicity means a fair opportunity for every one to speak, a duty recognised on every one to listen. Reason and justice have in a democracy advantages which no other government secures in like measure; and when men have learnt, as even the citizens whom you import from Poland or Roumania will at last learn, to listen and reflect, reason and justice are apt to prevail.

I return from this digression to say one last word as to the temper of Europe which I have sought to describe. Do not suppose that it is a despondent temper. The best proof to the contrary is the zeal with which many suggestions are put forward, many plans canvassed. Everywhere there is activity, because everywhere there is eagerness, unrestful, but not unhopeful. The movement of humanity is not, as the ancients fancied, in cycles, but shows a sustained, though often interrupted, progress. It is not like the movement of the earth performing its annual journey round the sun, but like that of the whole solar system towards some point, as yet undiscovered, far remote in the heavens. Of the ultimate destiny of human society here we know as little as we do of that point among the distant constellations. But history entitles us to believe that though depression and discouragements frequently overshadow its path, its general progress is upwards, that in each age it gains more than it loses and retains most of what it has ever gained. Nor is this progress clearer in anything than in the fact that evils which men once accepted as inevitable have now become intolerable.

Of America also, since I have ventured to advert to the circumstances of America, a concluding word may be said. Confidence in progress is a great element of strength; and although your European visitors observe that anxieties they are familiar with are beginning to show themselves here, they do not cease to feel how great is the strength which the hopeful spirit of America bestows. You have the honour of being among civilised peoples that which has the fullest faith in the future of humanity as well as in the destinies of your own republic. Long may this honour be yours.

JAMES BRUCE.

THE EARLY LIFE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN.

THERE is always a probability that a leader of thought may be himself unconsciously impelled by forces which, while not apparent to those who look upon the surface of his life, nevertheless deserve the closest consideration of all—and especially of his most sincere admirers—because they may have justified, or excused, or necessitated, his doing what common-place imitators could not do without loss of self-respect. We are all of us, so Bacon tells us, dwellers in the caves of our several temperaments, tastes, trainings, and circumstances; but a man of genius is often the most inveterate of troglodytes. The following sketch of the early life of Cardinal Newman is an attempt to ascertain how far he was subject to that fate which makes many distinguished men very profitable to contemplate, and in many respects delightful to admire, but the most dangerous people in the world to follow.

According to the "Apologia," Newman was a dogmatist from his youth. To many, reverence for parents may seem the earliest basis for real religious thought; but with Newman it was dogma pure and simple, and he thanks God for it years afterwards. The mother—who plays so important a part in the lives of Augustine and Wesley—is not mentioned in the "Apologia," and the father only incidentally, in an amusing passage which shows how the boy took a delight in religious controversy from the first, and thought it a thing to be proud of: "When I was fourteen, I read Paine's 'Tracts against the Old Testament,' and found pleasure in thinking of the objections which were contained in them. Also, I read some of Hume's 'Essays'; and perhaps that on 'Miracles.' So, at least, I gave my father to understand; but perhaps it was a brag (3)."* "From the age of fifteen,"

* This and similarly bracketed numbers in the text refer to the pages of the last edition of the "Apologia," 1890. Newman was born on Feb. 21, 1801. His father died "soon after his son's election" to his Oriel Fellowship in 1823, see p. 8 of "Short Life of Cardinal Newman," by J. S. Fletcher, 1890.

he adds (49), "dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion. . . . What I held in 1816, I held in 1833, and I hold in 1864. Please God, I shall hold it to the end." He justifies this in the "Grammar of Assent" (pp. 115-17) by saying that "Without a proposition or thesis, there can be no assent, no belief at all," and that "Knowledge must precede the exercise of the affections"; but it never seems to occur to him that, just as a child may love and trust its mother without a formal "proposition or thesis" as to her existence, so we may grow up into the first stage of that knowledge of God which consists in loving Him and trusting Him, without consciously passing through the phase of any assent to propositions about Him, except that which is implied in the first six words of the Lord's Prayer.

When, therefore, he experienced that "great change of thought" which is called "conversion," it was not apparently (so far as we can gather from the "Apologia") towards Christ as the Friend, or Helper, or as the great Captain of Righteousness, that he was attracted. It was towards "dogma," towards the completeness of a well-rounded and demonstrable Creed. "When I was fifteen," he says (4), "in the autumn of 1816, a great change of thought took place in me. I fell under the influences of a definite Creed, and received into my intellect impressions of dogma, which, through God's mercy, have never been effaced or obscured." This is strong, but perhaps not too strong, perhaps hardly strong enough to express the fact; for the truth seems to be that he received these "impressions" not into his "intellect," but into his imagination, heart, and inmost being; and that these "impressions" consisted not merely of definite and particular dogmas, but also of the conviction, henceforth ineradicable, that the knowledge of God is based upon dogma, and that the exercise of human thought upon dogma is unlawful.* In the earliest edition of the "Apologia," Newman speaks about his attempts to make the doctrine of Eternal Punishment "less terrible to the Reason." In later editions he substituted "Imagination" for "Reason" (6). Was it that what, even in 1864, he had thought to be "Reason," he afterwards found to be "Imagination"? Or did he feel that he had been guilty here—he, after twenty years of practice in the Roman vocabulary—of a little slip back into Anglican, or even into Liberal, language, in speaking of "making less terrible to 'Reason,' one of those "truths of Revela-

* See "Apologia," p. 288, where he defines, as "Liberalism," "the exercise of thought upon matters in which . . . thought cannot be brought to any successful issue. . . . Among such matters are first principles of whatever kind; and of these, the most sacred and momentous are especially to be reckoned the truths of Revelation." This distinctly states that "the truths of Revelation" are included in those "matters," upon which "the exercise of thought cannot be brought to any successful issue"; and against this "exercise," under the name of "false liberty," or "Liberalism," it was the business of Newman's life to do battle. In the next sentence, he gives a narrower definition of "Liberalism"; but, as the whole of Newman's theology appears to be pervaded by the spirit of the former definition, it deserves to be stated thus early.

tion," upon which the "Reason" ought not to be so much as exercised? In any case, this is a very characteristic change, useful to bear in mind as a clue to the labyrinth of his long wanderings after Truth. For indeed, with Newman, Imagination often stood for Reason; and his was not the mere poet's imagination, which reflects and shifts like the surface of a pool; it was stubborn clay, which, when once impressed, hardens and preserves the imprint for ages.

Rousseau said about himself as a mere child, "I had no idea about real things, though all the sentiments were familiar to me." Substitute "dogmas" for "sentiments," and what Rousseau says about his childhood holds true for Newman's youth: "I had no idea about real things"—he might have added "nor about real persons" without being guilty of much exaggeration—"though dogmas were familiar to me." "Reading," he says (2), "in the spring of 1816 a sentence from Dr. Watts's 'Remnants of Time,' entitled, 'The Saints unknown to the World,' to the effect that 'there is nothing in their figure or countenance to distinguish them,' . . . I supposed he spoke of Angels who lived in the world, as it were disguised." At this time, he had passed his fifteenth year; and he is not yet emancipated from the fanciful dreams of his boyhood, which he thus describes (2): "I thought life might be a dream, or I an Angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels by a playful device concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world."

We shall presently find that, at this very time, he was "resting in the thought of two, and two only, absolute and luminously self-evident beings," himself and his Creator. But what reality could attach to the conceptions either about himself or about God, formed by a mind so isolated? Here was a youth—just at that critical age when trainers of boys know well that whatever "stuff" they have in them will begin to show itself—committing himself to solemn dogmas about such profound and awful subjects as sin, the flesh, the world, faith and righteousness, eternal life and eternal punishment, and the destinies of man, and the will of the Supreme God, and yet all the while so self-absorbed that—however, he may have borne himself in the superficial stream of outer life—he finds no room in his religion for the influence of human love, and has no fit conception of the reality of righteousness in the world around him, which he is half disposed to consider "a deception."

His mind being, at sixteen, a vacuum as regards spiritual realities, Newman had necessarily no other basis for his dogmatic superstructure except words; and this basis was being early supplied by a constant perusal of the Bible, in the reading of which he (1) "had been brought up, from a child, to take great delight," so that he is said to have almost known it by heart. Concerning his attitude toward the Bible in his old age, we have interesting testimony from one who lived "for

more than seven years as a member of his community, under the same roof, and for the greater part of his time in the closest communion with him;” * he tells us † that, “in regard to the Bible, or rather to Scripture, as he almost invariably styled it, his position was pretty much that of the old Evangelical school; . . . of recent criticism of the Greek Testament he knew nothing,” and he adds that, whereas the Vatican Council declared that the whole Bible “has God for its Author,” Newman’s belief was practically that “God was its Editor,” or, in other words, that the whole of the text of the Bible received the direct supervision of God and is “inspired” in every detail.

In Newman’s voluminous works a passage or two might perhaps be alleged where, while demonstrating the inability of the Bible to do the work of the Church, he may appear to controvert the theory of total inspiration; but there is considerable evidence in support of his pupil’s testimony. No child in a family of “Evangelical” tendencies could well believe otherwise in the first quarter of this century; and Newman’s tendency to take things as a whole and to “throw himself into a system,” would of itself impel him to take every word of the Bible as exactly true and every precept as having an exact application to himself. His love of dogma and his sense of the delusive unreality of all that lay outside the Scriptures, would also throw him (in early life) on the Scriptures, and the Scriptures alone, as the ground for his religious faith. Thus Newman’s nature combined with his circumstances to impel him to take the Bible as an exact law for the guidance of his life, and to derive from isolated texts of it the dogmas which formed the basis of the religion of his youth.

His mother was of Huguenot descent, and the religious atmosphere in the household was Calvinistic. The religious books, therefore, first placed in his hands, were naturally of that type; and to them, “over and beyond conversations and sermons,” Newman attributes his “great change of thought,” although, of course, he verified his conclusions by references to Scripture and logical deductions therefrom. From Romaine he received the doctrine of “Final Perseverance,” which had the effect of still further severing him—so far, at least, as concerned his inward and religious life—from his family, his friends, and the surrounding world (4): “I received it at once, and believed that the inward conversion of which I was conscious . . . would last into the next life, and that I was elected to eternal glory. I believe that it had some influence on my opinions, in isolating me from the objects which surrounded me, in confirming me in my mistrust in the reality of material phenomena, and making me rest in the thought of *two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator*—for, while I considered myself pre-

* See an article by Mr. A. W. Hutton in *Expositor*, Sept. 1890, p. 224. † *Ib.* p. 227-8.

destined to salvation, *my mind did not dwell upon others—as fancying them simply passed over*, not predestined to eternal death.” About the same time he read Law’s “*Serious Call*,” and henceforth (6) “held with a full inward assent and belief the doctrine of eternal punishment,” though he adds that he has “tried in various ways to make that truth less terrible to the imagination.”*

This “terrible” doctrine of “eternal punishment” appears to have exerted on Newman’s theological development an influence that can hardly be exaggerated. If it had been associated with a passionate and, so to speak, unreasoning devotion to Christ, as to a divine Friend, he might have repelled its terrors with an “All things are possible”; and then he might have gone about the business of life in peace, content to trust his own and other people’s destinies to Christ, in spite of this dogmatic spectre. But from a very early period he seems to have associated the thought of Christ with the image rather of the awful Judge or Doomster than of the Saviour. In his “*Poems*” (p. 155) he tells us that, “from a child,” he was “full of unlovely thoughts and rebel aims, and scorn of judgment flames;” that (*Ib.* p. 301), “ere boyhood yet was gone,” his “rebel spirit fell;” and that he was “scared” back by “judgments.” Even after he had received the other truths of the gospel without difficulty, he was “startled,” he says, by the dogma of Eternal Punishment, almost refusing to credit it till his “mother oped the Book” and showed him that the Lord Himself had enunciated it, and even, as it were, reserved it for Himself:—

“The Fount of Love His servants sends to tell
Love’s deeds; Himself reveals the sinner’s hell.”†

In 1833, during his travels in Italy, he describes how the children of the South “shudder” when they see “the two-edged sword” proceeding from the mouth of the Saviour; but he adds that his “fear” is not inferior to theirs, only that he has no hope of salvation from any other source:—

“But I before Thine awful eyes will go,
And freely fix me there
In my full shame; not bent my doom to know,
Not fainting to despair.
Not fearing less than they: but deeming sure
If e’en Thy name shall fail, naught my base heart can cure.”‡

We may therefore accept—upon external as well as internal evidence—the following lines in “*The Dream of Gerontius*” as expressing Newman’s own life-long attitude toward the Saviour:—

“Along my earthly life, the thought of death
And judgment was to me most terrible:
I had it aye before me, and I saw
The Judge severe, e’en in the Crucifix.”||

* The first edition of the “*Apologia*” has, not “imagination,” but “reason.”

† “*Poems*,” p. 175.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 123.

|| *Ibid.* p. 341.

Coming then in this way to Christ, first as to the Judge, or rather as the Utterer of Doom, and then afterwards as the centre of a "definite Creed," as the subject of controversy and as the source of dogma, Newman seems never to have felt a fear-absorbing love for the Saviour: and hence—with "the thought of death and judgment aye before" him—terror became a predominating influence in his religious growth.

It may be objected that he could hardly have felt such terror for himself, inasmuch as he was convinced of his own predestination to salvation. But a passage which I omitted from the previous extract, for the purpose of giving it greater emphasis here, shows that, at a very critical point in his life, he gave up the whole doctrine of Final Perseverance, and therefore, of course, that sense of his own security which had resulted from his application of the doctrine to himself. "I retained it," he says, "till the age of twenty-one, and then it *gradually faded away*" (4). Newman was ordained in 1824, and the "gradual fading away," which began in 1822, would probably not be complete till about, or a little after, the date of his ordination. What is more natural, then, than that the "terror," against which the doctrine of Final Perseverance had been at first a perfect protection, should have gathered strength as the sense of protection diminished?

But so powerful was dogmatic fear, not only in determining Newman's own course, but also in generating what has been called by Mr. R. H. Hutton the "anxious and precautionary piety" of the Tractarian movement, that a digression on this point is here needful. As long as Newman was convinced that he himself was unalterably "elected to eternal glory," the mere doubt, or ignorance, or even the horrible certainty, as to the fate of others might not, perhaps, necessitate any change in his theology; but, when this belief "faded away," the necessity would gradually arise for some new test and convincing proof of his salvation. Possibly for a time he found refuge in the simple faith and trust, so beautifully described in a sermon of the following year [1825]: "What can increase their peace who believe and trust in the Son of God?"* But in later life (230) he tells us that he had "a great dread of going by" his own "feelings"; and, on an issue so stupendous, one who was so devoted to dogma would naturally seek some definite reassurance to replace the certainty which he felt to be slipping away from him.

Between 1822-5 Dr. Hawkins (afterwards Provost of Oriel) had taught him that the Church was intended to teach doctrine, and the Scripture only to verify it; and the same friend had led him to receive the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. Thus the Church would by degrees step into the position formerly occupied in Newman's mind by Scripture; and the acceptance (about 1823) of the

* "Cardinal Newman," by R. H. Hutton, p. 7.

doctrine of Apostolical Succession would aid the transference of authority. Gradually, therefore, the prominent question in his mind would become, no longer, "Have I in my heart the assurance of salvation?" but "What proof have I that I am in the true Church?" and "What are the signs of the true Church?"

"Fear" Newman always assumes to be not only prominent in the beginning of the Christian course, but also to be never cast out by love; "In the beginning of Christian life, fear is the prominent evangelical grace, and love is but latent in fear. . . . Love is added, not fear removed."* Now, if "fear" means awe and reverence, this statement is true; but if it means terror of hell, and dread about one's own ultimate destiny, it is assuredly not true. Yet it is in this almost servile sense that he appears to accept the word; and, so accepted, the emotion appears to him to dictate his "duty." Thus, at least, he writes in 1845, a few months before he joined the Roman Church (231): "This I am sure of, that nothing but a simple, direct call of *duty* is a warrant for any one leaving our Church: no preference of another Church, no delight in its services, *no hope of greater religious advancement in it*. . . . The simple question is, *Can I (it is personal, not whether another, but can I) be saved in the English Church? Am I in safety, were I to die to-night? Is it a mortal sin in me, not joining another communion?*"

Now, it may be fairly urged that, in this matter, Newman is not to be judged in the light of modern anti-gehennic notions. "The attack," it may be said, "should be made directly upon the doctrine, not on Newman for holding sincerely what everybody else professed to hold, in times when gehenna had not gone out and philanthropy had not come in. Reverence for a God who threatens Hell, must include terror of Hell; and St. Paul himself speaks about 'working out our own salvation with fear and trembling.' Moreover, the fact that Newman describes 'love' as 'latent in fear,' shows that his 'fear' was not abject terror of mere arbitrary punishment."

But I am not attacking Newman; I am only attempting to explain him. I can hardly believe that he at any time—even in the worst paroxysms of his religious agony—stooped so low as to feel "abject terror of mere arbitrary punishment." I admit that the too easy, self-complacent, and fleshly spirit of our times may learn something from Newman's anxious piety and blind indiscriminate horror of sin—perhaps even from his poetic consciousness of it as a foul bodily though invisible Presence, as a Being, or Beings, with "flapping wing," or "deep hideous purrings," panting to spring on and worry the soul of man and kept off only by Divine interference. But, for all that, I maintain that there was a want of Christian balance in his belief. Others—logical enough in dealing with facts—have been

* "Cardinal Newman," by R. H. Hutton, p. 183.

illogical enough to believe in an eternity of Hell and yet in an eternity of predominant Love. Newman—illogical in dealing with facts and history—was not allowed by his nature and training to be illogical here. His fear of Hell does not appear to have been balanced by any passionate love of Christ, nor by any passionate admiration of righteousness and justice, nor by any spiritual and discriminative appreciation of the real meaning of sin. The "fear" which he describes—wrongly, I think, if he means it as a universal rule—as "the prominent evangelical grace in the *beginning* of Christian life," seems to me "prominent" even to the end of his course in the Anglican Church, and not sufficiently subordinated even under the protection of Rome and Authority. Else why—when he was in all honesty and in passionate earnestness thinking out, and praying out, the difficult question of his "duty," and testing his own heart, and beseeching God for light and guidance—why should he talk about "safety" and "mortal sin?" As if he needed to be protected against the Lord Jesus Christ! Or as if the Saviour would "to-night" doom him to Eternal Fire, because he was a few hours late in arriving at the solution of the problem of the locality of the Church!

It may be said in explanation of Newman's anxiety that he was always reluctant to trust "his own feelings"; and in truth, where the stake is so stupendously vast as this, who would be content to trust "his own feelings," or rather "his own feelings about his feelings"? For this kind of feeling one's own feelings may become, in a subtle mind, a very complicated affair. Take the following instance. Three months [March 30, 1845] before Newman joined the Church of Rome, he writes (231): "My own convictions are as strong as I suppose they can become." Some might suppose, then, that he at once would act on his convictions by joining the Church of Rome. But no: "It is so difficult," he adds, "to know whether it is a call of reason or conscience"; and consequently he lingers on, half-disposed to wait for some "sign." On the very day [October 9, 1845] on which he was reconciled to the Roman Church, he writes: "I do not suppose any one can have had such combined reasons pouring in upon him that he is doing right"; and yet he adds; "I have been quite frightened that I should not have faith and contrition enough to gain the benefit of the Sacraments." And then comes the conclusion of the whole matter: "Perhaps faith and reason are incompatible in one person, or nearly so."*

This was indeed the right conclusion—under the circumstances. It was fit and natural for one who had formed the habit of trusting logic where he ought to have trusted his feelings, and of trusting his feelings where he ought to have trusted logic, that he should become incapable of distinguishing between the two, and should end by

* "A Short Life of Cardinal Newman," by J. S. Fletcher, p. 87.

distrusting both. In the state to which his mind had reduced itself by self-distrust and by distrust of self-distrust; by the fear of reason, and by the fear lest what he called reason might prove to be conscience; by fears of sin and sin's punishment, and yet by fear of being guided by the feelings of fear—the best decision, the only decision, was to give up all appearance of deciding, and to yield to the passionate longing for rest at any price.

But this timorous disposition is fatal to historical accuracy as well as to historical judgment. It inevitably leads a man to say that he believes, and even, after a fashion, to believe that he believes, all sorts of propositions which he asserts, not freely and spontaneously, but at the bidding of a false sort of conscience, which may be described as the "dogmatic conscience," and which constrains its slaves to believe or half-believe, not what is true, but what is "safe," or "necessary." Accordingly, we find Newman explaining on the basis of this doctrine—which we may call the Doctrine of Safety—the accusations that he had brought (up to the year 1841) against the Church of Rome (201): "I said to myself, 'I am not speaking my own words, I am but following almost a *consensus* of the divines of my own Church. . . . *I wish to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say, I am safe.* Such views, too, are *necessary* for our position.'" And again (122): "I think I did it (*i.e.*, spoke too strongly against Rome) *in a kind of faith, being determined to put myself into the English system, and to say all that our divines said, whether I had fully weighed it or not.*" He seems to assume that whatever was "necessary" for the Anglican position must be true (55): "Moreover, such a protest was *necessary* as an integral portion of her controversial basis; for I adopted the argument of Bernard Galpin that Protestants were not able to give any firm or solid reason of their separation besides this, to wit, that the Pope is Antichrist." But what security is there that one who swallows an Anglican "system" whole to-day, will not swallow a Roman "system" whole to-morrow, if it seems "safe," or "necessary"? Or how can we believe any one, if he is to be allowed—and he too a teacher of youth, one on whom the young Oxonians used to fasten their faith in the words "*Credo in Newmannum*"—to excuse himself for having said what he afterwards finds to be false, on the plea that he "wished to throw himself into a system," and to say what is "safe," or what is "necessary for a controversial basis," and to "speak in a kind of faith," and to "determine to say" what others say, "whether one has fully weighed it or not"?

From this digression—essential for the comprehension of Newman's career as a whole—we must return to Newman at the age of sixteen, elaborating his religion of dogma. Before that age he had (4) made a collection of Scripture texts in proof of the doctrine of the Trinity, and soon afterwards a similar collection in support of each verse of the

Athanasian Creed. About this time he was also possessed with a "deep imagination"—and with him deep imaginations were always long-lasting and mostly life-long—that it would be the will of God that he should lead a single life; and further, with the notion that "his calling in life would require such a sacrifice as celibacy involved, as, for instance, missionary work among the heathen." This still more strengthened his "feeling of separation from the visible world"; and thus, detached from one of the most powerful influences of human life, he was at leisure to proceed uninterruptedly in his dogmatic development. The religious writer from whom he learned most, and to whom, as he tells us, "humanly speaking," he "owed his soul," was Thomas Scott of Aston-Sandford, and from him he derived in particular, two truths, which, for years, he used "almost as proverbs": (i.) "Holiness rather than peace," and (ii.) "Growth the only evidence of life." We may trace these maxims throughout his career.

"Holiness" means separation from things common and unclean, and has generally a negative tendency, except so far as ecclesiastical formularies may prescribe positive means of attaining it. In the poems of 1833 (p. 104) Newman asks by what means "a child of God" may "fulfil his vow to cleanse his soul from ill;" and the answer is, not that he is to receive into his heart the love of Christ, and loyally endeavour to serve Him, but, "first, let him shun the haunts of vice," and next, he must "lift his witness when a sin is spoke." Open conflict with a hostile world being thus the very essence, as well as the sign, of "holiness," it followed that the aspirant for it must accept strife as a necessity, and perhaps not an unwelcome one. "Peace" was to be regarded with suspicion if it suggested the least interference with "holiness"; and piety was always to be anxious, always on the alert to detect a worldly self-complacency, and to cast out any particle of leaven that might have lain unnoticed defiling the chamber of the soul.

The second maxim—"Growth the only evidence of life"—is an excellent maxim in itself; but much depends upon the interpretation put upon "growth." Newman, we shall find, ultimately referred to this head the doctrinal developments of the Roman from the Apostolic Church. The maxim would naturally recur to him when, from the inquiry into his own feelings as the test of his salvation, he turned towards the inquiry into the Notes or Signs of the Church; or, in other words, from the question, "Is my spirit growing and developing?" to the question, "The Church, in which alone I can find salvation,—is the Church growing? And what are the signs of its growth?" Even as early as 1832, in his "History of the Arians of the Fourth Century," there may be discerned the germ of this doctrine of development. In "Home Thoughts Abroad", (1836), a controversial dialogue, the doctrine is expressly used as a defensive argument by the Roman

disputant; and finally it was made the subject of a special treatise (written in 1845), "The Development of Christian Doctrine," by which Newman supplied himself with a logical basis for his intention to enter the Church of Rome.

Two other beliefs had fastened upon his imagination. The first, to some extent, conflicted with the doctrine of growth by substituting a doctrine of antiquity; and Newman's career shows signs of the conflict in his oscillation between the Primitive and the Roman Church. This belief was, that some extracts from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and other Fathers, which had fascinated him, as a youth, in Milner's "Church History," represented the religion of the primitive Christians, and that this religion was the ideal one. The second, derived from "Newton on the Prophecies," was that the Pope was the Antichrist predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. It is characteristic of the stubborn tenacity of the mental soil within him—called by whatever name—which received these youthful impressions, that his "imagination," as he tells us (7), "was stained by the effects of this doctrine up to the year 1843."

Newman was "sensible," so his brother-in-law tells us, "of having lost something by not being a public schoolman." He rose "almost at a bound," to the head of the very large and successful preparatory school to which he was sent at an early age. This gave him leisure to make many sallies into thought, politics, fancy, and taste, concerning which the "Apologia" is silent. He was passionately fond of music, composed an opera at twelve, wrote verses, improvised masques and idyls, and probably read everything that came in his way. Going straight from this private school to Trinity College, Oxford, at an unusually early age, he was not yet twenty when he took his degree [1820]. He must have had, somewhere about him, knowledge enough for a First, and style and taste enough for a dozen Firsts; but he was probably immature, and possibly inaccurate, and he failed to gain more than a Third Class, although in 1823 he was elected to a fellowship at Oriel. He was rather proud of his new college than at home in it, and he appears for some time to have found no companionship to induce him to break his reserved and solitary habits. It was Whately first, he says (384), "who gave me heart to look about me after my election, and taught me to think correctly, and—strange office for an instructor—to rely upon myself." So he writes in 1826, two years after he had been ordained, when he was still grateful for what Oriel had done for him in the way of mental improvement—Oriel, whose Common Room, according to the saying of one of Newman's friends, "stank of logic." At this time he had begun to feel a certain disdain for antiquity, which (14) "showed itself in some flippant language against the Fathers"; his old Calvinistic theology had given way, and he was "beginning to prefer intellectual excellence to moral,"

and "drifting in the direction of the Liberalism of the day." But all this was merely superficial—the transient self-confidence inspired by Whately, and by his newly-attained conviction of the mistakes of the so-called Evangelical system—the temporary result of the logical atmosphere of Oriel, and of the influence of Dr. Hawkins, who had taught him "the finer use of words and to discriminate ideas," and of Butler's "Analogy," from which he learned (besides another lesson to be speedily mentioned) that Probability is the guide of life. It could not be that these merely transient ripples of the mental surface could touch the fundamental beliefs, that "Holiness is to be preferred to peace," and that "Growth"—but what sort of growth was not yet determined—"is the only evidence of life"; and the fundamental dread of the eternal punishment of sin. And, indeed, what was there in such merely intellectual convictions that could fill up the vacuum left by the disappearance of the old doctrine of Imputed Righteousness (in its Calvinistic shape), and by the flight of that calm confidence in Final Perseverance, which had now at last quite "faded away"? It was perhaps in the early part of this period [1823-7] that he experienced that sad sense of moral relapse which clouds most of the poems of 1833, drawing from him the complaint that the pleasures of this world had dulled the love of home ("Poems," p. 75):

"Her pleasures quaff'd, I sought awhile
The scenes I prized before;
But parent's praise and sister's smile
Stirr'd my cold heart no more."

In such a mood Newman needed nothing but a few days of solitary trial to call him back again to the old deep-cut lines of thought upon which his mind must needs move, although it was destined to pass through different regions from the old.

The recall soon came. At the end of 1827, "under two great blows, illness and bereavement," he was rudely awakened from his intellectual dream, and the mists of reason began to clear away. More than one cause prepared the way for the new period. Keble's "Christian Year" appeared in 1827, and Newman—a poet, and one who, had he not developed as an ecclesiastic, might have been a poet of a high order—was profoundly impressed with the tenderness and warmth of devotion exhibited in those poems, and above all perhaps with some of the graceful little analogies which it traced between the surface of Nature and the rites of the Church, and which fell in with the second of the two great lessons that he had succeeded in deducing for himself from Butler's "Analogy." This was, that "the system which is of less importance," *i.e.*, the material world, "is economically or sacramentally connected with the more momentous system," *i.e.*, the spiritual world. Analogies in religion are various; they may extend from the "Sun of our souls"—which binds together

and lights and warms the spiritual Universe—to the weeping willow which teaches patience and modesty, or even to Bunyan's chickens lifting their heads as they drink in order to teach mankind a lesson of thankful adoration. The danger is, and Newman fell into this danger, that a poet should seize on the outside likenesses of things to supply him with his analogies, and altogether neglect those deeper likenesses which lie hidden in human nature, and from which the theologian too often turns scornfully away, finding sermons in stones, but not in the heart of man.

Another powerful influence on Newman at this time was the friendship of Hurrell Froude—"a pupil of Keble's, formed by him and reacting upon him"—which began in 1826. Newman's lowest depths were as adamant to Whately; in earlier as in later life he was most stubborn and difficult to drive; he closed both heart and lips against any alien or too masterful nature; but he was responsive, almost loquacious, and often unconsciously receptive, to any one who admired and caressed him. "Here is a fellow," said one of his friends, "who, when he is silent, will never begin to speak, and, when he once begins to speak, will never stop" (16). He "began to speak" in 1828, when, as he tells us (16), he first felt the feeling of "spring weather," and "came out of his shell." It seems to have been, in part, the growing appreciation of his pupils and admirers that drew him thus out of his reserve; and among these Hurrell Froude stands first in the reflex influence which he exerted on his older friend. Froude was a believer in mediævalism (as against Christian antiquity); Froude hated the Reformers, admired the Church of Rome, scorned the maxim, "The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants"; had "a high, severe idea of the intrinsic excellence of virginity, and considered the Virgin Mary its great pattern"; delighted in thinking of the saints; appreciated to the utmost the heights and possibilities of holiness; was disposed to believe in ecclesiastical miracles, embraced the principle of penance and mortification, and had a deep devotion to the Real Presence, in which he had a firm faith (24). Here, then, was a friend who exhibited in a very fascinating form, clothed and set off by many endearing graces and accomplishments, that warmer, deeper, richer, more reverent system of Christianity to which Newman found himself inclining when he was gradually forced from his old Calvinism; and Froude's influence was all the more fascinating because he would not, or could not, argue on some points on which they differed. He "could not believe," says Newman, "that I really held the Roman Church to be Antichrist. On many points he would not believe but that I agreed with him, when I did not" (25).

If Froude had argued, Newman would have counter-argued and recoiled; but, instead of arguing, Froude protested, and his protests.

were more powerful than any arguments. Perhaps Newman felt that his more practical friend supplemented some of his own deficiencies, much as Hamlet felt that he himself was supplemented by the practical Horatio (24-5): "He seemed not to understand my difficulties. His were of a different kind, the contrariety between theory and fact. . . . He was an Englishman to the backbone in his severe adherence to the real and the concrete." Froude's influence was also Keble's influence. The very name of Keble had inspired Newman in his undergraduate years (17) with awe and reverence; the "Christian Year" had brought the poet before Newman's imagination as a spiritual guide in 1827; and now here was a pupil of Keble's who "brought" the two poets "together" as friends in 1828, and who was instilling into Newman's mind the idea of a mediæval Christianity to be revived in the Church of England, and instilling it, not by arguments, but by "taking an eager, courageous view of things on the whole." No Jesuit—or no ideal of what a Jesuit is supposed by Protestants to be—could have manœuvred more successfully to guide the wanderer from Calvinism on to the path that leads towards Rome. Newman was not moved by logic, nor by facts, but, like Hamlet, by imaginations, by the ghosts of possibilities, and especially by possibilities of fatal error. Such ghosts, once seen, were sure to reappear to him, and could never be laid but by obedience; and such a ghost was Hurrell Froude's last protest (he died in 1836) against Newman's attitude towards the Church of Rome (123): "I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing. What good can it do? and I call it uncharitable to an excess. How mistaken we may ourselves be, on many points that are only gradually opening on us!"

"I recollected these words," says Newman, "almost his dying words." How often and how far he was unconsciously influenced by them from 1836 to 1841 we do not know. We can certainly trace in these years a general increase of mildness (spite of some fluctuations), in the tone he adopts towards the Church of Rome. But his friend's utterance was definitely and forcibly brought to his mind in 1841, when, in deference to a request from his Bishop, he reluctantly wrote against certain doctrines of the Church of Rome; and he adds that, after the summer of 1839 (in which year Newman preached his famous sermon on "Unreal Words"), he had (121) "a great and growing dislike to speak against the Roman Church herself or her formal doctrines." He confined himself, as far as possible, to attacking (123) her "inconsistencies," "ambitions," and "sophistries." But what are such comparatively petty imperfections as these, that they ought to stand between a man and a Church which, so far as regards "herself and her formal doctrines," he does not feel justified in attacking, and therefore presumably regards as the true Church, and possibly as the

only true Church, and possibly therefore as the only certain home of Salvation? Even from a very much earlier date, the admission of Newman into the Church of Rome may appear to many to have been little more than a question of time; but from 1836 the ghost of Froude's dying utterance was combining with other imaginations to impel him steadily to Rome as the only haven of safety. "How mistaken we may be!" "Points only gradually opening on us!"—how often when Newman stood in the pulpit of St. Mary's did he "recollect these words"?

But we must return to Newman, Tutor of Oriel in 1826, Classical Examiner in 1827, and Vicar of St. Mary's in 1828, coming for the first time "out of his shell" and rejoicing in appreciation and activity. Still regarding the Church of Rome as Antichrist, but detached—at least so far as concerned intellectual convictions—from all the other links of his old Calvinism, and regarding private feelings as no longer a sufficient test of a state of salvation, he finds himself naturally drawn to the study of Church History. He begins to read the Fathers in chronological order. The growth, the vigour, the triumphant advance, of the early Church, arrest his attention. He is struck by its manifest superiority to the World; he is more than ever convinced that now, as then, the Church is to lead and the World to obey; and he conceives a more burning hatred than ever for the shallow "Liberalism" of the pride of reason, which would reverse this order of things. In the following year [1829] he parts company from Whately, "separating from his friends for good and all" (although, at the time, he was scarcely conscious of it); and being now "under the influence of Keble and [Hurrell] Froude; who . . . disliked the Duke of Wellington's change of policy as dictated by Liberalism" (15). In the same year, or a little before, he appears to have finally dedicated himself to celibacy (7), and to have conceived the plan of giving himself "to a life of greater religious regularity" (*i.e.*, devotions and practices of asceticism), "than he had hitherto led" (171). Thus rapidly did the influences of internal thoughts and needs, external circumstances, friends, and pursuits, combine to deepen that antithesis between the Church and the World which is inevitable in any ecclesiastical mind, and which had prepared for itself a home within his heart from the days of his childhood.

If he could have given a historical and critical study to the New Testament with the view of understanding the spirit and tenour of its utterances, he might have shrunk from applying all the Apostolic oppositions between the World and the Spirit, in all respects, and without any qualifications, to modern times. But such piecemeal analysis was not his way. He is more apostolically unworldly and ascetic than the Apostles themselves. St. Paul, for example, writing to the Corinthians in times when Christians were exposed to persecutions, while fully sanctioning marriage, says that, owing to "the

present distress" (*i.e.*, the hard times of trouble and persecution), he "thinks" that it "is good" for a man to remain unmarried; and he expressly takes precautions against being supposed to imply any slur upon marriage by adding that those who do marry will have trials and anxieties (for one another and for their children) which he is anxious to spare them. But Newman protests that, "If 'the present distress,' of which St. Paul speaks, does not denote the *ordinary state of the Christian Church*, the New Testament is scarcely written for us, but must be remodelled before it can be made to apply."* It is scarcely credible that the Vicar of St. Mary's in Oxford should have publicly recommended, by implication, as "good" for "the ordinary state of the Christian Church," a precept which, if universally acted upon for two or three generations, would have left upon the earth no visible Church at all.

The mistake that Newman himself made—of wholly ignoring one element in the New Testament, its local and temporary colour—he imputes to others who, he says, ignore in it the element of "austerity." "Here," he says, speaking of the religion of the day in 1832, "is an existing teaching, only partially evangelical, built upon worldly principle, yet pretending to be the Gospel, *dropping one whole side of the Gospel, its austere character.*" Now there is no such side; it is a pure figment of theologians, this "austere" side of the Gospel. The Gospel is not "austere," but *just*. "Austere" means "harsh," "dry," "crabbed," and cannot be used in a good sense except with some qualifying context, as one may speak of "kind cruelty," and as Milton speaks of "sweet austere composure," and Newman himself speaks ("Poems," p. 45) of "kind austereness." Without such qualification, to call the Gospel "austere," is like calling the Giver of the Talents "an austere man." Both the Giver of the Talents and the Gospel are "just." There are certainly several apparently terrible sayings in the New Testament, but the general character of even the darker side of the Gospel is not "austerity," but "righteous retribution," or "justice."

When, therefore, Newman said "austerity," he ought to have said "justice." But he was perhaps incapable of distinguishing between the two. In 1865, when Keble appealed to Newman's sense of justice in arrest of his condemnation of Mr. Gladstone's proposal to disestablish the Established Church in Ireland, Newman's only comment on this appeal is, "It left the impression on my mind that he had no great sympathy with the Establishment in Ireland as an Establishment."†

* "Cardinal Newman," by R. H. Hutton, p. 114.

† See Mr. J. S. Fletcher's "Short Life of Cardinal Newman," p. 186. "I said that I really thought, had I been still a member of the University, I must have voted against him [Mr. Gladstone] because he was giving up the Irish Establishment. On this Keble gave me one of his remarkable looks, so earnest and so sweet, came close to me, and whispered in my ear—I cannot recollect the exact words, but took them to be 'And is not that just?'"

In answer to Keble's question "Is not that just?" he does not appear to have replied "No, it is unjust," nor to have been at all prepared for that way of looking at the matter. The Established Church in Ireland seems to have been regarded by him as part of a "system," which he would himself have defended, if he had still continued to "throw himself into the system" of the Church of England; and the justice or injustice of it does not seem to have entered into his consideration. In the same spirit of partisanship he complains (386) of Whately for acquiescing in the suppression of some Irish Sees in 1833, on the ground of "the *inherent rights* of the Christian Church;" and bitterly declares that he thought Whately "would never allow *men of this world* so to insult it." Newman's view of the whole affair is influenced by his sense, not of "justice," but of "holiness" ("Poems," p. 150):

"And who shall dare make common or unclean
What once has on the Holy Altar been?
When shall this cease? . . . , Must crosiers fall,
Shrines suffer touch profane,
Till, cast without His vineyard wall,
The Heaven-sent Heir is slain."

It is said by one who knew him well in later years that—although he was usually true to his own definition of a gentleman as one who does not willingly give pain—he nevertheless showed "marked favouritism" and was a "good hater" to such an extent that "any one who disappointed him or thwarted him found him to an extraordinary degree implacable."* If this was so, he had no adequate conception of justice among men. But assuredly he had not touched the fringe of an approximate conception of the justice of God. It was for this reason that he was so anxious about his own soul, and worried about his own feelings (89)—"How was I to have confidence in my present confidence? How was I to be sure that I should always think as I thought now?" He could not steadily believe that the just Judge was just enough to make allowance for intellectual as well as for moral errors, in an honest man honestly seeking truth to the best of his power. He thought that God's "justice" consisted in giving us salvation upon prescribed conditions which could be fulfilled only in "the Church." Hence he was always in a tremor as to what these "conditions" might be, and as to whether the Church in which he was, was "the Church." And thus, harping upon the "austere" character of God, he was led half-way to the heathen notion exhibited in the story of Polycrates, that God takes a positive pleasure in our troubles and misfortunes; and that if we do not on a small scale make ourselves uncomfortable in this world He will force us to repent our negligence by making us eternally miserable in the next.

Thus "austerely" interpreted, the letter of the Scriptures, followed

* *Expositor*, October 1890, p. 305.

in Newman's blind fashion, combined with his never-forgotten first maxim "Holiness rather than Peace," and with his ignorance of the better side of human nature, to induce him to take a hostile and gloomy view of the world and to exalt that special class to which he was beginning to attach the name of the Church. By "the world" he means (314) "the existing body of society, whether in the Church or not, whether Catholics, Protestants, Greeks, or Mahometans, theists or idolaters, as being ruled by principles, maxims, and instincts of their own, that is, of an unregenerate nature": and he appears to have considered the social and domestic affections in these vast masses to be no gift of God nor anything that bears the faintest impress of Divine handiwork, but simply "instincts of their own." So at least we infer from his famous contrast between "the truth, of which" his own being "is so full," and what he sees in "the world of men" (241)*: "The being of a God is as certain to me as the certainty of my own existence. Yet, when I look out of myself into the world of men, I see a sight which fills me with unspeakable distress. The world of men seems simply to give the lie to that great truth of which my being is so full. If I looked into a mirror and did not see my face, I should experience the same sort of difficulty that actually comes upon me when I look into this living busy world and see *no reflexion of its Creator*." This is strange enough, with any explanation. But it would seem nothing short of religious insanity, if we did not bear in mind Newman's assumption that the "natural virtues" of love and trust are entirely distinct in kind from the corresponding supernatural virtues mentioned in the Bible, and have no sort of divine stamp upon them.

The passage condemning "the world of men" was not written till 1864; but the first sermons preached by him as a Select Preacher exhibit the same thought in the making. We have seen that, about or before 1829, he was contemplating some scheme of regular asceticism which would partially satisfy his thirst for "holiness," and at the same time convey the suggestion of some kind of development or growth in himself, in accordance with his second maxim, that "Growth is the evidence of Life." If "righteousness" and not "holiness" had been in question, the answer to the question, "How am I to grow in righteousness?" might have suggested some increased study of the words and character of Christ, and of the circumstances that throw light upon His meaning and purpose; some attention to the lives and circumstances of righteous men in various ages and circumstances; perhaps even an occasional glance at the best specimens of humanity around him in the much-despised "world of men," such as might have prompted him to a course of active, but not necessarily aggressive, well-doing. But Newman's strong point was not philanthropy either

* Slightly different and longer in the latest edition.

in word or deed. Professional philanthropy he perhaps disliked as an institution of "Liberalism." On a great occasion, as in the times of the cholera, he came out nobly;* but as to his general attitude we have the following testimony from Mr. A. W. Hutton: "I could not escape the impression that Newman, as I knew him, had not that care for the poor which is commonly a characteristic of the Catholic clergy:—I never knew him make any thoughtful suggestion in regard to their physical, moral, or religious welfare."† Somewhat to the same effect is Newman's own confession in the year 1840 (132): "I do not know my Oxford parishioners; I am not conscious of influencing them, and certainly I have no insight into their spiritual state. I have no personal, no pastoral acquaintance with them. To very few have I an opportunity of saying a religious word. . . . In my excuse I am accustomed to say to myself that *I am not adapted to get on with them, while others are.*"

"Excuse" may readily be allowed. It is true that he was (132), as he himself says, "using St. Mary's Church" (which he occupied, not as University Preacher, but as Vicar of St. Mary's) "to the neglect of its direct duties, for objects not belonging to it," and "converting a parochial charge into a sort of University office." But it was not his fault. If he began services and lectures for his parishioners, they did not come, and the undergraduates did. Thus, as he says, everything, independently of him, turned into the direction of the University. Still, the fact remains that Newman's genius precluded him from getting on with common people, and made him perhaps feel ill at ease except when he was in an atmosphere of refinement.

Perhaps the preference of "holiness" to a self-indulgent "peace" might seem to be best manifested by taking up arms, not against the grosser and blacker evils which lay at a distance from Oxford cloisters, but against the refined, delicate, and complacent worldliness of conventional religion. By preaching at this, Newman was perhaps also preaching at himself, thinking out his own problems, seeking remedies for his own soul. It seems to have been his habit thus to preach against himself. He "never saw his congregation,"‡ so he told a friend; he was alone with God when he stood in the pulpit—at least when he stood there to any purpose; for he seems to have utterly failed when he attempted to address them as a speaker. There is an interesting confirmation of this in that most undramatic of novels, "Callista." "Father, you are speaking to yourself; you despise me," says Callista to the priest Cæcilius, when he was attempting to convert her, speaking "as if half in soliloquy or meditation." To which the priest replies: "No; but in so serious a matter as

* See the delightful tribute to his disinterestedness in Mozley's "Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 240, and the testimony of Mr. A. W. Hutton concerning Newman's noble conduct at Bilston.

† *Expositor*, September, p. 246.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 236.

attempting to save a soul I like to speak to you in my Lord's sight."* That is beautifully said; but Newman, for some time at all events, even after his Anglican days, seems to have been not only always attempting, but also unable to forget that he was attempting, to "save his own soul" too. From 1828 to 1832, when he was working out the antithesis between the Church and the World, pleading for increased seriousness in religion, more detachment from worldly interest and pleasure, more deliberate and definite self-denial, it is difficult to resist the impression that he is all the while working out the solutions to his own personal problems (as well as the problem of the Church), "How shall I attain holiness?" "How shall I avoid a worldly peace?" "What signs or notes ought I to expect to find in myself of that growth which is the sole evidence of life?"

At this period, many causes combined to intensify Newman's hostility to "the world," and to drive him to "lift up his witness" against it in some public and prominent way. The feeling that he must *do* something—if only as a protest against the conventional religion of the day, and as some kind of proof that in the delightful relaxations of friendly conversations, music, and literature, he was not floating with the stream of the world—would naturally be stimulated by the triumph of Liberalism in England in 1831-2, upon which he would have all the more time to brood because in 1831 he resigned his tutorship at Oriel.

Perhaps also he was already suffering from the impaired health which was soon to drive him abroad; perhaps he was pleading with himself as well as with his hearers for the necessity of a more "careful obedience" and a more anxious piety, when he uttered [August 1832] his impassioned protest against "the religion of the day" in language which recalls rather the doctrine of John the Baptist than that of an Apostle, or follower of the Apostles, preaching to followers of Christ: "Dare not to think that you have got to the bottom of your hearts; you do not know what evil lies there. How long and earnestly must you pray, how many years must you pass in careful obedience, before you have any right to lay aside sorrow and to rejoice in the Lord!"† This language is hardly Pauline. St. Paul, it is true,

* "Callista," p. 218.

† "Cardinal Newman," by R. H. Hutton, p. 107. It may be urged that Newman here means "sorrow for sin," i.e., for having committed sin. But the following passage from the "Essay on Development" (1843-5), quoted by Mr. R. H. Hutton ("Cardinal Newman," p. 183), illustrates in a very interesting way the connection in Newman's mind between this kind of "sorrow," and "fear": "Love is added, not *fear* removed. . . . They that sow in tears reap in joy: yet afterwards still they are '*sorrowful*' though always '*rejoicing*.'" In other words, in order to prove that the "fear" with which a Christian begins his course, remains with him till the end, he quotes a text which states that "sorrow" remains, thereby identifying the two.

Here I may note that in the many typical extracts given by Mr. R. H. Hutton from Newman's works, I have not noticed one that contains a single exhortation to that high Christian virtue so often inculcated, and even more often practised, by St. Paul—the virtue of "thankfulness."

describes Christians, under persecutions and trials, as "sorrowful yet always rejoicing"; but he is referring to earthly "sorrows," whereas the preacher apparently has in his mind a spiritual and anxious "sorrow" about one's own salvation. It is hard to understand how Newman could have felt justified in thus addressing a mixed assembly of Christians, and in denying their "right" to "rejoice in the Lord," unless he already felt a really morbid fear of the universal hollowness of the religion of the Church of England which he is denouncing under the title of "The Religion of the day." But the poems of the following year [1833] indicate that he was also racked by a sense that he himself had not "got to the bottom of his own heart," and must himself pass many years in "careful obedience" before he could "have any right to rejoice in the Lord."

Weakened in health by hard study, and gnawing his soul in fury at the successes of "Liberalism," both in France and England, Newman was persuaded at the close of 1832 to go on a voyage to the south of Europe in company with Hurrell Froude. But he was not the man to change his stubborn spirit, because he changed his climate. Go where he would, England and anger were ever in his heart (33): "I had fierce thoughts against the Liberals. It was the success of the Liberal cause which fretted me inwardly." He would not even look at the tricolour at Algiers; he kept indoors for twenty-four hours during a forced stay at Paris, that he might see nothing of the city; the Isles of Greece—even to him, a poet, and a scholar—suggest few recollections of antiquity; when they do, he rejects, and bewails, the fascinations exerted over his heart by "these scenes of ancient fame";* off Zante, he muses on "the Greek Fathers"; off Ithaca, he writes poetry, not about Ulysses, but about Moses and Canaan; in quarantine, at Malta, his subject is David; when he gets to Rome, his main thought is to get back home again; when Monsignore Wiseman courteously expresses a wish that he may pay a second visit to that city, he replies, "with great gravity, 'We have a work to do in England.'"

Zeal for holiness, hatred of sin, fear of temptation, sad thoughts of "defilement dimming life's memory's springs," dread of divine judgments, self-stimulations to action, self-encouragements to endure the pangs of enforced delay to act—these are the prominent tones in the poems of 1833; but, clear above them all, there sounds forth the tone of hatred. The poet was being consumed by a hunger to return, and smite those faithless Liberals, who were adventuring (no doubt, too sanguinely, and sometimes in a really worldly spirit) to do for the poor by means of Free Trade, Education, and general philanthropy, what the Church had left undone, and had scarcely tried to do; and who were putting out impious hands to shake the Ark of God by

* "Cardinal Newman," by R. H. Hutton, p. 42.

suppressing in Ireland Bishops whose *raison d'être* was little more than the receipt of episcopal salaries. In times like these, it seemed his duty—as he expressed it in the following lines ("Poems," p. 64)—to put peace and goodwill and love far-off, as being distant and barely possible future luxuries:—

"And wouldst thou reach, rash scholar mine,
Love's high unruffled state?
Awake, thy easy dreams resign,
First learn thee how to hate;
Hatred of sin, and zeal, and fear,
Lead up the Holy Hill;
Track them till Charity appear
A self-denial still."

"Hatred of sin" meant, of course, not the same thing as hatred of sinners. But still Newman seems to have gone not a little way with the Psalmist—who cried: "Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate Thee? Yea, I hate them as though they were mine own enemies." Turn to a passage, written in the Roman period of his life, in which he describes Demas—who "loved this present world"—receiving his irrevocable doom in the Day of Judgment. "Impossible!"—he supposes the lost one to exclaim on hearing the Judge's sentence: "I, a lost soul! I separated from hope and from peace for ever! It is not I of whom the Judge so spake! There is a mistake somewhere; Christ, Saviour, hold Thy hand. One minute, to explain it! My name is Demas; I am but Demas; not Judas, or Nicholas, or Alexander, or Philetus, or Diotrephes. What! eternal pain for me! Impossible! It shall not be." And then the preacher goes on to describe how all this time, above the dead man's tombstone, his friends are saying, and continuing to say—for years after Demas has been consigned to eternal fire—"So comprehensive a mind! such a power of throwing lights on a perplexed subject!" or, "It was the saying of a very sensible man," or, "A great personage whom some of us knew," or, "It was a rule with a very worthy and excellent friend of mine, now no more," or, "So great a benefactor to his country and to his kind!"* There is a spiritual truth concealed under this fierce and almost savage irony; he has a passionate purpose in his cutting sarcasm, and means it as a kind deterrent. And yet we can hardly help feeling that this elaborate picture of "The Surprises in Store for Demas at the Day of Judgment" represents a feeling in the preacher not only that a benevolent lukewarm Christian, and a generous, upright, self-sufficient, tranquil "Liberal," are infinitely more hateful to God than the most fierce, gloomy, superstitious, and bigoted persecutors; but also that what is hateful to God must be, in some sense, hateful to those who love God.

Hurrell Froude was not the man to quench the fires that were

* "Cardinal Newman," by R. H. Hutton, p. 198.

burning so furiously in Newman's heart : on the contrary, he was as Euryalus to Nisus, stimulating his older friend to the conflict against the Liberal camp. The motto of the "*Lyra Apostolica*"—a work which the two friends began at this time in Rome—shows their thirst for the combat and their passionate desire to return to England in order to engage in it. "We borrowed a Homer," he says (34), "and Froude chose from it the words in which Achilles, returning after long delay to the battle, says: 'You shall know the difference now that I am back again.'" A strange, and, at the first sound, an almost blasphemous motto, to prefix to a collection of Christian poems, consecrated to the Apostles of Christ! But in reality it was not a mere schoolboy love of fighting, nor was it personal and egotistical inflation that dictated the choice; it was the feeling that they were two warriors taking up the Lord's quarrel—a feeling wrought up to feverous height by their enforced position as idle spectators of the distant battle. Still, it was an ill-chosen and ill-omened war-cry. It professed to announce a Holy War, but it savoured not of the things that were of God, but of the things that were of men. Like Nisus and Euryalus, they were entering upon an enterprise far above their strength and destined to end in disaster; but there is no trace that, when the young Euryalus, urging his friend to the conflict, selected this sinister battle-cry, the elder warrior checked his rash ardour with the warning question which Virgil puts into the mouth of Nisus :

"Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale! An sua cuique Deus fit dira cupido!"

This furious sense of mission and of impending conflict, combined with that unresting search after spiritual security which had now become with Newman a second nature, may well have been too much for his physical strength; and things culminated in a fever when he was left alone in the centre of Sicily. More strongly than ever there had been borne in upon his mind, during his solitude, the feeling that deliverances are wrought not by bodies of men but by men singly; and when his servant gave him over, he repeated, unconscious of his exact meaning, "I shall not die, for I have not sinned against the light." He adds (34) "I have never been able quite to make out what I meant;" but surely those who follow his life from the beginning can hardly doubt that the words point to that habitual and insuppressible fear of being guided by "his own feelings"—that suspicion lest, though the Light had not revealed to him that he was sinning, yet he *might be* sinning—which never altogether left him till he found peace in the Roman Church. For the present, however, he seemed far enough from Rome, though, in reality perhaps, the main, if not the only, barrier between him and the peaceful Haven of

Authority was the "imagination" of his youth about Antichrist. While waiting at Palermo for three weeks for a vessel to take him home, he visited the churches there; and his sense of their soothing influence is expressed ("Poems," p. 153) in the lines:—

"O that thy creed were sound!
For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome,
By thy unwearied watch and varied round
Of service, in thy Saviour's holy home."

But, although these lines are of interest as an indication of his already inclining towards some of the Roman methods by which he afterwards (166) proposed to impart colour and warmth to the Church of England, they afford no basis at all for thinking that he had the least suspicion that he himself was moving towards Rome.

A few days afterwards, on his way home, he wrote the well-known poem beginning "Lead, kindly Light." Some, and among them the present writer, may dissent from the almost universal admiration of this poem as a congregational hymn, on the ground that it is better fitted for an anxious inquirer in the closet than for an assemblage of Christian believers singing prayers or praises to Him whom they worship as the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ. To some it may even seem that both the words and the spirit of the words reveal a different stage of religion, if not a different religion altogether, from that which is expressed in such a hymn, for instance, as "O God our help in ages past." But, whether indiscriminately admired or hypercritically censured, the hymn cannot legitimately suggest that the "kindly Light" was, at the time, thought likely by the poet to lead him from the Church of England. Much rather it was the natural and justifiable prayer of one who was entering upon a dangerous, but (as he trusted) heaven-dictated enterprise, in doubt as to the best means for succeeding.

It cannot be denied that in this poem, as in all the poems of this period, there are manifest tokens that the writer—at the very moment when we might have expected him to be eagerly pressing forward to restore holiness and truth to the Church—is very far from feeling that he himself has attained either, even in a moderate degree. He seems to be looking back with dread to the days of Whately and the Oriel Common Room when he "loved to choose and see" his path, and when, "spite of fears" never altogether suppressed, he loved the "garish day" of common sense, and allowed the "pride" of reason to "rule his will." He has not yet regained the peaceful presence of those "angel faces" in whose companionship he lived in the dreamy days when he was confident in the doctrine of "Final Perseverance," and regarded himself and his Creator as the only two "luminously self-evident realities"; he "loved" them "long since," and he trusts that he has only "lost them" for a "while." But he *has* lost them, and he is therefore not at peace.

How different is this spirit from that of the Homeric motto! What a contrast between "You shall know the difference now that I am back," and :—

"Keep thou my feet : I do not ask to see
The distant scene—one step enough for me."

Yet this humble abnegation of foresight—praiseworthy enough perhaps in some penitent and beclouded wanderer groping his way back to the Truth from which he had strayed—would not be praiseworthy, would not be even tolerable, in one who was undertaking to be a leader of souls. We could not praise a teacher who is content not to see "the distant scene," and who finds "one step enough" for him to be in advance of his pupils. But Newman was a poet, and liable to poetic moods. He did not probably, at the time, feel like a guide, and he consequently did not write like a guide. The title, it is true, would suggest a Leader's aspirations; for the poem is called "The Pillar of the Cloud" in imitation of the guidance of Moses. But Newman may have written the poem first and given it the title afterwards. Certainly his leadership was anything but Mosaic. Possibly, one cause for the difference was, that Moses went for forty years into the wilderness, there maturing his plans. Newman's anxious restlessness and turbid zeal would not permit him to wait. In any case, the task—dreamed of but unplanned—was to fall suddenly upon him at the last and to find him altogether unprepared. Hence, too, the result was no more Mosaic than his method of leading. He led indeed, and—in this single respect, more fortunate than Moses—he reached his promised land; but it was "o'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent," through "rough places" which it was not given to him to "make plain" for the wayfaring multitude; and in the end, when he looked back, he found that he had led few but himself.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

BEHIND THE SCENES IN PARLIAMENT.

IT is generally supposed that the position of a member of Parliament is accompanied with great honours and advantages, and that the few and insignificant drawbacks in connection with it are unworthy of a moment's consideration. This is what most men think before they are elected. If they happen to have any decided views of their own upon any of the great social problems of the day, it seems a most desirable thing to obtain admittance to Parliament; for though important movements may not often originate in the House of Commons, they have to find their way there before they can lead to practical results. Some persons affect to depreciate the House of Commons, and declare that it is not what it used to be, either as a "club" or as a legislative body. As a club, there is certainly little to be said for it, except that it affords opportunities for men of opposite political opinions to meet together. Its library is imposing enough to look at, but it is an uncomfortable place to read in; people are always passing to and fro, and at any moment one is likely to be disturbed. No book-lover can settle himself down happily under those conditions. There is not even a good smoking-room in the building, and no means of ascertaining what is being done inside the House except by going there to find out. There is no telegraph or other method of communication between the Chamber and the outlying rooms. The arrangements for obtaining food cannot possibly be anything but third-rate, inasmuch as the caterers can never tell for how many persons they will be called upon to provide. The first thing to be studied is cheapness, and last Session there was an uncomfortable suspicion that the meat provided was "thawed out" as required from American or Australian ice-houses. Altogether, the House of Commons must be totally ruled out of consideration as a club.

But when people say that it is no longer of any importance as a legislative body, it would be as well for them to explain what they mean. It is still the place where the laws of the country are made, subject, of course, to the concurrence of an assembly supposed to be still more "august." It is the most favourable starting-point for men of ambition, and it opens the door into many places which cannot be approached from any other direction. Some people make use of these opportunities; some do not. There is a large class which has no reason to be dissatisfied with the House of Commons, and the lawyers constitute no inconsiderable part of it. If they are clever men they sometimes get on with marvellous rapidity after they have obtained a footing in the House. If they are not clever—and most of them are not—they still find that something or other worth having drops in their way, provided they are unswerving supporters of the Ministry which happens to be in power. There is a good deal of legal business of one kind and another which has to be done for a Government, and a truly loyal and "sympathetic" follower of his party chiefs—one who is always willing to take his opinions ready-made, and to avoid asking any questions about them—will not fail to reap his reward. He must know how to push himself, but that is an art which every sound lawyer possesses. Such men must never too curiously inquire what they are voting for or against, but go and vote as they are told. Then some business will be found for them in connection with the Treasury, or with the Assizes, or they may secure a little berth for a relation or a friend. Even a solicitor may have a few crumbs thrown to him now and then. Hence, there is always a great rush of lawyers to get inside the House of Commons, and many of them succeed, and find that the game is well worth the candle. Whether the country derives an equal amount of advantage from their labours is another matter.

It is also exceedingly worth the while of a railway director to obtain a seat in Parliament, as we may infer from the fact that next to the potent legal interest, the railway interest is that which is most largely represented. It cannot be otherwise than useful to have the property in which you hold a great stake closely looked after on committees and elsewhere. It may not be necessary to take an unfair advantage of these opportunities; in a strictly honourable and legitimate exercise of them all that is desired may be accomplished. But, as a general rule, it may fairly be said that members of Parliament are not actuated by considerations of personal advantage or gain in undertaking to go through the severe labours of Session after Session. They hope to be able to do some little work in behalf of their fellow-countrymen. That, like many other hopes, is frequently destined to be disappointed. Few measures effect as much good as their promoters anticipated. Sometimes a great scheme, forced through the

House under the most relentless party discipline, turns out to be anything but a benefit to the nation. How many years ago is it since we were told that "dual ownership" in Ireland was the only solution of the land difficulty? Now we are assured that the true and final solution is to make a certain portion of the tenantry owners of the land, on condition of their paying a reduced judicial rent for a limited period. How many more years will pass before we are informed by the Ministry of the day that this plan will not work at all, and that it has become absolutely indispensable for the Government to take all the land of Ireland into its own hands? There is to be a "buffer" now between the State and the occupier, but the buffer cannot possibly be constructed of permanent materials. It must go to pieces, and the State will be face to face with its tremendous responsibilities. In these days of sudden changes of policy, who can say that the measure which he is ordered to vote for to-day may not, a short time hence, be regarded as fraught with dire mischief to the whole country? These swift conversions are not confined to any party. A competition is going on to see which can double the political "Cape Horn" the fastest. No doubt Mr. Gladstone once declared that the Irish demands would be fatal to the country, and then surrendered to them. But which party was it that protested with might and main in 1886 against any more concessions to Irish agitation, especially in the direction of State interference with Irish land purchase? Who was it that pointed out how dangerous it would be to have the State placed in the position—however remotely—of a landlord? What about all those solemn pledges at the Alexandra Palace and elsewhere, that the judicial rents never should be revised, and that it would not be "honest" to attempt anything of the kind, followed within a week by the Bill for revising them? What about the vehement protestations that the sanctity of contracts must be maintained at all costs, followed by the ever-memorable Act of 1887, setting aside statutory contracts, and enabling a man to walk into a County Court and break his lease without the consent of his landlord? Is not a lease a contract? Few bargains are more deliberately made on both sides. Now, a man of any independent thought and convictions must be very easily pleased if he takes any delight in such rapid revolutions as these. Decidedly it is a great disadvantage in our whirligig times for a member of Parliament to have too many fixed opinions, even though those opinions may have been instilled into his mind by his own leaders. He may not always be able to throw the cargo overboard with the silence and expedition which he is expected to show. That was the difficulty in which Lord Hartington and his friends found themselves in 1885-6. May not some Conservatives feel that they have lost all their ancient bearings when they contemplate the revision of judicial rents, the Lease-annulling Act of 1887, and the Land

Purchase Act of 1890, to say nothing of a measure for Free Education which will wind up the banquet?

These, however, are serious questions, and my present object is to touch only upon the surface of Parliamentary life. What one often reads in the papers is that the work of the House of Commons is a mere bagatelle so far as the private member is concerned, and that if any one is to be pitied it is the Minister. Why the Minister, to begin with? He holds a position which confers upon him great advantages, social and political; influences of all kinds are within reach of his arm, and probably he is not slow to turn some of them to account. He enjoys opportunities of being exceedingly useful to his friends; the larger part of his work is done for him by the permanent officials of his department; he has a very long holiday every year—practically as long as he chooses to make it—and his advance from post to post is absolutely certain, unless he voluntarily throws his chance away, a thing of rare occurrence. There are two or three positions in the Government—those of Foreign Secretary, Irish Secretary, and perhaps the Secretary of State for War—which are held under altogether different conditions. But of most of the others, in ordinary times, what I have just said holds good. The road to office is usually somewhat tortuous, but those who have once found it never want to go back. Yet they like the public to think that they suffer martyrdom for their country's good, and hence the condolences upon their hard fate which appear in the papers from time to time, to the great surprise of the Minister who is the subject of the article. How can such things get printed, as Mr. Vincent Crummies used to ask? As for the private member, his work is from first to last fatiguing, monotonous, and thankless. He has to wait about for hours and hours in order that he may assist in "keeping a House," or in expectation of a division which perhaps does not take place. He must not go home to dinner without special permission; he must be prepared to do twelve hours' hard work at a stretch; he must take his orders as to when he shall come and when he shall go, without reference to his business or other engagements. All this is, no doubt, very right and proper; but why call it easy? Why underrate the duties which the unofficial member has to discharge? The work done in the committee-rooms is something of which the general public has no knowledge whatever. It is often very severe, and in the end it seems to be utterly thrown away. It begins at eleven or twelve, goes on till the House meets, and involves a good deal of labour at home in order that the subject in hand may be properly understood. It is in the committee-rooms that the capacity of members, their power of grasping facts and intricate problems, their readiness of resource, are most severely tested. It is there, too, that members become thoroughly acquainted with each other, and the political community has been

softened or altogether removed by the judgment formed in the committee-room. The Conservative finds that the Radical whom he fancied to be a mere empty demagogue is, in reality, an exceedingly shrewd and sensible man; and, what is even more, that he is thoroughly conscientious, and animated by an evident desire to do that which is right. Or the Radical discovers the same qualities in the Conservative whom he hated. The true measure of a man can be taken on committee work. The fine feathers and the tinsel disappear. Even the new member, the man who is almost unknown, will be appraised at his right value, whatever it may be. The House of Commons is, indeed, always just in its estimates of men. There is no fairer body in the world before which any one could go. If it has stamped a man as a bore or as a humbug, it is because he thoroughly deserves it. No matter what a man's politics may be, he may always be sure of a fair hearing, at least once. Anything like bumptiousness, or affectation of superiority, or a disposition to trade upon a reputation made out of doors, the House will not stand; and a good thing too. I once heard a member exclaim with a peculiarly sanctimonious air, "I stand here as a Christian," as if he were a missionary addressing a set of pagans. There was a roar of laughter which for a few minutes silenced our only Christian. Tartuffe is not a popular character at Westminster.

Whether or not there are any bores in the House, and on which side most of them sit, it would be a very ungracious thing for any member to attempt to decide. But it may safely be said that if there are bores, they are not all on the back benches. Some of the worst of the species are those who proudly describe themselves as "Front Bench men." They talk at any length they like, and that is invariably a good long length. A private member is but an interloper, to be tolerated only at division time, when neither party can get on very well without him. The superior beings expect him to stop and listen to them, to receive with meekness the words of wisdom which fall from their lips, and never to question what they say. Perhaps it happens that two or three of the outsiders get up in the hope of attracting the attention of Mr. Speaker. One of them is on the point of being successful, when suddenly there is seen at the table a gentleman who has held, or who now holds, some kind of office. He straightens himself out, and seems to say to the House: "Look at me; you will find it worth while. I am a Front Bench man. I am spoken of in the papers as a statesman, though between ourselves I have never performed an administrative act which was not more or less a failure. Here, however, I am, within the magic circle. Now prick up your dull ears, and listen to me." He then pulls a written essay out of his pocket, arranges it on the box, and proceeds to read it *out* *loudly*. He can take his own time, for who would presume to

interfere with a Front Bencher? These are the people, if the plain truth must be told, who waste the larger part of the time every Session. They have something to say on every subject, for it is part of their *métier* to be always on their feet, except during the dinner-hour, which they leave to be scrambled for by the common herd. The real causes of the block of the Parliamentary machine will never be understood by the public until they are afforded the means of judging for themselves, by a full and explicit time-table, the number of hours occupied every Session by the members who have no better claim to the public attention than that they are, or have been, office-holders. There is another characteristic of these dignitaries which, when we are looking at the show from the front of the house, we do not perceive. It is that, somehow or other, they acquire the habit of presenting facts in a light which is calculated to confuse the common mind. An official contradiction or explanation seems quite decisive, and it is generally so regarded by the press and the public. This is another of the illusions which will not survive even a brief Parliamentary experience. After studying the performance a few times, a ghastly doubt steals over the mind whether there is not one standard of truth and fair dealing for official and another for private life. It is impossible, of course, to suppose that a Minister or an ex-Minister would intentionally deceive. But there are times when he takes an exceedingly wide range in search of the truth, and does not always bring it back with him at last. It is possible to give an explanation which shall avoid or obscure the real point at issue. It would be easy to cite examples in illustration of this, but who would be so ill-natured as to do it? It might, however, be well for the outside public to understand that an official "yes" or "no" is not necessarily the last word that is to be said on the subject.

As for speeches, it is to be borne in mind that the House of Commons is rather *blasé* of these productions of the human intellect, and does not listen to one out of a score with any satisfaction, or even with willingness. Most speeches are an old story, which has been told over and over again, and which gets duller each time it is repeated. Sometimes a new vein is struck, usually by a new man, and then the most jaded of assemblies is all attention. But, as a rule, members do not go to the House from their dinners or their cigars for the purpose of hearing a speech. They go because they are waiting for a division, and they may as well wait there as anywhere else. Suppose a member has been serving on a committee for three or four hours; he has to go straight into the House, and is kept there till nearly one o'clock in the morning doing nothing, which to most active-minded men is the hardest of all work. Before midnight arrives, his brain is in a state of torpor. Dulness has been king. To a mere looker-on, it does not seem that many persons really try to make what they have to say in any way

interesting. They have loaded themselves with so many hundredweights or tons of raw material which they regard as of priceless value, they bring it into the House of Commons in a mixed up state, and dump it down on the floor. There it is, and you can take it or leave it as you like. Most people leave it. The masters of method and arrangement are few, and they are not likely to become more numerous, for the tendency of the age is towards the hurried and slap-dash. That is one reason why it is always well worth while to hear Mr. Gladstone. There is a finish about his style, a dignity in his manner, which no one else can even imitate with success. Whether he has to make a speech of compliment, or of denunciation, or of criticism, or of keen remonstrance, it is done with the air of a man who is a complete master of the subject, and with a variety of language and tone never exhibited by any of his contemporaries. Circumstances may be all against him, but they never spoil his speech. On the first day of the November Session of 1890, it was known that he had received a great and bitter shock of disappointment and mortification. The Parnell scandal was uppermost in everybody's thoughts; there was a certainty of a great disruption in the Home Rule party if the Irish leader persisted in remaining at the front. Mr. Gladstone had brought all his influence to bear for the purpose of inducing Mr. Parnell to resign, Mr. Parnell took no notice whatever of his menaces or letter. He entered the House as if nothing had happened, or as if such a person as Mr. Gladstone did not exist. It was known to every one that Mr. Parnell had decided to "hold on," and at the first meeting of his party, at which they agreed to his continued leadership, Mr. Gladstone and his communications did not receive the slight compliment of a passing notice. Such an insult has rarely been inflicted upon an eminent public man. That Mr. Gladstone felt it, and felt it deeply, was evident from his dejected look, his bowed head, and the silence in which he enshrouded himself. The cause for which he had sacrificed so much and worked so hard was in the greatest peril. Yet, when his time came to reply to the mover and seconder of the Address, he was perfectly ready for what must have been an inexpressibly irksome task. He was not for a moment at a loss, not even in paying a graceful compliment to the two Conservatives who had preceded him. With a feeling which must have been near akin to despair in his heart, he spoke with cheerfulness of the work which lay before himself and his party. But his weary air when he sat down, and his drooping gait as he left the House shortly afterwards, told a tale.

An occasion of a different kind, and one long to be remembered by those who were present, was that on which certain tributes were paid to the memory of the Emperor Frederick. Mr. Gladstone soared into regions far beyond the reach of ordinary men. The fact is that he alone of all that are left among us represents the nobler and

loftier traditions of Parliamentary oratory. That, of course, is a matter totally apart from his opinions, about which there must necessarily be great diversities of judgment. As for his immense superiority over all comers in debate, and his mastery of the House of Commons, that surely cannot be the subject of any dispute. I have, indeed, heard it remarked that his style is somewhat old-fashioned. It is a pity that a good many members of Parliament cannot get a touch of the same old fashion into them. His sway over his own followers need not be wondered at, since it is felt in some degree by those who are most bitterly opposed to him. His lieutenants would, of course, be the first to disclaim the idea of being put into comparison with him. Still, they have merits of their own. Mr. Morley always impresses one with a sense of his sincerity. Mr. Henry Fowler is a master of all subjects connected with finance, and he is undoubtedly one of the most effective speakers in the House. Sir William Harcourt is often abused, but, after all, he is nearly always amusing, and the House of Commons never objects to being amused. The ordinary course of proceedings is tedious and monotonous beyond the power of words to describe. Opposition attacks sometimes go very wide of the mark, and official harangues are, as often as not, halting, tedious, and slow. If it were not for the kindly care of the reporters in the gallery, both sides would frequently cut a sorry figure. The judicious reporter has made the reputation of many a public man. He condenses the rambling sentences, suppresses the repetitions, substitutes the right word for the wrong, and pieces together the cumbrous and disjointed fabric. It is always amusing to see the indignation with which a speaker rebukes a reporter who has fallen into some error in transcribing his notes. What is such a mistake at the worst compared with the blunders in grammar, the dodging backwards and forwards, the helpless stumbling from one inaccurate or foolish expression to another which stud the speeches of some of the public men whose names are always before the public? Now, amid all this botching and bungling, it is something to have to do with a man who goes straight to the mark, who knows what he wants to say, and who sometimes says it in a manner to raise a smile, or even a hearty laugh. A fighting man who can stand fire, and is not toppled over easily, is essential to a party, and the Gladstonians have no one else to be compared with Sir William Harcourt in that field. He hits out with dexterity, plants his blows firmly, and thoroughly understands the assembly which he is addressing. The best man on the Irish side for a dashing raid is Mr. T. Healy. The Liberal Unionists have Mr. Chamberlain, who of late has been falling a good deal out of sight—a dangerous thing for any public man to do in these days. Sir William Harcourt is ever ready when he is wanted. No doubt his fireworks are sometimes a little damp, and

refuse to go off properly, perhaps because they have been kept too long. That will happen in the best firework establishment. But they usually serve the purpose for which they were intended, and some of them are of first-rate quality. When it comes to a tussle at close quarters, Sir William makes the "fur fly," as the Americans say. The person he is attacking pretends not to mind it, but he is not really happy while under the operation. I have heard some Radicals say that they like "more earnestness" in their leaders. More earnestness, with Mr. Labouchere in the background?

Of the mere cut-and-thrust business, a Parliament in its fourth or fifth year has generally had enough. The everlasting ding-dong of personal attack and recrimination becomes a weary business. We know quite well what Brown thinks of Jones, and what Robinson thinks of both. In the first Session of a Parliament these mock battles cause a little excitement, but after that they are apt to remind the observer of the French clowns in a ring who go to and fro belabouring each other with bladders. There is a great deal of noise, but nobody is hurt. The tricks and mannerisms of the combatants become too well understood; nothing surprises one any more. We see that a good deal of the warmth and passion are only put on for the purpose of impressing the spectator. The rank and file get a little tired of acting as supernumeraries in a stale farce. Even a daring foray from the Irish quarter is welcomed as a relief from the tediousness of hearing the pot calling the kettle black. Most of the Irishmen whose names are well known to the public are extremely good at these sudden raids. Colonel Saunderson, on the Conservative side, is full of rollicking fun and good humour. Charles Lever would have delighted in making a study from him. Some of his sallies of genuine Irish wit are quite irresistible. I have seen every one in the House laughing over them, from the Speaker to the attendants in the galleries. Among the Nationalists, few are stronger than Mr. Sexton. That acute critic of Parliamentary men and manners, the celebrated Toby of *Punch*, always speaks of Mr. Sexton with contempt as a "windbag." He may sometimes be rather long, but his power, his quickness, his fund of humour, are not to be denied. He marshals his arguments with great skill, and his shafts of satire dart across the House with the rapidity and brilliancy of a flash of lightning. Mr. T. Healy is another formidable antagonist, though in a wholly different way. Members on the Conservative side of the House are usually very wroth with him, and no doubt his language is sometimes rough and hard to bear. But when his passions are not roused he is scrupulously fair, and there is an immense deal of shrewdness and common sense in his criticisms of measures before the House. It was his skill which finally threw off the track the unlucky licensing proposals of last Session. The whole forces of the Opposition had

been directed to that end for any number of nights. Mr. Healy came down one afternoon and submitted a simple question to the Speaker on a question of Parliamentary procedure. It was utterly fatal. In a moment, the elaborate superstructure erected by Mr. Goschen came toppling to the ground. For a scientific knowledge of all the tricks on the table, under the table, and up the sleeves of officials and ex-officials, there is nobody to equal Tim' Healy. Any man who regards that kind of knowledge with contempt must be very imperfectly acquainted with the real way in which the House of Commons is managed. An official who does not know how to steal a march upon an opponent, or even upon a friend, is never likely to be invited to join a Ministry a second time. The great thing is to win; the unpardonable crime is to be beaten. The "Plain Dealer" is not a character suited to the Parliamentary stage. The article in demand is what is called *finesse*, and that is a word with a very wide meaning in the classic precincts of St. Stephen's.

Considering the enormous power which has been wielded for the last ten years by the Irish party, the earthquake which shook it to pieces in November and December last may well be described as one of the most memorable events in Irish history. That party was absolutely under the control of one man, and its discipline was so perfect that it was scarcely ever disturbed. Any one who studied it diligently and closely must have arrived at the conclusion that its influence was not acquired by mere accident, but that it was the fruit of much patient work, and of the laborious adaptation of means to ends. Throughout the greater part of the present Parliament, Mr. Parnell has been almost an invisible chief. Sometimes his own whips did not know where to find him. His appearances were sudden and unexpected. He would come down to the House and deliver some momentous statement affecting the whole policy of the party without the slightest consultation with his followers. He did so in reference to the Irish Land Purchase Bill towards the close of last Session. He always ignored or covertly repudiated the labours of Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien in connection with the Plan of Campaign. He has told the world that he did not inform any of his colleagues of the negotiations with reference to another Home Rule Bill which he carried on with Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden in November 1889. Never was any such obedience given to a political leader as that which Mr. Parnell received. It was rendered all the more remarkable by the character of the other foremost men in the party—a set of fiery spirits, little disposed to brook control. Until the recent great disruption, they never gave the outside world reason to suppose that their loyalty had been subjected to tests which threatened to break it down. Sir Robert Peel was cold and austere towards his political associates, but he was the embodiment of geniality compared with Mr. Parnell.

That method of government seemed to answer well enough for a time, but it doubtless helped to store up against the Irish leader the resentment and the bitterness which were revealed last month, when his troops flew into rebellion and turned their weapons against him. He saw then how he had been secretly regarded.

The Parnellite party, the true "Invincibles" of Parliamentary life, may never more be what it was, and it will be long before another party as compact and powerful can be brought to the same pitch of perfection. Almost every man in it had his proper place. An opportunity was provided for the display of any kind of ability. There was room even for the bore and the buffoon. It did not matter what was the nature of the business to be done, the right person was always there to do it. In everything but the direction of policy, the Parnellites were left pretty much to themselves. Their drill had been so complete that they knew exactly where to go and what to do at any moment. In the Conservative party especially, it is the rule to keep down the "outsiders," to give them no chance of improving themselves in Parliamentary practice, and to teach them that their duty begins and ends in turning themselves into voting machines. It is a discipline eminently calculated to crush out all aspirations, and to suppress all ability. No thought is given to the question, "Who is to carry on the work of the party when the present leaders are gone?" Mr. Parnell, whatever may have been his other mistakes, was too wise to fall into that one. His army had to be useful, and therefore he gave it every chance of learning its duties, and of coming into conflict with the enemy. As an obstructive machine, nothing equal to it was ever devised. And it is worthy of observation that it found itself unable to deal with obstruction when that weapon was turned against a part of its own body. The minority in the great split kept the majority from arriving at a vote for nearly a fortnight, and would have kept them till now if the majority had not hit upon the somewhat inglorious expedient of running from the field, and conducting a separate meeting on their own account. Obstruction, when scientifically carried on, is not so easily dealt with as many persons, including Mr. Chamberlain, appear to suppose. Mr. Chamberlain has, indeed, recently discovered the existence of a rule of the American House of Representatives, which, he tells us, has given the "death-blow to obstruction." This rule has been in existence since 1789. He seems to think that there has been no obstruction in the American Legislature since then. But the "fillibustering" proceedings of the very last Session might have taught him better.

There are other obstructionists in the House of Commons besides the members of the Irish party, but compared with them they are all bunglers. For work of a more serious kind, plenty of hands were always to be found. Mr. Dillon imparted earnestness as well as spirit

to any debate, and Mr. O'Brien, though somewhat too highly strung and melodramatic for fastidious tastes, was often exceedingly effective. One of the best speakers of the party, seldom heard in the House, is Mr. John Redmond. Mr. Parnell had the good fortune to take Mr. Redmond with him when so many of his ablest lieutenants withdrew from his side. If offensive tactics were to be employed, and unpleasant missiles thrown about, inferior detachments of the squadron were always lying in wait. Great experience and great knowledge of the House were requisite to bring into existence such an organisation as this. And it could not have been kept in a high state of efficiency unless the seats of the men who composed it had been fairly permanent. Mr. Parnell was able to secure this indispensable element of stability. While his followers satisfied him, they had no occasion to think of their constituents. He put them in or turned them out at his pleasure. There were some who were beyond his reach, owing to their personal popularity in Ireland; but the rank and file were at his mercy. The sole condition of their being in Parliament was that they should do what he told them. Thus, there was a solid body of eighty-six men who would vote for or against any Government at a sign from Mr. Parnell, and they were a fixed quantity in the House. Who could tell how many of the Conservatives or Liberals, or which of them, would come back from the ordeal of a general election? But those eighty-six men below the gangway on the left of the Speaker were sure to come back. It may be doubted whether party Government of the kind known in former times could have gone on much longer had this disintegrating force remained unbroken. Each party as it came into power was obliged to study its demands. It was so in the brief administration of Lord Salisbury, until the beginning of 1886, when other influences began to prevail. The second administration of Mr. Gladstone was based upon the support of the Irish party. The same party has modified the policy, in some very essential particulars, of the existing Government, although some Conservatives may not yet be aware of it. There was no one who did not see that it was easier to get on with the friendship of the Irish party than with their animosity. I am not dealing with the political side of the question, but merely with the construction and action of the Nationalists in reference to the working of the House of Commons. From that point of view, it is undeniable that nothing so complete and so powerful as the Parnellite party had ever been seen in Parliament before, and it may be long indeed before anything to be compared with it is seen again.

Those who watch with observant eyes all that takes place on the great Parliamentary stage will soon perceive that a good deal of it is only acting after all, and that the actors, while professing intense devotion to their country, are keeping a very sharp look out on the

audience whose applause they are straining every nerve to gain. Their parts are frequently marked out for them by the omnipotent newspaper, and when they take a fancy to these parts, they soon become highly proficient in them. A newspaper editor or writer forms his own idea of a public man, and although it may not bear the least resemblance to the man himself, it soon becomes the sole conception which the public have of him. The newspaper artist is proud of his portrait, and keeps adding touches to it which make it more and more acceptable to the multitude. After a time, the original of the picture begins to model himself on this fancy sketch, always provided, of course, that it be sufficiently favourable. Perhaps he is told every morning that he is a prodigy of coolness and self-possession, and that the attacks of opponents pass over him like the idle wind. He works up to these cues; his manner becomes decidedly cool; he laughs openly in the faces of his opponents. The newspapers paint a figure on the looking-glass which they hand to him, and he takes it for his own visage. Several well-known men in the House of Commons have effected this sort of change in their identity within my short recollection. One of the anti-Parnellites was recently summing up the merits and failings of his late chief, and he said: "When Mr. Parnell did not appear in the House of Commons, and the Tory press got out stories of his mysterious disappearances, and referred to him as the one solitary man wrapping his cloak around him like Napoleon at St. Helena, or as the one strong man defying and despising everybody else, he of course read these things, and lived up to the level of his blue china." There is a great deal of truth in this. Few men in the House of Commons truly answer to the popular ideal, which is formed, as a rule, by the newspapers. Most of them ought to acknowledge, if they paid tribute where it was due, that they have been made largely by public writers. It is perhaps just as well that the public should see their idols through a veil.

The hardest of all places to fill in the present day, and the one which the press rarely idealises over-much, is that of leader of the House. In the brief Session before Christmas there was scarcely anything for the leader or any one else to do. If Parliamentary work were always like that, it would be nothing more than an agreeable and slightly ornamental addition to life. But this interval of peace arose from exceptional circumstances. As a rule, the leader lives the life of a slave. Order, method, the proper arrangement of business, have become almost unattainable. In former days, it was generally possible for the Government to come to an understanding with the leader of the Opposition as to the disposition of business, or the time at which a division should be taken. But now there are so many leaders to be consulted that no one knows exactly where he is. A bargain may be made with Mr. Gladstone, but that will

not prevent a certain section of his party from taking any course they think proper, without regard to what he has done. No great leader of a party would have submitted to such treatment as that in former times. It is hard to see what any leader can do to prevent it now. Respect for authority has gone with many other things belonging to the past. The difficulties in the path of Mr. W. H. Smith have probably been more complicated and unmanageable than those which any of his predecessors have had to encounter. It may be that they have not always proceeded from without. He has had to consult the wishes or the demands of a large section of the Liberal party, who, until recently, have always acted against the Conservatives, and who only act with them now upon the condition that they shall be allowed to direct Conservative policy on some intricate issues. The consequence is, as I hinted at the outset of this paper, that the Conservative party itself has undergone a vast change during the last five eventful years. It is still being "educated," and when the process is completed it is a pity that Mr. Disraeli cannot be brought back to look at it. He could not fail to be immensely tickled with the transformations and developments which have been witnessed since he departed from the scene. The fine old Tories who looked upon him as an adventurer—where are they standing now? What do they think of "confiscation" and "revolution" at the beginning of the new year? Have they had no hand in precipitating either, or both? Disraeli on his dear old friends and colleagues, and on some of his illustrious and brilliant successors, would have been well worth hearing. We are deprived of the pleasure of hearing him. But we see that many of his predictions are slowly being realised, and among them is that which concerns the management of the House of Commons. Whenever the time comes for Mr. W. H. Smith to close his career in that stormy arena, the judgment of every fair man will be that he has done well. He smoothed away many a difficulty, and never wantonly created one. His successor, whoever he may be, will do well to take note of the fact that the work required of him will call for a constitution of steel and the temper of an angel. Patriotism, indifference to self-interest, a love of fair-play, superiority to the meaner passions of mankind—these are the characteristics, as we know, of all our public men. We may assume that every leader of the House of Commons will possess them, or "live up to the blue china," however nature may have made him. But the good temper, the invariable tact, and the consummate patience displayed by Mr. W. H. Smith during the last five trying years are not at the command of everybody. They are not among the "actions that a man might play."

L. J. JENNINGS.

ENGLISHMEN IN AFRICA.

WHATEVER may be the conclusions with regard to Mr. Stanley's expedition at which the nation may ultimately arrive, after a patient study of the sombre and gruesome documents recently submitted to it, in such bewildering and sometimes in such contradictory instalments, there is one conclusion so obvious, yet, for that very reason, so likely to escape notice; so demonstrably true, yet certain to be so fiercely contested, and, hitherto, so rarely acted on; so humiliating to confess, yet so incalculably important for the fair fame, alike in the present and immediate future, of our vast and ever extending Empire, that I am anxious, while the interest in the question is, or ought to be, still at something like fever heat, to call pointed attention to it.

The conclusion I would draw is this. The commonplaces which one has heard a thousand times before, and never more frequently than during the last few weeks, such as that patriotism justifies and requires the "hushing up" of disagreeable truths; that it is the first duty of an Englishman when his countrymen are accused of evil deeds—not, to suspend his judgment, to hope as long as it is possible to hope, and to condemn them when proved—but, at all hazards, to deny or explain them away; that acts of violence and wrong which every one would condemn, if we were dealing with the stronger races of Europe and in the full light of day, are not so discreditable when we are thrown amongst the weaker and darker races of Asia and of Africa; finally, that the death of an English officer, especially if it be bravely met among striking and stirring incidents, wipes out, in the judgment of his countrymen, all the crimes that may have preceded it, and that he who brings them, however unwillingly, to the light, is at once ungenerous and unjust—these and other commonplaces of the kind are, I would submit, only not truisms because, as Coleridge

would have said, they are "*falsisms*," and they involve the deterioration, slow but sure, of all those qualities on which Englishmen, as an Imperial nation dealing with weaker races, have hitherto had most reason to pride themselves.

How deeply rooted and how widely spread such doctrines are, is apparent from the very circumstances under which the story that is now riveting the attention of the world, has been first revealed to it by Mr. Stanley. Mr. Stanley was aware *some two years ago*, in outline at least, of all the doings which he has only now flashed across the Atlantic. As leader of the expedition, he was inferentially and, in a secondary degree, responsible for all that was done during it. If crimes were committed by his subordinates, when he was hundreds of miles away, crimes such as one would fain hope few Englishmen in a position of responsibility have ever committed before; if tortures were inflicted by English gentlemen on the weak and the half-starved, and indignities offered even to the dead, such as it might have required the imagination of a Dante to shadow forth, and the pencil of a Doré to delineate, surely it was his duty, remembering that it was England which he represented, and her honour of which he was the guardian, to denounce them publicly, the moment he had satisfied himself of their reality and their extent, and to cut himself adrift—however gravely such a step might reflect on his original selection of his companions, and on the general conduct of the expedition—from any Englishman who had looked calmly on at the atrocities, or had contented himself with a mere verbal protest against them. Yet, there is good reason to suppose, had it not been for the publication of the personal attacks on him by Major Barttelot's brother, that neither he, nor any member of his chosen subordinates of the rear-guard would have ever thought it their duty to inform even their employers—the Emin Relief Committee—of the facts in full; much less, to reveal a syllable of what had happened to the world at large.

What do they say themselves? Lieutenant Troup admits that "Major Barttelot was cruel, terribly cruel;" "there is," he adds, "no doubt of that." Yet he plumes himself on not having said a word against him, "until somebody first made charges." Mr. Bonny with the candour which apparently marks everything he has written throughout, admits that, as regards a certain terrible accusation, he "thought it best to keep quiet," and that he "did not wish to mix himself up with it." While Mr. Herbert Ward speaks of "a generous conspiracy of silence," as regards Barttelot's atrocities. Generous indeed! Generous to whom?

Mr. Stanley's attitude speaks for itself; and I would submit that the leader who, first, denies the existence of certain atrocities, having in his possession at the time, overwhelming evidence that they are, in part at least, true; who carries about with him the fateful secret for

two years ; and then, finally, discloses them, not so much in righteous and overwhelming indignation at the devilries that have been committed, as because the war has been transferred into his own country, and he is himself attacked on widely different grounds, has made himself, to a very serious extent, *particeps criminis*. Saddening and humiliating as are the disclosures themselves, they are, in my opinion, made more saddening and more humiliating still by the conditions under which they have at last been made.

Nor have there been wanting men in high stations at home—men who, in their private capacity, may be humane and kindly enough, but who have shown by their utterances that it is not the deeds of violence, but their detection, that they most resent. Officers of the army, partly, from a feeling of *esprit de corps*, which is honourable enough if kept within definite limits, and, partly, from the tendency to forget that professional zeal does not atone for the lack of the more essential moral qualities, are naturally inclined to take a similar view. Sir Redvers Buller, V.C., for instance, in a letter published in Major Barttelot's correspondence, and therefore presumably well weighed before it was published—after dwelling on Major Barttelot's social qualities and professional energy, concludes by the terribly suggestive sentence : " If I could have had five minutes alone with Assad Farran, or whatever his name is, I should be glad." In other words, the poor Syrian interpreter, whose misfortune it was to be present at repeated scenes of foul cruelty, which he was unable to prevent, and whose crime it is to have given an only too truthful account of them to outsiders, would be treated by this distinguished officer, if only he had him in his power for five minutes, in a manner which is perhaps best expressed by—an aposiopesis.

And here I would guard against a possible misconception. In the heat of the controversy which has raged round the story of the Rear Column, it is little wonder if many persons, stung to the quick by the report of horrors committed by members of an expedition which was started for philanthropic purposes, and was supported by men whose philanthropy is beyond suspicion, have asked indignantly—as if the question needed only to be asked to answer itself—what right had Mr. Stanley and his followers to carry martial law across Africa at all? Did they receive the right to flog and slay from the English Government or the Government of the Khedive ; or, thinking themselves outside of all European law, did they act as legislators and policemen, judges and executioners, all in one? With such a line of argument I cannot sympathise. It proves either too little or too much ; and, to make it hold good, we must go much further back, and condemn not Mr. Stanley's expedition alone, but all expeditions into barbarous and unknown countries, which are prepared, in the last resort, to have recourse to force. There is much to be said for and

against the abstract right of civilised men to force their way into uncivilised countries, to "discover" aborigines who knew well enough where they were all the time, and had no wish to be "discovered" by any one else; but it would take me too far away from my present object, if I attempted to weigh the good against the evil, and to show, what I believe to be the case, that, on the whole, if proper precautions are taken, the evil is outweighed by the good.

But what I would insist on is this, that, if it is right to go on such an expedition at all, it is not only right, it is absolutely necessary, to entrust its leaders with exceptional powers. An expedition like that for the relief of Emin Pasha—whatever other objects there may have been in the background, and some of these are now gradually oozing out—must have a large following, native and English. Mr. Stanley took with him some 650 souls—English, Zanzibaris, Somalis, Soudanese—not to speak of the 600 "carriers" or slaves to be supplied by Tippoo Tib; and such a following necessarily becomes a mob, unless its leader has extraordinary powers committed to him. He could not take with him, even if he would, and he ought not to take with him, even if he could, all the bulky and the clumsy paraphernalia of English law—a panel of twelve British jurymen, a bevy of clerks, solicitors, and judges, a library of English law books; and, even if he did, it would be exactly as illegal to administer English as any other law, in these wild and unknown countries. Any law, whether martial or, if the expression may be coined, "jungle," or merely "personal" law, is better than no law at all, and is absolutely essential to the safety and well-being of both natives and Europeans. The range of possible offences is unlimited, while the range of possible punishments is only too sharply defined by the conditions of the case. There are no gaols, no treadmills, no appliances for enforcing solitary confinement. One act of desertion, on the other hand, one act of wholesale theft, the example of one bold and influential mutineer, may imperil the existence of the whole force, and the only punishments possible are those which are sure, swift, and severe. In other words, there are two deterrents only, corporal punishment and death. To deny this, while we defend the policy and morality of such expeditions, is the part of a well-meaning but an illogical humanitarianism which defeats its own object. When, therefore, Mr. Stanley or Major Barttelot flogged men, or even put them to death, they did what *ex hypothesi* they had a strict right to do, and their action can be properly condemned only as being too severe, or not severe enough, for the particular case.

But severity may amount to cruelty, and cruelty may amount to demoniacal barbarity, if personal malice, or race hatred, or indifference to human suffering, or positive delight in seeing it inflicted, and, still more, in inflicting it oneself, accompanies the judicial act. And it is

because there is only too much reason to believe that such feelings did actuate Major Barttelot in his deeds of wild and almost incredible brutality, in the kickings, and the clubbings, and the floggings to death, or to what was almost worse than death, whereof it was not Africans alone, but English gentlemen who were the eye-witnesses, that the conscience of the English nation has been stirred to its inmost depths, and that it feels that it would gladly give up all the fruits of Mr. Stanley's expedition, if only what has been done upon it by individual Englishmen could thereby be undone. And it is because Mr. Stanley, knowing well what kind of man Major Barttelot was, knowing what he had done in Egypt, knowing his hatred to the natives of Africa, and being warned against him by those who had the best right to do so, selected him for his expedition, when he might have had the pick of all England from which to choose; because he put arms into his hands, and, when he was removed from all the restraints of civilisation, invested him with a vast responsibility, and then, when the natural result followed, abstained from condemning what had been done, and, two years afterwards, revealed it, not on public, but on purely personal grounds;—that the English people will always consider that there is a dark spot upon even his most splendid achievements.

Martial law is in itself so terrible a necessity, it is liable to such grave abuse: the sight of means to do ill deeds, among a people so widely different from our own, so often makes ill deeds to be done by all but those who are restrained by the highest moral and religious principles, that it is hardly too much to say that the first, second, and third requisite for him who should ever be allowed to wield such a weapon at all is a keenly sensitive humanity. More valuable this than the patience and the prudence, than the courage and the address, than the strength of body and the strength of mind, than the firm faith and the indomitable hope, which go to make up the ideal—an ideal which has, happily, been so often all but realised—of a great English explorer!

In all Imperial races, especially in those which have also strong colonising and commercial instincts, there is an element of the wild beast. The Phœnicians, in ancient times—the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Dutch in modern times—are conspicuous instances of this. It seems almost like a law of Nature that civilised men, when thrown amongst uncivilised, should assimilate themselves to their surroundings, and should catch something, and at times—as in the case of the Spaniards in America and the West Indies—a double measure of their ferocity and their barbarism. Great Britain is no exception to the rule. Indeed, in some respects, she is exposed to even greater temptation than any other nation. Our empire is so world-wide; we are brought into such close contact with natives of every stage and of

no stage of civilisation ; our colonists are so hardy and so energetic ; our traders so restless and so aggressive ; our explorers so fearless and so resourceful ; as a nation, we are so self-reliant, so self-contained, so conscious of our own superiority ; the chances of detection and of punishment, in case of wanton cruelty in the outlying portions of our vast dependencies—the very portions, I would remark, to which the most enterprising and the least scrupulous members of the community tend to gravitate—are so infinitesimal, that we need to be saved from our baser, and recalled to our nobler selves, by every engine at our command.

And what engine can be compared, with this end in view, with Public Opinion ? And how can Public Opinion ever be brought to bear in such remote corners of the earth, unless we lay it down as a fundamental axiom that, throwing all such maxims of false *esprit de corps* as I have enumerated above, to the winds, we should denounce and punish wherever it is possible—of course, with all allowance for attendant circumstances, but with all seriousness, and all severity—any and every act of greed, of injustice, of oppression ? The atrocities committed by certain members of the Rear Column might have been all, or almost all of them, prevented, had this principle been frankly recognised. If the accounts which reach us may be relied on—and some of them, I would remark, notably those of Mr. Bonny and Assad Farran, bear every internal mark of truthfulness and accuracy—Major Barttelot himself, whether criminal or madman, was, once and again, restrained from a violent outbreak by the pertinent suggestion that “the English newspapers might get hold of it.” When he heard of the cannibal orgies on the Upper Congo, he seems to have been thrilled by a spasm of emotion—not, at the horror of the deeds done, but at the thought that they might “cost him his commission,” and Mr. Jameson, when he had seen and done his worst at Riba Riba, was certainly recalled to his better self—and it is clear that he, like Major Barttelot, had a better self—by the discovery that what he had seen and done was known and was condemned by the Belgian officers of the Congo.

But if the temptations to which we are exposed are greater than those of any other nation, so also, happily, on the other hand, is our experience wider, and the safeguards which a sensitive and enlightened public opinion at home may be made to lend us, are immeasurably greater also. For it may be said of England, without fear of contradiction, that, of all the Imperial races which have ever existed, there is not one—as the history of our Indian Empire, rightly viewed, will prove—which is more disinterested, more merciful, more just, more anxious to serve those whom she rules, and to rule by serving them. Panic, indeed, is always cruel ; and, in times of great excitement and great danger, as in the Indian Mutiny, or the Jamaica Insurrection, it is

little wonder if some who were on the spot did deeds of which they were afterwards ashamed, and if many also, at home, clamoured for an all too sweeping and indiscriminate revenge. But the reaction is never long in coming; and it is found, when the conflict is over, that it is not those who have interpreted, perhaps only too faithfully, the passing popular passion; but it is the Cannings, the Outrams, the Lawrences—men who, in the prolonged life and death struggle, lost neither head nor heart, who have planted their memories most deeply in the affections of the English people.

It is a mere calumny to say, in face of our recent history, alike in Africa, in India, and in other parts of the world, that new countries cannot be explored, new trade routes opened out, immemorial rivers traced to their fountain-head, barbarous tribes influenced, controlled, civilised, assimilated, by men who have a conscience which is keenly sensitive to right and wrong, and who, to the robust qualities which we usually associate with the pioneer and the discoverer, add the gentler and the more distinctively Christian virtues which we expect to find in the philanthropist and the missionary.

Mungo Park discovered and explored the Niger; Denham and Clapperton reached Lake Tchad and the Western Soudan; Rajah Brooke acquired and civilised part of Borneo; Gordon ruled the Egyptian Soudan, and led and moderated a great war in China; Speke and Grant discovered the Victoria Nyanza and "settled" the Nile; Cameron crossed Africa for the first time; Moffat spent a lifetime among the Bechuanas; Hannington faced torture and death in Uganda; missionary bishop after missionary bishop has thrown himself in a forlorn but cheerful hope on work and no uncertain death in Nyassa land; Livingstone exhibited in his own person, through a long lifetime, the very highest qualities alike of the explorer and the missionary; and all of them, so far as I am aware, without having done a single deed of violence at which any Englishman need blush. In the days, at all events of the earlier of these explorers, there were no telegraphs, no giant commercial companies, no "spheres," imaginary or otherwise, of European "influence" in a continent which was, almost as yet, undiscovered; there were no unlimited resources of men and money placed at the disposal of the intrepid explorer. Other African expeditions have in these later days been heroically undertaken, and carried through with marvellous, I would almost say with miraculous energy, tenacity and address, amidst the plaudits, the well-deserved plaudits, of an admiring world, and with results more striking, though hardly more important to geography and science. But they have been at an enormously greater expense, and they have left behind in their track too many burned or ruined villages, and too many bleaching human bones. It was on a modest £2000 that the "Nile was settled," by Speke and Grant, and the two men left behind them in

their "walk across Africa," a streak, as it were, of kindly light, and an example which future explorers, warned by the accompaniments, perhaps the inevitable accompaniments of semi-military expeditions, like Mr. Stanley's, will do well to follow.

Never, since, by a stroke of the pen, Pope Alexander the Sixth divided the undiscovered world into two portions, and, with true Pontifical liberality, gave all to the west of his imaginary line to the Spaniards, and all to the east of it to the Portuguese, calling forth the shrewd remark of the French king that "he should like to see the will of Father Adam before he assented to the arrangement," and, in the process, handing over whole continents to the treachery and ferocity of men like Cortes and Pizarro, has a large portion of the earth's surface been appropriated, and carved up with such splendid audacity, as has Africa been lately portioned out, among the jealous and scrambling nations of Europe, at the instance and under the auspices of Lord Salisbury. Perplexing questions may, no doubt, occur to us, as to the Right Divine of Lord Salisbury, or of anybody else, so to parcel out what does not belong to them; but, rightly or wrongly, for good or for evil, the "sphere of English influence" is, henceforward, to extend over something like an eighth of Africa; and it is the most pertinent, as it is one of the most burning of all Imperial questions, in view of recent revelations, whether Africa is once more, as she has been for centuries, though in a rather different sense, to be the prey of European nations, anxious only for their own enrichment, devastating her by their fire-arms, and decimating her by their flood of ardent and poisonous spirits; whether the "influence" at work is to be that of men like Barttelot and like Jameson, or of men like Gordon and like Livingstone; whether Africa is to be "exploited" by great commercial companies chiefly for their own benefit, or whether she is to be helped forward—Africa for the Africans—to a natural development of her own, redolent alike of the people and the soil.

R. BOSWORTH SMITH.

MORALITY BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

LORD HERSCHELL'S motion in Parliament last Session on the subject of Judicial Sentences in Criminal Courts raised a question of no small importance. The matter is generally treated, as the House of Lords treated it on the occasion referred to, as though it concerned only the criminals and the judges. But it is the public who are most deeply interested, and until this is recognised there is little chance of a reform. A case was cited by the ex-Chancellor, where two prisoners convicted of similar crimes, and equally guilty, were sentenced, one to a long term of penal servitude, and the other to two months' imprisonment. Instances of this kind are not uncommon; but it is only an ex-Chancellor who would venture to assert that such inequalities are proof of error on the part of the judges. Humbler individuals, however intimate their acquaintance with the subject, must suppose that every judicial sentence is right. This, moreover, although they should happen to have a knowledge of the criminal and the crime more thorough and detailed than even the judge can reasonably possess. But though never presuming to question the decision of the judicial bench, they cannot fail to wonder at the amazing waste of time and labour and money devoted to attain results which might be reached so easily and so cheaply. Crimes of special gravity would always need the cumbersome and costly procedure of a trial; but in all ordinary cases the accused, on admitting his guilt, might be allowed at once to draw his sentence out of a lottery bag! The actual result would not be to any startling degree different from that which now perplexes the experts. The length of a sentence not infrequently depends rather upon the character of the Court, and the idiosyncrasies of the judge before whom the case is tried, than upon the "record" of the accused and the nature of his crime. There can be no objection, therefore, on prac-

tical grounds, to a proposal that the element of chance should be recognised and adopted in the mode I have suggested.

But behind the question of the inequality of sentences, there are other problems still greater and of more practical importance. We are a long way from having settled even the principles on which criminal legislation should proceed, and it is not surprising, therefore, if no settled principles govern the administration of the law. There are certain axioms, no doubt, which have gained general acceptance, but on examination they will be found entirely faulty. One such maxim finds expression in the familiar formula, "We deal with crime, not with vice." These words may fitly define the duties of a police magistrate, but when adopted by legislators, they are either extremely silly or utterly false. The duty of a legislature is to make vice criminal, in so far as public policy permits or requires it. And the neglect of this duty is responsible for many anomalies which are a disgrace to English law. Take one flagrant instance. A man may commit upon his daughter an outrage so monstrous that the calendar of crime contains but little that is more heinous—an outrage which is a capital felony by the common law of Scotland; but this is only "vice," and not "crime." *Per contra*, if he buys or sells less than 112 lbs. weight of old lead he commits a criminal offence. An instance of a wholly different kind will exemplify how entirely it is public policy, and not the distinction between vice and crime, which regulates our criminal legislation. A man may get as drunk as gin can make him, in any house in Blank Street, except No. 1, and this is only "vice." But if he gets drunk in No. 1, he is guilty of an offence, and may find himself in the lock-up forthwith. And the distinction is that No. 1 is a house specially provided by the State to supply him with the gin to get drunk upon.

But another great maxim of universal acceptance demands a fuller notice. "You cannot make men moral by Act of Parliament," is an axiom which seems to control both the Legislature and the Courts. On all occasions it is hailed as "making an end of controversy." What, then, is the meaning of this vaunted aphorism? It cannot be taken as asserting merely that statutes cannot change men's hearts. That would be a sententious platitude of no practical force whatever. Hearts are outside the jurisdiction of legislatures and magistrates. *They* have to do only with men's actions. It must therefore be taken to mean that a man's conduct is unaffected by outward restraints. But if there be one thing absolutely certain, it is that conduct is largely controlled by circumstances; that a man's acts are governed, and his character is moulded, by incentives to virtue, and the checks which hold him back from vice. There are numberless people now leading honest lives who would fall away to crime if a criminal career were made easy and safe. Children trained in the midst of vicious or criminal sur-

roundings almost inevitably become criminal or vicious, whilst the wholesome influences of a well-ordered home produce good citizens. Nor is this true only of the wicked and the weak. "Lead us not into temptation" is a prayer which the best of men may not with impunity despise; and the petition implies on the part of him who offers it the acknowledgment that strong inducements to evil would be fraught with danger which he shrinks from. In a word, it is one of the most certain truths in practical ethics that men *can* be made moral "by Act of Parliament," that statutory morality involves a principle which no one can afford to neglect, and that the morality of most men is to a large extent of this character.

It is of course an obvious corollary from this that severe sentences will deter men from entering on a criminal career, and the whole position will at once be challenged by appealing to the experience of the old *régime*, when sentences were of drastic and brutal severity. But the received argument based on that appeal is wholly fallacious. In the first place, it was not the hardened criminal that ordinarily fell a victim to the gallows. Poverty and the inability of weak natures of a certain type to resist a sudden temptation will always account for a number of petty crimes. Such persons are criminals in spite of their better instincts, and to this day the penalties imposed on them are too often of excessive severity. Offenders of this class seldom escape detection, while organised and systematic crime eludes the vigilance even of a highly trained police. And be it remembered, that in the days when the gallows claimed every felon as its due, a well-organised detective police force did not exist. The clever and experienced law-breaker incurred no greater risk of death than is faced by every man who goes tiger-hunting in India, or who follows any other perilous pursuit. Moreover, even in the improbable event of his being caught, the chances of a criminal trial under the old system were so entirely in his favour, that no one in whom the instinct of sport was strong—and it is only such men who make "good criminals"—was deterred by its dangers from a career so full of adventure and so fascinating to the social Ishmaelite.

If the gallows had been reserved for criminals of this character the death sentence would probably have remained as the punishment of those who outlawed themselves by deliberately following a life of crime. But the public sentiment was shocked by the fate of poor wretches who, in days of general poverty such as this generation can scarcely realise, were driven to crime as the only escape from hunger, and the death penalty was abrogated for all alike. Transportation as a substitute was a success, only because it ensured the perpetual banishment of habitual law-breakers. The present day substitute for transportation would be equally efficacious as a deterrent if only the sentences imposed on professional criminals were adequate,

instead of being, as is too often the case, so utterly inadequate as to become a direct encouragement to crime.

Take burglary as an illustration. The burglar is as really a "professional man" as the doctor or the engineer. His training is as special. The qualities essential to his success are as definite. There are scores of burglars who are tempted to try their hands at the business by the lightness of the penalties usually imposed when notorious criminals are caught; but common men go to the wall in every profession. The genuine burglar must be a man of courage, and of resource and skill, and a real enthusiast at his business. A man who "works" only for what he can get would have a better chance in any other line of life. The burglar, like the angler, has a soul for sport, and the "catch" is with him a secondary consideration, albeit an important one. Suppose, then, the case of a son, or nephew, or friend, or admirer of some successful burglar. Being "an advanced thinker," he is not embarrassed by religious scruples. He has a thirst for adventure, moreover, and a soul above working for his living. Just out of his teens, he contemplates fifty years of life, and even if he has to spend fifteen or twenty of these in gaol, the gain seems well worth the cost. But, like every gambler, he expects to win and not to lose, as the most expert of his heroes have done, and his intervals of prison labour will be more than balanced by long years of idleness and pleasure and plenty.

The picture is not a fanciful one. It is thus that many are tempted to a career of crime. A life sentence, like that imposed on the "Muswell Hill burglars" last year, of course upsets all such reckoning. But that is regarded by the fraternity as a scandalous outrage on fair-play. They look on it as a soldier would regard the use of poisoned bullets, or the massacre of wounded men. As a matter of fact, that sentence produced a profound impression on the criminals of London, and its effect continued until confidence was restored by public proofs that it might safely be regarded as an instance of judicial eccentricity.

But this is a digression. The inveterate criminal would not be deterred from crime by the fear of the severest sentence. The life is so fascinating, and he has such a fitting sense of the degradation of having to work for his living, that the gallows would not hold him back. It is wholly different, however, with the beginner. Crime is an inevitable blot on our civilisation; it can never be eradicated. But after a somewhat varied and not very brief experience, I am as certain as any one can be in regard to a question of this character, that organised and systematic crime might be stamped out in a single generation.

If statistics can prove anything, it is clear that crime is on the decrease: witness the annual reports of the Prison Commissioners and the Directors of Convict Prisons. This result, no doubt, is due to the combination of many causes. Four principal ones may be here specified.

First, it may be assumed that the many agencies at work to educate and help the poorer classes of the population in our large cities are bearing fruit. Secondly may be cited the temperance movement, and the growth of public opinion against drunkenness, that fruitful source of crime. Thirdly, the high standard of prison administration now attained under the Boards presided over by Sir Edmund Du Cane, claims full and generous acknowledgment. And lastly, increasing police efficiency is so obviously a prominent factor that no one thinks it necessary to call attention to it. But the proofs afforded by the statistics of recent years that crime is steadily diminishing, ought only to stimulate well-directed efforts to check it still more effectually. Unfortunately, however, the strife of political parties at present leaves but little leisure for the consideration of measures beneficial to the people. Political life in England is fast becoming a mere trade, as it has long been in America; but we are without the wise and beneficent checks which the American Constitution provides. We have no Supreme Court, like that at Washington, to control the demands of the electorate by vetoing every measure of unconstitutional change. The result is that such measures are likely to engross the time and attention of English politicians for years to come; and in the general screaming it will be increasingly difficult to get a hearing for questions of vital importance to the commonwealth.

What hope is there, for example, of securing attention to the pressing need of legislation on behalf of the waifs and strays of our streets, and the children of our criminals and paupers? Yet here it is that we can reach the very roots of the tree which produces such a fruitful crop of criminals. And, surely, the conscience of the nation cannot slumber much longer over this great question. We are, nowadays, too enlightened to recognise "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," but the divine right of vicious and brutal parents to make their children brutal and vicious like themselves is still guarded with scrupulous care. Here, for example, is an instance. A vicious and drunken woman lately sold her child to an organ-grinder, "and neither knew nor cared what became of him. As long as the organ-grinder could make use of the child by getting charity through him, by making it appear to be his own, he kept it, and then, when it became burdensome to him, he abandoned it in the street at Folkestone. Then the poor child, neglected and betrayed by its mother, is found by a clergyman and sent by him to Dr. Barnardo. Dr. Barnardo was not bound to take the child, but he does it in the fulfilment of his benevolent work to feed, nourish, teach, and clothe it, and finally to place it out in life." The quotation is from the recent judgment of the Master of the Rolls in the Gossage case. The Court of Appeal there decided that, by the law of England, this mother is now entitled to resume possession of her boy. "She was a bad woman," Lord Esher declared,

"and is now no better than she was before." But this is of no account. All the far-reaching power of the law must be used to restore to her the wretched child she has thus "neglected and betrayed." It is true that, in the particular case in question, the mother's ostensible object was to transfer the child from a Protestant to a Roman Catholic Home. But this is an accidental element of which the law takes no cognisance. The case merely confirmed the undoubted right of a parent, no matter how brutal, to resume possession of a child, no matter how shameful may have been the neglect and ill-treatment to which it has been exposed. I can picture some such victim of the law standing in the dock at the Old Bailey, convicted of serious crime, and I can hear him saying words like these: "Yes, I am a criminal, but at whose door is the real guilt of my crimes? I am just what the State has made me. I was innocent and happy once, and a career of usefulness was open to me, but your infamous laws stepped in and dragged me back to the want and misery and vice from which kind friends had rescued me. Those who are responsible for such laws ought now to be in the dock beside me."

It is a shameful admission to have to make, that the State does nothing to help, and something to hinder, philanthropic efforts for the rescue of poor hapless waifs like Harry Gossage. It recognises no asylums for them save the workhouse and the reformatory, and the result is the production of an amount of "*statutory immorality*" which is likely to become a great social danger. If some share of the money spent on judges and gaols were devoted to promoting institutions which really rescue and reform such children, fewer judges and smaller gaols would suffice. It is only persons who are acquainted with the work accomplished by institutions of this kind who can realise how thoroughly practical is this suggestion, or can estimate what a large proportion of the neglected child life of the metropolis, from which the great army of crime is now recruited, might be won over for honest industry.

The Act of 1889 for the protection of children was a bold step in the right direction, and it affords an answer to any objection on doctrinaire lines to further interference with parental rights. But that measure, while it goes very far indeed in some respects, avails little or nothing in cases such as I have indicated. It would be an insufferable check upon philanthropic effort on behalf of the young to require that no child shall be rescued unless its parent or guardian has been prosecuted to conviction for cruelty or neglect. In many of the worst cases, moreover, there is neither ill treatment nor abandonment in the statutory sense. Take a recent case as an example. A boy of nine years of age is brought to a police-station, and charged with stealing twopence from his own father. As the law now stands, the child is locked up for the night, and solemnly brought up at a

police-court next morning, there to be either returned to the care of the scoundrel who begat him, or else packed off to an industrial school as a criminal. Why should not the magistrate have power to remit the poor little waif to the charge of some approved institution that would save it at once from the father and from the reformatory? But the law ignores the philanthropist, and refuses to permit him to intervene.

Next to the young in years, the young in crime have the largest claims upon our compassion. Our gaols are no longer what they used to be—nurseries and hotbeds of crime. The Prison Acts of 1865 and 1877 changed all that. But notwithstanding the great reforms of recent years, there is urgent need of further changes in the interests of the class which I may describe as apprentices to crime; not necessarily first offenders, but persons who have not yet been merged in the criminal classes. There is no practical distinction at present between the prison treatment of the most hardened gaol-bird, and of the poor wretch who has been betrayed into an offence in circumstances, possibly, which call for pity rather than for punishment. It is a popular blunder to suppose that the addition of "hard labour" implies a dreadful aggravation of the severity of prison discipline. The difference is scarcely appreciable in many cases, and, in the case of female prisoners, for example, it is merely nominal. Certain prisons should be set aside in the principal centres of population, where offenders who are novices in crime should be treated mainly, if not altogether, with a view to their reformation. Workshops should be provided in connection with such prisons, to which prisoners might pass at once on their discharge, there to find employment until they can be again merged in the wage-earning classes of the community. The success of efforts in this direction by one earnest and practical philanthropist in London, with whose work I am specially acquainted, gives proof how much more might be done for the help and reclamation of offenders than has yet been seriously attempted. I refer to the work of Mr. Wheatley, of the St. Giles' Christian Mission.

The objection is often urged that putting the results of prison labour openly upon the market would be fraught with prejudice to the honest and industrious working classes. This objection is based on ignorance and selfishness; and the effect now given to it naturally produces the very mischief it seeks to obviate. Under the present system, prison labour must be "jobbed" secretly, and the traders who contract for its products are thus able to buy more cheaply than their neighbours, and of course to undersell them in the market. The real injury to labour is not that a carpenter or a cobbler should work at his trade when a prisoner in gaol, but that the furniture or boots he makes in prison should be sold at such a price that non-criminal labour cannot compete with him.

But no amount of prison reform will alter the fact that a first imprisonment is a crisis in the life of every one who suffers it. Mr. Howard Vincent's Probation of First Offenders' Bill was a natural result of his experience as head of the detective police of the metropolis. No one could hold such a position without being impressed by the need of legislation in that direction. Imprisonment should be the exception rather than, as it is at present, the rule, in the case of first offenders. But the Act of 1887 is too little used, even in cases to which it applies, and there are numberless cases which do not come within its provisions, which might with propriety and advantage be dealt with on similar lines. Even under the existing law a Court sometimes allows a convicted prisoner to enter into his own recognisances to come up for judgment if called upon, opportunity being given him to compensate the person aggrieved by his crime. Why should not such an arrangement be recognised by law? The award of compensation might be part of the penalty imposed, security being required to enforce the payment of it. The theoretical objections to such a proposal might, perhaps, be formidable, but the practical objections to it would be slight, and the advantages resulting from it would be very great.

Scarcely a day passes that our gaols do not receive victims of the present law, who might be otherwise dealt with in the interests of prosecutors and to the great benefit of the community. Young servants, for example, who are tempted to pilfer or steal by the almost criminal carelessness or neglect of their employers, are hustled off to prison, to come out in a few weeks or months with ruined characters and hopes, and then to drift helplessly to the workhouse or the streets. In such cases, if convicted persons can find solvent householders willing to give security for their good behaviour, no difficulty need arise. And others might be handed over to the care of some suitable Institution, empowered by order of the Court to enforce residence and work for a specified term. This is now done in an informal way in a few exceptional instances; it might be sanctioned by legislation, and carried out on a scale as extensive as the most sanguine of philanthropists could wish.

If "General" Booth proceeds with adequate resources to bring the pauperism of London within his "cab-horse charter," as he describes the duty of raising the fallen, he will attract the paupers of the world to the metropolis of the world in increasing hordes. If he wastes his energies in trying to reclaim the irreclaimable, he will find that the only cab-horse instinct they possess is the dangerous propensity to kick out at those who try to raise them. For such there is no hope, save in the Divine philanthropy of Redemption. But in the floating prison population of our towns he will find a sphere in which the philanthropy of the "cab-horse charter" will reap a rich and early

harvest. The only danger is lest the popularity of the scheme with which his name has now become connected should draw away support from those who have long laboured with devotion and success in this very field. These are public benefactors and deserve the gratitude of the nation, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the interest excited by "*In Darkest England*," instead of diverting the supply of needed funds, will bring them increased support in their beneficent and holy work.

Each of the topics I have thus touched upon, and others which I might introduce in this connection, would supply matter for a separate article. There are other questions also, of a wholly different kind, which must be dealt with in any general crusade against crime. I will only allude to two. First, the facility with which stolen goods can be disposed of in London and the chief provincial towns, is a principal incentive to offences against property. The problem this suggests is too large and too difficult for incidental treatment. I will dismiss it with the remark that while the pawnbrokers as a body are the best allies the police possess in detecting thieves and recovering their plunder, and without their co-operation police action would be ineffectual in cases too numerous to mention, on the other hand there is a dishonest minority in the trade who are no better than licensed receivers of stolen property. And, secondly, the haphazard system on which the criminal law is administered in England encourages law-breakers by affording them immunity from punishment. The duty of prosecuting, which in Scotland and in Ireland is undertaken by the State, rests in this country upon the unfortunate citizen who is aggrieved by the crime. The result is that systematic crime goes unpunished year after year because no one will come forward to put the law in motion. This is specially noticeable in frauds of a certain kind where, though the gains of the criminal are considerable, the victims are so numerous that the loss incurred by each is comparatively small. But even in regard to crimes of the most commonplace character, such, for example, as picking pockets, the thief is sometimes not more eager to escape than is the person he has robbed. Instances are not uncommon where, after a thief has been secured, police vigilance is baffled in the effort to find the "prosecutor." Sometimes, indeed, even where valuable property is recovered, the owner is content to lose it rather than incur the dreaded penalty of having to undertake a prosecution.

All classes will be agreed in assigning the highest importance to preventive measures, aimed at checking the current that ever sets strongly from the direction of mere poverty and vice towards open and systematic crime. But measures of repression must by no means be neglected. At this point, however, unanimity ceases, and persons "of light and leading" will be found who have nothing but weak—I had almost said morbid—sympathy for hardened criminals. One

result is that certain important enactments for dealing with crime are practically inoperative. Some of the most valuable provisions of the Prevention of Crimes Act are almost a dead letter. Were I to explain why this has been hitherto so largely the case in the metropolis I should be trenching on delicate ground, and it would be specially invidious to criticise the administration of the law in other parts of England. I content myself, therefore, with noticing the public fact I have recorded, and pleading for a due administration of the existing law respecting police supervision and the punishment of habitual offenders.

And, lastly, it is absolutely essential that sentences should be adequate. I deprecate the suggestion that I desire a return to merciless penalties for ordinary criminals. On the contrary, I contend that the sentences too often passed on such offenders are scandalously excessive. I have already urged a radical change in the interest of "beginners," and I recall with pleasure my having framed the *projet de loi* which took shape in the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, a measure which has done not a little to mitigate the severity of the criminal law. But all this leads me to say with the greater emphasis that the weakness now shown to hardened and inveterate criminals tends to encourage crime and to bring the administration of the criminal law into contempt. When a man who boasts of having committed a hundred crimes escapes with a sentence which turns him loose on society again after a few months' or years' imprisonment, is not the whole proceeding an utter farce? Such a man is far more deserving of the gallows than is many a wretch whom we hang for murder; and, as hanging is no longer possible, and banishment beyond the seas is obsolete, a term should be put to his career in the way the existing law provides.

Or if public opinion be not yet ripe for life sentences in cases such as I have indicated, these outlaws ought at least to be placed permanently under police supervision; and this, not merely in the interests of the public, but in pity for the criminals themselves. The outcry in some quarters against the system is based entirely on ignorance of its incidents and its effects. It is altogether beneficial to those who really desire to live reputable and honest lives. At this moment, in London at all events, a discharged prisoner under police surveillance has a better prospect of work and wages than the poor wretch who, with no brand of crime upon him whatsoever, passes from the workhouse to the streets to seek employment.

Supervision, I repeat, is a distinct and signal benefit to those who desire the help and guidance and restraint without which the "habitual criminal" returns, almost inevitably, to a course of crime. It works, in a sense, automatically. To those who give proof that they may be trusted, its restraints become almost nominal, while it is

a powerful engine for the punishment of the hopelessly depraved. If, in the words of the American "Declaration of Independence," liberty be one of the "inalienable rights" with which "all men have been endowed by their Creator," then a prison is an outrage upon humanity and an offence against heaven. But there is no country in the world where the policeman's "club" makes shorter work of these "inalienable rights" than the United States. In civilised communities the rights of the individual must be held in subjection to the good of the commonwealth; and if, by persisting in a career of crime, a man gives proof that his liberty is incompatible with the public weal, he should be placed in a state of social tutelage, for his own good, as well as for the welfare of the community.

Under the present system, it would often be better for the unfortunate victims of crime, and equally good for the public at large, if the police were allowed to compound with the criminal, and let him go free at once on the terms of his making restitution. But the victims are forgotten altogether. When Lady Blank loses her diamonds there is fuss enough, no doubt, though Lady Blank may deserve but little pity; for her own folly probably gave the thief his opportunity, and her husband's balance can supply the means to refill her jewel case. But what shall be said of humble homes robbed of all the owner's little household gods, cherished gifts, sometimes, from parents dead and gone or valued friends? The generous and bitter sorrow which these losses cause—and such cases are of daily occurrence—is well fitted to excite compassion. A burglary at Lady Blank's is a comparatively rare event, and, if the burglar be caught, he is pretty certain to get penal servitude. But there are scores of habitual house-breakers in London, men who never did an honest week's work in their lives, who prey upon the homes of humble folk, causing an incalculable amount of loss and bitterness and grief to respectable and worthy citizens. These criminals, however, are the *protégés* and pets of doctrinaire philanthropists, who seem to have no compassion left to bestow upon the numberless victims of their crimes.

If it be certain that men can be made "moral by Act of Parliament," it is no less certain that they can be made *immoral* "by Act of Parliament," and that this is the natural and immediate result of bringing the law into contempt. And the law is always deserving of contempt when it ceases to be "a terror to evil-doers," and tends rather, as in fact it now does, to encourage the evil-doer in a career of crime. For the young and the weak and the unfortunate, I appeal for consideration and compassion now denied them. But for those who deliberately and openly declare war upon society and the State, I claim the penalties of outlawry. And I make this claim, not only in the interest of society in general, and of the immediate sufferers by their crimes; I urge it also in the name of that large class of criminals

who are ever gravitating towards the circle of habitual crime, and who are now drawn in by the comparative immunity which habitual crime enjoys. So far as human influence can avail, the hardened criminal is hopeless ; and if influences of a higher kind seem equally powerless in Christian England, it is the fault of England, and not of Christianity. In one sense, the conversion of a criminal must always be a miracle, but in many of our prisons it would be a miracle of the same kind as was the feeding of the Hebrew prophet in the days of Ahab, king of Israel. This, however, opens out questions far too large and too important for discussion here. They will force themselves to the front hereafter, when public opinion becomes educated on this subject, and refuses any longer to tolerate the misplaced leniency now extended to inveterate professional criminals.

R. ANDERSON.

EURIPIDES AT CAMBRIDGE.

THE great epochs of history change for the eyes of successive generations their colouring, but not their brightness; and that life of the ancient world which centres in Athens, and which our fathers chose as the type of human culture, gleams on us from some new vista in every pathway. A materialistic age, inclined to cast on classic lore something of the shadow that has fallen on its ancient ally, theology, finds, even in the very headquarters of the new learning, that in some sense "the old is better," and while the student (it may be) pores less earnestly over the ancient page, a crowd of idlers hurry to the representation in which our University enables us to realise through eye and ear what our fathers knew through the medium of laborious scholarship. In truth, the charm of Greek literature can no more wear out or grow stale than that of Nature itself, for it is the one absolutely original literature accessible to us, and although this very originality, to those who are nourished on the literatures which have sprung from it, may appear as commonplace, yet in the long run it keeps its place. Greece remains, in some sense, the model for those who know not her tongue or her history, and the means whereby her spell is brought home to these latter, as their number increase, is a new evidence of her power.

Euripides belongs to the autumn of Greek glory. But the age when that glory began and ended is to the history of the modern world as a mountain that soars through the seasons of half a year to a continent which can know these seasons only in slow succession. We watch the changes of Greek history as the traveller snatched up by the St. Gothard railway from the Italian landscape to the snowy peaks looks out on the magic-seeming transformation; the outlook changes with every interval of averted attention,

and after a short slumber one seems to wake in another world. A nation suddenly made conscious of its unity by the presence of the common foe, the glow of a rush towards a common centre, the sudden blossoming of poetry, art, genius, into forms that have remained the types of beauty for all ages—all this fills the half century that began with Marathon and Salamis, and makes that age unique in the history of the world. And if we imagine that Englishmen who could remember the Armada, and had witnessed the first performance of Shakespeare's "Henry V.," had lived to see a deadly war between England and Scotland, leaving our exhausted island ready to be the prey of some premature Napoleon—that we, in this nineteenth century after Christ, were looking back to a gleam of national life whose brightness was set off by intervening night—we put ourselves in the right attitude to understand the half century which succeeded that glorious age, and which includes the chief activity of our poet. His works may be marked by his country's progress towards dissension and decay. His first drama, which is lost, was brought out B.C. 455, about the time that Athens transferred to her own soil the Federal treasury of Greece, thus formally, as it were, setting a keystone to the claims which had roused Greek hatred and produced the resistance which shattered her power; his "Medea" appeared in the year of the first invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians (B.C. 431), and the play with which we are now concerned can be dated only by an allusion in its concluding lines to the promontory of Rhium, which was the scene of an Athenian victory (B.C. 429). He is the poet of the Peloponnesian war, but we must not remember that fact without also remembering that he is said to have been born on the day of Salamis. One whose life is thus measured has seen an amount of national vicissitude impossible at any other period of the world's history, and reflects in his works the emotions which belong to both the rise and the close of a national life.

Euripides was only forty years younger than Æschylus, a poet who embodies perhaps more than any other that ever lived, if we except Dante, the sense of the supernatural—a poet who seems to breathe the atmosphere of religious awe, and who, when he records the literal narrative history of his country's triumph over Persia, does not lose that atmosphere. Two writers separated by less than half a century would in any review of English literature appear as contemporaries. But Euripides is as remote from Æschylus as Byron is from Milton. Indeed, the late seventeenth century is much less remote in spirit from the early nineteenth than the years of our poet's birth from those of his death. The day of Salamis takes its place beside the passage of the Red Sea. No event of history testifies more clearly to a righteous government of this world; a decision that order shall prevail against disorder, that a handful of men,

when they represent the cause of freedom, shall be victorious over myriads. It makes us feel that the Hellene, no less than the Hebrew, belongs to a chosen race. But if the trust in that dominion can be shaken by anything that *happens*, the spectacle of the twin powers of Greece tearing each other to pieces on the morrow of their common salvation may well shatter it to dust. We see that it did so for the contemporaries of Euripides. "The course of events," said Pericles—whom our poet survived for twenty-three sad years—"is as capricious as that of human fancy, so that we ascribe to fortune whatever goes against reasonable anticipation."* The historian who records the speech never utters a single word which betrays the belief in any Divine power whatever. Yet he may have known a brother historian whose page opens to us the dim, dewy dawn of a nation's life, where unfamiliar forms fail to startle us, and the visions of the night seem to linger. If we remember that Euripides might have known both the religious, imaginative, credulous Herodotus, and the cold, sceptical Thucydides, we hold a clue to all that is most characteristic of him, and to much that is common to him and the thought of our own day. The utterance of a writer who belonged to such a time will give rise to many contradictions, and perhaps contain some. Euripides wrote the "Ion," we are told, to pour scorn on the gods of his country; he is also said to embody that strain of Greek thought and feeling which was taken up into Christianity, so that an able and candid opponent of Christianity (M. Ernest Havet) claims for him a place far nearer St. Paul than that of any prophet of the Old Testament. It is not by scoffing at one form of faith that we prepare the way for another, and no poet could speak, as Euripides does, of "the One, Himself unseen, who seeth all,"† in a merely dramatic sense. But the ages of faith and of doubt were in Greece contained in the space of an individual lifetime, and a single mind, if sympathetic to various impulses, could not but mirror both.

If we turn to those fragments of our poet which, as is natural to passages preserved by quotation, contain what is of most interest to the general reader, we find him almost ready to echo the scoff of Pericles, and eager to repudiate it.

"Oft is my heart of bitter doubt the prey,
If God, or chance, o'er mortal lot holds sway,"‡

says some personage in a lost play, and we may find a direct answer by only a slight adaptation of two other Fragments,§ and an indirect answer in many:

"Hear me, all ye no Sacred Power who know.
God is. He looks from Heaven on mortal woe."

* Thucyd. A. I., 140.

† Frag., 960.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1013.

§ *Ibid.*, 825 and 959.

We cannot, of course, decide with entire certainty on the relation to the views of the writer in the case of any dramatic fragment, yet we may feel ourselves tolerably safe in saying that in both these we hear the voice of the poet himself. The "Ion" was produced at a time of national discord, and that invasion of doubt which is its shadow on the inner world. But doubt means yearning in Euripides. He longs for a reign of righteousness on earth; he hopes for "some other form of life,"* where this ideal shall be realised. "Who knows if what we call death be in truth life, and life in truth death?" asks another personage in a lost play,† whom we may accept as expressing his own deepest thought, and all the more because Aristophanes twice picks out‡ this passage for a jeer. It is a characteristic fact concerning Euripides and one which recalls his strong attraction for his contemporary Socrates, that the name of Conscience is said to appear for the first time on his page.§ He who first named that faculty which speaks of a duality at the root of our being where there should be a unity, may well have been a favourite of the teacher who taught men that through doubt lies the road to knowledge, who has always helped them to keep hold of the belief that beyond doubt and knowledge alike lies the realm of Faith.

We gather up all that is most characteristic of our poet when we say that among his countrymen he is in an especial sense the singer of woman. Man and woman, in all ages, stand opposite to each other as symbolising the great antitheses of all thought and life. It is not only as strength opposed to weakness that we must contemplate their opposition: in the inward world that opposition is often inverted, and it is the inward world, the individual world, that opens on us in the page of Euripides. But the sympathy with woman will always mean sympathy with the weak; the woman, in the ancient world, stands near the slave, and we find sympathy in Euripides for both. "The name of slave," says in this play one who bears it,|| "may be a shadow on the truest of men," and the war in which Greek enslaved Greek must have given a new meaning to a sentiment doubtless as old as slavery itself. And it is on this side that we feel his sympathy with woman. A modern poet has put in the mouth of a heroine whom he has adopted from Euripides a lament which might be taken directly from his model.

"Against the gods I strive not—but I know
The woman's destiny is to endure."

says Goethe's Iphigenia, and the play before us vividly echoes the feeling there expressed.

* "Ion," 1067.

† The "Polyidus," also in the "Phryxus."

‡ Ran, 1079 and 1477.

§ By M. Havet, "Le Christianisme et des Origines."

|| "Ion," 854, 855. The sentiment is almost repeated in more than one of the Fragments.

We may take as its motto the lines which have made the name of Euripides familiar to those who know nothing of him but his name—lines which it is significant to remember are written by a woman :

"Our Euripides the human,
With his droppings of warm tears,
And his touches on things common,
Till they rose to touch the spheres."

Few dramas contain more of the pathos suggested by those lines. In Creusa, the mother of Ion, we have a representation of the sufferings of woman as a symbol of the doubts and struggles of humanity. A mother before she was a wife, the victim of the violence of a god, her infant lost to her, and, as she supposes, devoured by wild beasts in the cavern where her maiden shame has forced her to leave him (a combination of ideas which is of itself a curious jumble of old and new, possible only to such an age). Here at once stands a type of the anguish of countless generations of deceived and forsaken mothers, and also of all who, finding their hard lot the appointment of irresistible Power, look up to Heaven, and find no comfort there. We see her first on the threshold of the god who has wronged her—the temple of Apollo at Delphi—come with her husband to inquire for their waning hope of some infant that shall still the fierce craving in her hungry heart, and satisfy her husband's desire for an heir. Through the "droppings of warm tears" that well up from this inexhaustible spring, she first sees her son, the devout young sacristan, who finds it blessed to be a doorkeeper in the house of his god. If Euripides could have read the Book of Samuel in his own tongue, we should have seen in Creusa a Greek adaptation of the part of Hannah, the "woman of a sorrowful spirit drunken, but not," as Eli had imagined, "with wine." The dates forbid us to trace the common features of the narrative to the Septuagint, but we need no documents to trace it to a common ideal. Here, in Hannah and Creusa, are the Hebrew and the Greek mother, side by side, the one consecrating her son to the temple service as the offering of a glad and grateful heart; the other yielding him to that service unconsciously and reluctantly, and when she meets him on the temple steps, not knowing that he is her son. The comparison opens out a vista which the critic of a Greek poet has no excuse for following, but we cannot pass it without a rapid glance. He who learns to appreciate the antagonism and sympathy in the Greek and the Hebrew has a clue to all the deepest problems of the past, and surely to many of the future also.

A more superficial reflection, but one which is less superficial than it appears, forces itself on the reader of the "Ion" in the scene which introduces the mother and son. No modern writer wishing to defer their recognition would reveal their kinship so plainly to the

spectator. Greek poetry knows nothing of that spirit of curiosity, to stimulate and satisfy which is a principal object of modern fiction. It is possible that the same mental development which has led on the intellectual side to the world of physical science has, in the world of imagination, taken this line, which demands in all that we can call a story some exercise of the faculty which *discovers*. The Greek, on the other hand, as little wanted to be guessing riddles in the world of the imagination as to be solving problems in the world of the senses. It is only Euripides, the modern among the tragedians, whose dramas possess anything that we can call a plot, and even they have not that quality which almost belongs to the idea of a *plot* in modern fiction—some doubt in the mind of the reader or spectator as to the actual facts of the case before him. The story of a Greek play was meant to be like a statue seen at the end of a corridor, as in former days the Venus of Milo in the Louvre; the general design was to be apparent from the first, details were to be gradually added, but *surprise* was never to mingle with admiration. It is a curious illustration of this difference, that in this play Hermes appears to supply, in a quite unnecessary Prologue, the explanation which a modern writer would keep for the last page. If we take the modern point of view, we shall see nothing but stupidity in the hero and heroine (as Voltaire did in a similar situation in the “*Œdipus*” of Sophocles) in not recognising that they are mother and son. The pathos of their unconsciousness is as much deeper, as in truth, if we forget the world of the novelist, it is more natural.

The unconscious approach of the mother and son, well separated by the Cambridge text into the first act, has all the distinctness of a movement in music. *L'on ne connaît jamais parfaitement, says Madame Swetchine, que celui que l'on devine.* How slender may be the experience which leads one human being to say, or to be ready to say, to another, “I want you”! A few minutes’ interview between the son who yearns for his mother, and the mother who yearns for her son, make them almost one; and the outburst of wrath which intervenes between their first mutual yearning and the satisfied embrace on which the curtain falls, presents us with that relation of fierce antagonism which is in truth but love inverted. The husband of Creusa has learnt from the Oracle that the first person who meets him on quitting the temple is his son, and he greets the young sacristan on the temple steps with a delight as perplexing as unwelcome to its object. Ion is as much repelled by the man he falsely supposes to be his father as he is attracted by the woman he does not know to be his mother, and though mingled argument and entreaty compel his consent, we see that his repugnance to a home in the palace, which opens to receive him, is in no respect overcome, and that it is with a heavy heart he accepts his brilliant future. Creusa, on learning that

her husband, instead of receiving, as she had hoped, a promise of their common parentage to a child yet to be born, has found a son of his own, is filled with burning wrath at the contrasted fates of the lost babe, whom she believes the prey of wild beasts, and the good fortune of this interloper; she rushes to thoughts of vengeance and attempts the life of the youth lately so very near her heart. But the god watches over his son, and preserves him alike from death and from murder. His ritual piety saves him from tasting, at a solemn banquet, the cup from which, it being sullied by an inauspicious omen, he can make no libation to the god; and the sudden death of a tame pigeon who dips its beak into the spilt wine, reveals the plot which has threatened his life, and leads to the discovery of the Athenian princess as his murderess, and her condemnation by the Delphic judges. After this the whole play seems to us to go wrong. No modern hero intended to retain his hold on the sympathies of the spectators would be allowed to show any part of the fierce rage with which this votary of Apollo hunts to the altar a woman who was indeed, in intent, his murderess, but whom he knew to be maddened by temptations he had himself foreseen and described, and who was at any rate a defenceless creature at his mercy, such as in any modern fiction would have been made an object of magnanimous pardon, or of reluctant and dispassionate condemnation; and though perhaps the ancient view is more natural in some sense, it is further from the world of poetic truth. The appearance of the Pythoness on the scene with his cradle and tokens of his parentage, clumsy as is the device by which their long concealment is accounted for, is the occasion of a tender protest against his fierce, revengeful spirit, full of Christian feeling and that peculiar spirit of Greek temperance which is, at times, so closely allied with it. We know, indeed, nothing in classic poetry, unless perhaps in Virgil, where the approach is so near. Still, on the whole, we feel the end both careless and commonplace. The recognition and reconciliation of the mother and son, the bundle of perplexities which seem, as it were, suddenly flung at us, and the sense of impatience produced by the appearance of Athena as *Dea ex machina* on the scene, are all so disappointing that (to express at once our reverence for and dissatisfaction with our poet) they affect us much as the conclusion of "Hamlet." Or let us rather express our criticism through a reminiscence. An authoress, whom it does not seem to us unnatural to name beside Euripides—Charlotte Brontë, to give her the name she lost so short a time before she died—ended her last novel with an ambiguous sentence, to veil from her father, who had an old man's shrinking from a tragic ending, her real meaning in finishing "Villette." "Leave sunny imaginations hope," she wrote, "let them imagine the rapture of rescue from peril, the wondrous reprieve from dread, the fruition of return." A friend, present at one of the innumerable discussions to which

that sentence gave rise thirty-seven years ago, reported the debate to her and asked for her decision. "Which side did you take?" asked Charlotte Brontë before answering the question. "I thought," said her friend, "that the whole story would have been in a wrong key if it was to lead up to a happy ending." The words, which were heard with a pleasure which showed that the world's homage had not deadened a welcome for any true appreciation, recur now as the criticism of a tragedy in which, after every element of disaster has been given, we suddenly find that everybody is to live happy ever after. Surely there is a more harmonious issue somewhere hid away in Fableland! Creusa, we have no doubt, was in fact successful in the attempt to poison her unknown son; the tokens of his parentage, brought on the scene to interrupt an outburst of her triumphant vengeance, first revealed to his murderess his relation to her, changed triumph to remorse, and proved a surer death-blow than that decreed by the Delphic judges. Surely the death of an innocent son, at the hand of guilty mother, would teach that lesson which lies at the heart of the play—the essential blindness of hatred—far more forcibly than the sudden transition from fierce mutual invective to that oblivious embrace which throws back a shade of unreality on the attempt at mutual destruction so readily forgotten. And with this change, so we cannot but think, we should keep a stronger hold on the historic clue to the play—that parable of the mutual ignorance of kindred which was set forth for all time with such deadly significance in the Peloponnesian war. The mutual efforts of destruction of a mother and son who are each hungering for the other at heart, reveal to us the secret anguish of a divided Hellas, smitten and smiting, but feeling at every blow the severed bond. They, who had together repelled the barbarian—they, who shared a common tongue, a common faith, a common inheritance of glorious memories—were now spending all their energies in a rivalry of malignant effort. Yet all the while, so we may translate our poet, the hostile kinsmen were pining for a day when Judah should no more vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim Judah, and the secret desires of their noblest men are symbolised by the yearnings of a mother and the son so hungrily craving for each other, that they only need to know their kindred to rush into each other's arms.

The play will bring home the description we have quoted from our greatest poetess, more vividly to those who know the "Ion" in the closet than to those who watched the representation at Cambridge. Beautiful and attractive as it was, it touched no spring of tears. We owe much to the young actors who, as it were, illuminate for our eyes the page that frowned on their fathers, and we can hardly wish that they should be able to suggest the throb of yearning and the sigh of regret that mingle in the music of the poet they have interpreted for us. They bring us his grace and loveliness; it would

be a capacity dearly bought if they were able to reproduce his pathos. If they had done so, perhaps some suggestions of the play would have been too importunate to leave room for enjoyment. In after-years the actors of 1890 will know that "serrement du cœur" which some lines of this play almost reproduce in the hearer who has ever felt it. May they then recall this tale of women's wrong with a sympathy untainted by compunction! May Creusa, the forsaken and unwedded mother, hurrying from the babe to whom she dare not give more than a parting embrace, stand for ever between the men who reproduced her story in their youth in this mimic guise and all weak womanhood. The desire may seem too solemn to associate itself with the grace and music of the Cambridge spectacle, but it could have been remote from no spectator who had entered into the spirit of the play, and only the sense of those aspirations which it may suggest from this point of view could make possible sympathetic attention to such a story set forth by such actors. Let us trust that it may be to some among them the warning which our poet elsewhere expresses in the awful words:

Οὐ Κύπρις μόνον
'Αλλ' ἔστι πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος*
*Ἔστω μὲν ἄδης, ἔστι δ' ἀφθιτος βία,
Ἔστω δὲ λύσσα μανίας.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

* Frag. 145, in the Glasgow edition of 1821. It is quoted by Plutarch, who is the authority for many of these fragments.

PUBLIC LANDED ENDOWMENTS OF THE CHURCH.

MY object in this paper is to show that a very large proportion of the landed estates of the archbishops, bishops, and capitular bodies was given to them out of national property by Anglo-Saxon kings and their respective Witenagemóts. Certain writers boast that the Church of England never received any of her endowments from national sources, and that no part of her present endowments is national property. I contend that these statements are opposed to facts which appear in Anglo-Saxon charters. These instruments conveyed large portions of *folcland*, or *national property*, to the above corporations. And the charters changed the folcland into *bocland*. To get a correct knowledge of this very important subject, I shall subsequently give a brief sketch of the nature of *folcland*, and its transference into *bocland*, or charter land.

None of these charter-grants seem to have been given to parishes. But the parochial incumbents and curates receive over £800,000 per annum from the Common Fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in augmentation of incomes, &c. Now the Common Fund is annually replenished from the revenues of the episcopal and capitular properties, a part of which was granted out of national property, and which since 1840 have been vested in the Commissioners by various Acts of Parliament, for the special purpose of making provision for parochial spiritual destitution. The Common Fund is made up of five-sevenths of capitular and two-sevenths of episcopal endowments—a fact which indicates that the capitular estates have furnished very substantial parochial endowments. The episcopal estates have furnished less than one-half of what the capitular estates have done, partly owing to the high incomes granted by Parliament in 1836 to the

archbishops and bishops, and partly owing to the comparatively small episcopal revenues of ten of the Sees, the result of Reformation plunder and episcopal mismanagement and misappropriation of trust property. The chapters were free from these blemishes. At the time of the Reformation, the Church lost a large part of the national property, as well as of the private endowments. In other countries, the property taken from the Church and monasteries furnished funds to support the poor. In England it was transferred to private individuals, and a Poor-Law Act was passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth placing the support of the poor on the ratepayers. If the Church property thus taken away at the Reformation had been utilised for the support of the poor in England and Wales, an annual income would have been produced quite sufficient for this purpose even up to the present time.

FOLCLAND.

Folcland was the property of the community, or national property, —*terra fiscalis*. So long as it remained folcland, it could not be alienated in perpetuity. It was subject to many burdens from which bocland was exempt. Its possessors, who had only a life interest in it, were bound to assist in repairing royal villis, had travellers quartered upon them for subsistence, extended hospitality to kings and great men in their progress through the country, furnished them with carriages and relays of horses, and extended the same assistance to their messengers and servants. For breach of these conditions the possessor of folcland was liable to forfeiture or fine. On his death the king could dispose of it to another. Freemen of all ranks and conditions held folcland, and every possessor of folcland was desirous of converting as much as possible of it into bocland.

BOCLAND.

Bocland was free from the above burdens. It was land held by book or charter. It had been severed from the folcland by an Act of the Government, and was thus converted into an estate of perpetual inheritance by a written instrument, attested by the king and the members of his Witenagemót. Any grant of folcland by the king without the consent of his Witan was void. The following case proves this statement. Baldred, King of Kent, had given to Christ Church, Canterbury, the Manor of Malling, in Sussex; but the king having offended his nobles, they declined to ratify his grant, and therefore the grant did not take effect until King Egbert, in A.D. 838, restored, with the consent of his Witan, the manor to the church. There is hardly a Saxon charter creating bocland which is not said

to have been granted by the king with the consent and leave of his nobles and great men—"cum consilio, consensu et licentia procerum," or with some similar expression. Even when the king himself received a grant of folcland, he had first to receive the consent of his Witan. Ethelwulf booked twenty hides of folcland to himself in his private capacity, but he had to obtain the consent of his Witan. Offa did the same. The grants of bocland to the Church were given by the Witenagemōts to the recipients as trustees of national property with usufructuary rights. The word bocland is mentioned but once in the Domesday Survey, and in this sense.

It may be said that the lands granted to the Church by the Anglo-Saxon kings had been a part of the "Terra Regis" of Domesday. To this I reply that a great part of the Terra Regis was folcland, or public property of the State, and the king was only the usufructuary possessor. But he had distributed this State property with the license and consent of his Witan. We have an important definition of Terra Regis at p. 75 of the "Exon Domesday," viz., "The demesne land of the king *belonging to the kingdom.*" And we find a similar definition in the "Exchequer Domesday."

With regard to the Anglo-Saxon charters by which the lands were transferred to the Church, I am indebted for my information to two valuable volumes, and a part of a third, published under the title "Cartularium Saxonicum" (1885-1890), by Mr. Walter De Gray Birch, of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. The work is in course of progress. The first charter is dated A.D. 430, and the last published is A.D. 972. In order to complete the collection to A.D. 1066, I collected my materials, from 972 to 1067, from Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus," in six volumes (1839-1848).

As regards the number of manors, hidage, and annual rentals in the Exchequer Survey, I have carefully collected my statistics from the two folio volumes, copies of the original survey, printed by the king's command, A.D. 1816.*

The episcopal and capitular incomes stated in the general summary are taken from the Parliamentary Returns.

I have given in detail, as specimens, the national property granted to the Sees and Chapters of Canterbury, York, Winchester, and St. Paul's, London. With regard to the other Sees and Chapters, I have given a summary of each. At the end will be found a general summary, useful for reference.

* The counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham are not described in the survey, neither is Lancashire under its proper title. But Furness and the northern part of the county, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire. The lands between the Ribble and Mersey are placed in Cheshire, and part of Rutlandshire is described as in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

PUBLIC GRANTS TO CANTERBURY.

Year in which land was granted.	Number of hides.	Place.	County.	By whom granted.	Number Witnesses to the Charter.	Title in Charter.
616	17 hides	Adisham	Kent	K. Eadbald	None	King of Kent
680	70 hides	(Pageham, with 8 appendages)	"	Caedwalla	4	Kg. of Wessex
687	4 "	(Geddinge and Wdetun)	"	"	4	" "
774	5 "	Higham	"	Offa	24	K. of the Angles
774	3 "	Lydd	"	"	22	K. of all Angles
791	8 "	Otford	"	"	—	" "
791	2 "	Sandhurst	"	"	—	" "
791	1 "	Orgarswick	"	"	—	" "
791	15 "	Ickham	"	"	None	" "
793	60 "	Linga Heyes	Middlesex	"	27	King of the English
	30 "	Twickenham on right bank of Thames				
799	30 "	Charing	Kent	Cenulf	28	K. of Mercians. This land the king restored to the Church; Offa had taken it away from Jaenbert
	10 "	Bryning				
	4 "	Humbing				
799	4 "	Gedding	"	"	9	K. of Mercians
801	12 "	Tenham	"	"	26	Archbishop of Canterbury recovered this land for the Cathedral Ch.
805	2 "	Bocholt	"	Cuthred	31	K. of Kent
805	Land	Benestan	"	"	—	" "
809	7 hides	Berham	"	Cenulf	12	K. of Mercians
809	25 jugera	Ibington	"	"	—	" "
	2 "	Rainham	"	"	—	" "
811	2 "	Gravene	"	"	20	" "
812	44 "	Ibentia, &c.	"	"	17	" "
814	30 "	(Binney on the River Stour)	"	"	7	" "
814	10 hides	(Bexley on the River Cray)	"	"	9	" "
821	1 "	Solebertingland	"	"	6	" "
815	Lands	(Coppnanstan, Gretaniarse, and Scealefordan)	"	"	None	" "
822	5 hides	(Meleton, near Kemsing)	"	"	18	" "
822	8 "	Godmersham	"	Beornulf	None	" "
823	Lands	(Within the City of Cant.)	"	Cenulf	"	" "
	55 jugera	Outside ditto	"	"	"	" "
831	5 hides	Botwell nr. Hayes	Middlesex	Wiglaf	15	" "
833	7 jugera	Near Limming	Kent	Ethelwulf	14	K. of Kent
833	88 hides	Malling	Sussex	Athelstan	28	Archbishop
941	35 "	Wingham	Kent	Edmund	—	Ceolnoth recovered Malling manor for Cant. Cath. K.
941	11 "	Terrings	"	"	—	" "
949	26 "	Reculver	"	Edred	19	" "
957	40 "	Ely	Cambridge	Kg. Edwig	38	" "
959	382 houses	Vill. of Sandwich	Kent	Egelredus	—	Bulred had granted it previously, but as the Witan would not consent, the grant did not take effect.
964	7 hides	Lymmage	"	"	—	" "
980	1 "	(Preston and Eylwartone)	"	Edmund	—	" "
1001	25 "	Cliffe	"	Ethelred	—	" "
1003	Lands	(Inside and outside the walls of Canterbury)	"	"	—	" "

The public property here described amounted to 546 hides, with jugera=21 hides—total, 567—and with the village of Sandwich and other lands not measured. In Domesday the See and chapter had together 856 hides or solines in ten counties, viz., Kent 312, Suffolk 20, Sussex 180, Surrey 49, Middlesex 161, Hertfordshire 6, Buckinghamshire 75, Oxfordshire 15, Hampshire 4, and Essex 34.* The private endowments therefore amounted to 289 hides. Werehard, a priest, gave, A.D. 832, 290 hides of his own private property to Christ Church, Canterbury. Henry VIII. gave the Archbishop all the property of the dissolved Priory of St. Martin's, Dover, with a gross rental of £232 per annum.

PUBLIC GRANTS TO YORK.

Date.	Number of Hides.	Place.	County.	By whom granted.	Number of Witnesses.
903	Lands	At Agemundernes	Lancashire	Athelstan, Kg. of West Saxons	59
—	80	Sherburn	Yorks	" "	—
—	32	Beverley	"	" "	—
—	30	Bishop Wilton	"	" "	—
—	66	Ripon	"	" "	—
958	24	Southwell	Notts	Edwig or Edwy	37
—	—	(Sutton between Blyth and the River Idle)	"	Edgar	48
958	10	Newbold	Yorks	"	—
—	30	Sherburn	"	"	—
963	20	Sherburn	"	"	27
1033	43	Partington	"	Cnut	31

335

In Domesday the Archbishop and Cathedral Church hold 1137 hides, viz., the former, 945, the latter, 192. In Yorkshire there were 872, of which 323 were waste; Lincolnshire, 82; Gloucestershire, 92; Notts, 59; Leicestershire, 32. Annual rentals, £358. I can trace only 335 hides in the charters as public property. Drake and other historians of Yorkshire state that the Northumbrian princes bestowed considerable revenues on the church of York. Many valuable Anglo-Saxon charters were destroyed during the Danish invasions. The city of York was burnt by order of William the Conqueror, and the lands ravaged from the Humber to the Tees; hence so many hides described in Domesday as *waste*. After carefully considering this matter, I am of opinion that some 1000 hides of the 1137 came from public property, and that the rest came from private sources, of which Prince Ulphus's donation of 39 hides of land in the city and suburbs of York became the most valuable.

* Of these the See had 646, with an annual rental of £1507 19s. 6d. The Cathedral Church had 210, with a rental of £645 4s. 6d.

PUBLIC GRANTS TO ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

Date.	Number of Hides.	Place.	County.	By whom granted.	Number of Witnesses in the Charter.	Title in Charter.
No dates.	20	Tillingham	Essex	Ethelbert	None	King of Kent
	8	Barling	"	Kg. Eadweard	"	
	5	Chingford	"	"	"	
	6	Yardley	"	Kg. Athelstan	9	The charter has no date, and states that King Athelstan <i>confirmed</i> these 106 hides to the monastery of St. Paul's, London
	2	Luffnell	"	"		
	10	{Belcham or Beauchamp with Witcham}	"	"		
	8	Heybridge	"	"		
	12	Runwell	"	"		
	30	Adulvesnasa	"	"		
	10	Drayton	Middlesex	"		
	10	{Neosdune with Willesdone}	"	"		
	8	Barnes	Surrey	"		
	10	Sandon with Rhode	Herts	"		
	796	15	Nastock	Essex	King Edgar	24
Total		154				

BISHOPRIC OF LONDON.

In A.D. 704, Sueabread, King of Essex, granted to the bishop 30 hides of land at Twickenham, co. Middlesex; 30 witnessed the charter.

In 942, King Edmund granted the bishop lands in the island of Suthereye; 30 witnessed the charter.

In Domesday the bishop possessed 127 hides in Essex, 46 in Herts, 97 in Middlesex; total, 270.

St. Paul's had 85 hides in Essex (in charter 116), 74 in Middlesex (in charter 20), 38 in Herts (in charter 10), 8 in Surrey, 5 in Beds; total, 210. The communa, 139½ hides; prebendal estates, 70½. The communa = 25,080 acres = £157 13s. 4d. rental per annum = 1½d. per acre in A.D. 1086. Fifty-six hides of the prebendal estates came from private sources.

I have traced only 30 hides of the bishop's property, and 154 hides of St. Paul's, to public sources. I am unable to find out where the island of Suthereye is.

DURHAM.

In Domesday the Bishop of Durham held, in six counties, 60 manors and 24 sokes, and 369 hides of land, 130 of which were waste. But Northumberland and Durham were not included in the survey.

Guthrum, King of Northumberland, granted to the bishop, with King Alfred's approval, all the territory between the rivers Tyne and Were, and this was subsequently extended to the Tees. The whole territory between the Tyne and Tees, granted to the bishop and Church by Guthrum, Alfred, Ecfred, King of Northumbria, and others, was called

St. Cuthbert's patrimony, and all was national property, or folcland. The valuable minerals of St. Cuthbert's patrimony have been and are still the gold mines of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with which they replenish annually their Common Fund. The net income which the Episcopal and capitular estates of Durham bring in to the Common Fund is about £270,000 per annum after paying the annual incomes to the Bishop and Chapter and all expenses, or about one-fourth of the net income of the Common Fund. The parochial clergy of the diocese have been immensely benefited from the Common Fund. Their incomes are not less than £300 a year each, and all have parsonage houses; and the curates in the mining districts are partly paid out of the same fund.

The endowments of the See and Church were not separated until Carilepho became bishop, in 1080. The lands which he gave to the Church turned out to be the most valuable, from the minerals they produced. Before 1836, the great wealth of this church was squandered in golden canonries, each worth £3000 per annum, given away to bishops and other favourites who did no duty for this money. All that is now changed for the better through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The property of the See and Church of Durham, as stated in Domesday, was but small compared with the actual amount possessed, because Durham and Northumberland were not surveyed. In Lincolnshire the See had 75 hides; Yorkshire, 236 (130 were waste); Beds, 13; Essex, 40; Northampton, 2; and Berks, 3. Total, 369.

PUBLIC GRANTS TO WINCHESTER.

Year in which the land was granted.	Number of Hides.	Place.	County.	By whom granted.	Number of Witnesses to the Charter.	Title in Charter.
633	100	Chilcombe	Hants	Cynegils	—	King of Wessex
639	43	Alresford & Worthy	"	Cynewale	—	"
672	100	Downton	Wilts	"	—	"
688	60	(Farnham 50, and Bentley 10)	Surrey	Cedwalla	—	"
737	100	Taunton	Somerset	Ethelheard	6	"
	4	Withiglea				
	3	Cearn				
749	10	Cleran or Clere	Hants	Cuthred	6	"
749	5	(Thruhham	New Forest	"	6	(King of the West Saxons
749	1	Eppelhyrste				
749	1	(Hwitanleage				
825	15	Alton [Priors]	Hants	Egbert	11	"
826	30	(Calbourn in Isle of Wight	"	"	9	"
826	20	(Droxford	"	"	37	"
838	40	(Shallfleet in Isle of Wight	"	"	9	"
854	30	Brightwell	Berks	(Athulf (or Ethelwulf)	18	"
854	19	Wanborough	Wilts	"	"	"

WINCHESTER—continued.

Year in which land was granted.	Number of Hides.	Place.	County.	By whom granted.	Number Witnesses to the Charter.	Title in Charter.
854 {	8	Rushton	Somerset	Athulf	28	King of the West Saxons
	8	(Stoke St. Mary, near Orchard Portman)	Devon			
854 {	20	Hinton Ampner	Hants	"	18	"
854 {	133	Taunton	Somerset			
	10	Bruna		Alfred	23	"
880 {	8	(Rimpton, near Taunton)	"	"	14	"
No date {	50	Chiseldon	Wilts	"	5	These were exchanged for 100 hides of land at Cholsey, Hagborne, and Basilsleigh, co. Berks
	60	Hurstbourne	Hants			
900 {	50	Hurstbourne Prior	"	Edward	None	
	50	Merchamne				
*900 {	10	(Stoke by Hurstbourne)	"	"	21	In exchange for land at Ceolseledene, &c.
901 {	10	Bishop's Fonthill	Wilts	Earl Orlaf	33	The Bp. and Priory of St. Swithun granted these 60 hides of land to King Edward in exchange for liberties which the King granted to Taunton Monastery
*904 {	20	(Stoke, near Shalbourne)	"	The Bishop	36	
	10	At Crawancumbe				
	10	At B'shp Compton				
	20	At Banwell				
904 {	40	Bishop's Waltham	Hants	Edward	33	King of the West Saxons
928 {	12	Stoke	"	Athelstan	38	
933 {	10	Newton	Wilts	"	24	"
934 {	30	Enford	Hants	"	37	
934 {	10	Chilbolton	"	"	None	"
934 {	10	Ashmansworth	"	"	"	"
938 {	25	Titchbourne	Hants	"	16	"
939 {	15	(Overton [East] Overton]	"	"	"	"
940 {	30	Pewsey	Wilts	Edmund	36	King of England
957 {	7	Heaton	S'thampt'n	Edwig	None	
959 {	10	Brighton	"	"	42	
960 {	10	(Bishopstoke on the R. Itchen)	"	Edgar	13	
960 {	7	Harwell	Berks	"	17	
961 {	5	Avington	"	"	8	
961 {	7	(Easton on River Itchen, near Winchester)	"	"	32	
963 {	24	Wasing	"	"	20	
975 {	15	Bleadon	Somerset	"	14	
975 {	3	Maddingley	Cambridge	"	27	
979 {	5	Sutton	Hants	Ethelred	8	
980 {	7	Havant	"	"	42	
991 {	10	Stockton	Wilts	"	47	
994 {	10	Fobbafuntan	"	"	7	
1033 {	3	Hille	Dorsets.	Cnut	7	
1043 {		Portland				
1044 {	15	Pitminster	"	Edward the Confessor	34	
1044 {	30	Witney	Oxfor.	"	34	
1045 {	8	Southampton	Hants	"	30	
1046 {	6	Hannington	"	"	10	

Total . 1422

* Land exchanged.

The See and Church of Winchester received the largest amount of public property, amounting to 1422 hides. The grants are contained in 44 extant charters. In Domesday the amount is 1200 hides, viz., 664½ to bishop and 535½ to church. Two hundred and twenty-two hides seem to have been lost or taken from the church before 1066. In discussing the matter of public or national property, it is very important to note that we have lost a large number of valuable Anglo-Saxon charters which contained particulars of the conveyance of this property. Therefore we must regard as a minimum the quantity of land conveyed in extant charters. The records of Winchester have been the most complete of all the dioceses in England. In Hampshire the bishop had 287½ hides, church 388; Wilts, 110 bishop, church 147½; the bishop had in Cambridge, 15½; Somersetshire, 92; Berks, 31; Bucks, 39; Oxford, 44½; Sussex, 40; Herts, 5. Total yearly rental £1476, for the 1200 hides in Domesday.

Chilcombe was rated in Domesday for only one hide, whereas the estate was 100 hides, which number I adopt here. The annual rental was £100. The general average rental for one hide in Domesday was one pound per annum.

WELLS.

When King Ina founded, about A.D. 704, the Collegiate Church of Wells, he endowed it with 50 hides in and around the village of Wells. In 767 King Cenulf granted 11 hides by charter. But Edward the Confessor was its best benefactor. When Earl Harold and his father Godwin were banished by the Confessor, he bestowed on the Church of Wells, in A.D. 1065, Harold's estates in Somersetshire, amounting to 210 hides. The church thus received 271 hides of public property. In Domesday the Bishop of Wells possessed 282 hides in 18 manors in Somersetshire. The first Bishop of Wells was consecrated A.D. 909, and he and his successors enjoyed the endowments of the church.

I have no hesitation in saying that the 282 hides of Domesday were public property. According to Mr. Eyton, the Somersetshire hide=250 modern acres; therefore 282 hides=70,500 acres, which would be worth £70,000 net rental per annum at least, at the present time, for bishop and cathedral church. But what are the actual annual rentals? £30,000, including tithes. More than £40,000 per annum of public endowments must have actually been taken from this church in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth.

CARLISLE.

Four of our kings after the Norman Conquest granted manors, advowsons, and tithes to the priory of Carlisle, which was the cathedral

church. In 1133, Henry I. created the bishopric of Carlisle; Henry III. gave the manor of Dalston. The church had already the manors of Carlton and Bris-caihe. Edward I. gave the tithes of extra-parochial lands within the forest of Englewood, and several churches with their tithes. At the dissolution, the priory's revenues were valued at gross £482, net £418; the bishop's at gross £577, net £531. But Henry VIII. incorporated a Dean and Chapter in place of the priory, and granted them all the manors they possessed—viz., fifteen manors in Cumberland and one in Northumberland, with possessions in 126 other places, and the rectories and advowsons of 22 churches. Henry VIII. also granted them all the revenues of the priory of Wetherall, they paying certain accounts. This was all public property.

CHESTER.

In Domesday Survey, the church of St. Werburgh has 28 hides in 21 manors. In A.D. 958 King Edgar granted by charter 17 hides in four places. Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, and some of his successors richly endowed the church with extensive estates. This was not national property. In 1541 the See and Chapter were founded and endowed out of the revenues of the dissolved monastery. I can trace only 17 hides of national property.

CHICHESTER.

In A.D. 683, Caedwalla, King of Wessex, gave 87 hides of land to Bishop Wilfrid in various villages in the peninsula, to found an abbey at Selsey. King Nanna in 714 granted 11 hides, and in 725, 20; Osmund in 770 granted 15; Offa in 772 granted 8; Cenulf in 801 granted 25; Athelstan in 930 granted 4; Edmund in 945 granted 6; and Edwig in 956 granted 60; total, 236. About 60 hides of Caedwalla's grant have been covered by the inroads of the sea. In 1075 the See of Selsey was removed to Chichester, and the endowments followed the bishopric. In Domesday the bishop and canons of Chichester possessed in Sussex 175 hides. I consider that all this land came from public property.

ELY.

When Queen Ethelreda founded the monastery of Ely, in A.D. 673, she endowed it with lands in the island which were her own private property and amounted to 600 hides. Two hundred years after, Burhred, King of Mercia, having defeated the Danes, seized the island of Ely, and annexed it to the crown of Mercia. But Saxon kings could not have disposed of such property as modern English kings.

have done. The former held the property as trustees, and were only usufructuary possessors. It is important to note this fact, because when Bishop Ethelwold, of Worcester, was commanded by King Edgar to rebuild the monastery, the king endowed it with 55 hides and several villages in Ely, as public property held by the Crown, and also granted the manor of Hatfield, in Herts, of 40 hides in extent, and 50 hides in Suffolk. The bishop himself purchased, partly with the king's money, about 100 hides as additional endowment.

Owing to numerous private benefactions the monastery became very wealthy, as is known from the Domesday Survey, where 535 hides are recorded in 128 manors and 79 other places in six counties, viz., Cambridge, 210; Suffolk, 109; Huntingdon, 38½; Norfolk, 73½; Herts, 49; and Essex, 54½; total, 534½. I have traced 109 of these hides as public property.

EXETER.

King Athelstan granted to this church, in A.D. 938, 8 hides in four manors in Devonshire, and each of the four charters was witnessed by fifteen of the Witan. In A.D. 932 he endowed St. Peter's at Exeter with twenty-six villages. King Edward the Elder gave the Bishop of Crediton three manors. It is important to note the union of bishoprics with that of Exeter. In 905 King Edward the Elder erected two sees, (1) St. Peter's, Bodmin, for Cornwall, (2) Taunton, for Devonshire. In 978 the see at Bodmin was transferred to St. German's, and Taunton was removed to Crediton. In 1040 the see of St. German's was transferred to Crediton, and thus the two were united into one bishopric. In 1050 Bishop Leofric removed the see from Crediton to Exeter. This will give an idea how the episcopal property of Exeter increased. King Edward the Elder endowed with manors of folcland the two sees which he created in A.D. 905. And these endowments, with others, followed the bishoprics to Exeter, so that at the time of the Domesday Survey, the Bishop of Exeter was possessed of 343 hides, in 52 manors, in nine counties.* The Confessor had largely endowed the bishopric. I have no hesitation in saying that the 343 hides came from national property. But matter for serious consideration is contained in the facts that the average annual income of the see in 1850 was only £1508, and that of the church £11,483! The episcopal estates were shipwrecked after the Reformation. The capitular estates were not touched.

GLOUCESTER.

Ethelred, King of the Mercians, in A.D. 671 granted by his charter 300 tributarii or hides of land at Gloucester, and 300 cassati or hides

* In Devonshire, 126½ hides; Cornwall, 101; Sussex, 79½; Surrey, 4½; Gloucester, 7; Berkshire, 9; Oxford, 6; Hampshire, 5; Norfolk, 4½; total, 343.

at Pershoram to Osric, his nephew, then his viceroy of the Wiccii, for the purpose of founding and endowing a monastery at Gloucester. In Domesday, St. Peter's, Gloucester, possessed only $100\frac{1}{2}$ hides in sixteen manors and three counties, viz., Gloucestershire 97, Hereford 3, Worcester $\frac{1}{2}$, total, $100\frac{1}{2}$. Of these $100\frac{1}{2}$ hides I can trace only 41 to public sources: the remainder no doubt come from private donors. I cannot state what became of Ethelred's foundation grants, which certainly were very extensive. I think none of the 41 hides belonged to the original grant, which doubtless was all lost, that is, assuming Ethelred's charter to have been genuine.

In 1541 the new Bishop, Dean and Chapter were partly endowed out of the revenues of the dissolved monastery.

BRISTOL.

In 1140, the first Lord Berkeley founded and endowed St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol. Several of his successors added to the endowments, which were all private property. The gross annual revenue at the dissolution was £767. In 1542 the bishopric and chapter of Bristol were founded and partly endowed out of the revenues of the dissolved monastery. Henry VIII., in his new bishoprics and chapters, had, when necessary, supplemented their endowments from the revenues of other dissolved monasteries throughout the country. All that was public property. These were Bristol, Gloucester, Peterborough, Chester, and Oxford. I omit Westminster. Peterborough alone was not supplemented, as the revenues of her dissolved monastery were more than sufficient to endow the new bishopric and chapter. Therefore, the present revenues derived from the estates of the above bishoprics and chapters have, to a large extent come from the public property of the State.

SEE AND CHAPTER OF OXFORD.

The See was created in 1541, and Henry VIII. endowed it out of monastic property with six manors in Oxfordshire and two in Bucks, with other lands, rents, rectories, and advowsons. The gross annual value was £382, net £342.

As regards the revenues of the Cathedral Church of Oxford, we must go back to 1525, when the king transferred the endowments of twenty-one suppressed monasteries, amounting then to £2000 per annum, to Cardinal Wolsey, who founded "Cardinal College" for a dean, 100 canons, 13 chaplains, professors, and 186 other persons. Wolsey endowed it from the above and other public revenues. The endowment of the chapter in 1542 was £723 net per annum. All the revenues of See and Chapter came from public property; certainly not from *private property*.

The chapter property is now so much mixed up with the collegiate property, that no return of revenues had been given in 1852. But the rack-rented value of £723 in 1542 was £17,352 in 1852—*i.e.*, twenty-four times its value; twenty-four is always my factor in such calculations.

This agrees with the value stated in 30 & 31 Vict. c. 76, under which Act the governing body of Christ Church set apart every year £17,000 to be under the exclusive control of the Dean and Chapter, in order to pay the salaries of the dean, canons, chaplains, &c., except the fabric fund. This £17,000 a year is from the public or national endowments of 1542.

The bishop's endowment in 1542 of £382 then should in 1852 produce £9168 per annum, but the average was only £1753, a loss of £7415 per annum! How was this? Queen Elizabeth, through the influence of her unprincipled courtiers, stripped the see in 1559 of almost all its property, and so great was the poverty in which the queen left the see that Charles I. granted Bishop Bancroft and his successors £100 per annum out of his forest at Shatover and Stow Wood, with license to unite the vicarage of Cuddesden to the rectory. But the chapter property was not touched by the queen.

HEREFORD.

In A.D. 680 the See of Hereford was founded. The endowments were small until Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, had been cruelly murdered when on a friendly visit at King Offa's Court. Milfred, King of the Mercians, erected, in 825, the Cathedral Church in which Ethelbert's remains were deposited. The church was then richly endowed with landed estates by King Milfred, and some of his successors, out of the public property of the Mercian State. These endowments are recorded in Domesday as 407 hides in sixty manors and in five counties, viz., bishop 98, church 309. The original endowments were held in common by the bishop and church; then they were gradually divided, as in other old bishoprics, between bishop and chapter. In Herefordshire they held 293 hides, Shropshire 56 (of which 33 were waste), Gloucestershire 30, Worcestershire 25½, Essex 2, total 407. All this was public property.

LICHFIELD.

The bishopric of Lichfield was created and endowed by Oswy, King of Mercia, in A.D. 656, and in 680 the bishopric was divided into five dioceses. In 789 Lichfield was made an Archiepiscopal See, but the title ceased in A.D. 802. In 1075 the See was transferred to Chester, and in 1102 it was again changed to Coventry, where there was a

wealthy church. During these various changes, the bishopric received from the several kings endowments of lands from State property. In Domesday the See possessed 192 hides, in forty-one manors and twenty-four other places, and in six counties, viz., Staffordshire 109 (of which twenty were waste), Derbyshire 29, Cheshire 14½, Shropshire 13½, Warwickshire 12, Herts 14; total, 192. All this was public property.

LINCOLN.

Kynegils, King of the West Saxons, gave Dorchester, now a village about seven miles from Oxford, to Birinus, where, in 635, he fixed his See, and built a church. The bishopric extended over the two large kingdoms of West Saxony and Mercia. In course of time eight bishoprics were formed out of this bishopric. In 683 the bishopric of Dorchester was transferred to Winchester. But the bishoprics of Leicester and Lindsey (called Sidnacester) were transferred to Dorchester in 874 and 949 respectively, and were there united under the title of the See of Dorchester. In 1085 Remigius, Bishop of Dorchester, transferred his See to Lincoln. I have explained these changes, in order to show that Lincoln possessed the endowments of the bishoprics of Leicester and Lindsey, which were given them by the Anglo-Saxon kings who created them in A.D. 680, in addition to the endowments which were given *after* their union. Domesday tells the tale where the bishop's endowments were.

Here are the eight counties. The bishop held for himself and Cathedral Church 364 hides in Oxfordshire, 39½ in Bucks, 74½ in Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire 55, Cambridge 30, Beds 10½, Nottinghamshire 28, Northamptonshire 8½, Lincolnshire 187; total, 796¾, in 106 manors, 39 sokes, and 3 inland. All this was public property or folcland in the kingdoms of Mercia and East Anglia, which was granted by various kings with the consent of their Witans.

MANCHESTER.

The bishopric of Manchester was founded in 1847, and the bishop has since then received his income of £4200 per annum out of the Common Fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. But the property of the Dean and Chapter, amounting to gross £30,000 per annum, net £27,000, is parochial property. In 1889, £19,074 was distributed in *augmentation of incomes* to 109 rectors in Manchester parish in which this property arises, making their net total £40,000, or an average of £366 net per annum each. The Dean and Chapter receive £5700 per annum out of the same property. It is probable that this property will realise gross £60,000 per annum as a maximum, net £55,000. The result is that some of the Manchester rectors have over

£1000 net per annum, and a very large number from £600 to £800 a year net.

NORWICH.

Felix, having converted the East Angles, was consecrated their first bishop in A.D. 630, and placed his See at Dunwich in Suffolk. Elmham, called North Elmham in contradistinction to South Elmham in Suffolk, was given to Bishop Felix by King Sigebert. In 673 the diocese was divided into two; one bishop resided at Dunwich for Suffolk, and the other at North Elmham for Norfolk. In 870 they were united, with North Elmham as the bishop's residence. In 1075 the See was removed to Thetford, and in 1094 to Norwich.

In Domesday the bishop possessed 178 hides, in 68 manors & Berewicks and 46 other places, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The greatest benefactor to the bishopric was William Galsagus [Belfagus or Beaufo], Bishop of Thetford (1085–1091), who possessed immense private property. He was the Conqueror's chaplain and chancellor, with whom he was in such great favour that he gave and confirmed to him and his heirs above 30 manors in fee in the county of Norfolk, besides lands and rents in about 40 other towns, most of which he left to the See at his death. Ralf de Bellafago, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in Henry I.'s time, seems to have been his son. In Domesday, the actual property which belonged to the See in 1086, and which was national property, was, in Norfolk, 53 hides in 19 manors and 6 Berewicks, yearly value £165 12s. 4d.; in Suffolk, 96 hides in 2 manors, yearly value £36 8s.

The Conqueror gave Bishop Galsagus in fee [DE FEUDO] in Norfolk, 96 hides, yearly rental or valet, £171 5s. 10d.; in Suffolk, 14 hides, yearly rental or valet, £23 10s. 6d.; total, 110 hides, yearly rental or valet, £194 16s. 4d. It was the greater part of this, his private property, which he left to the See at his death. Therefore only 68 hides can be claimed as national property, with a yearly rental in 1086 of £202. On the death of Galsagus, the See possessed 178 hides, with a yearly rental of £396 16s. 8d. Out of this property, Bishop Herbert Losinga, in 1101, endowed the new Cathedral Church with land, about 25 hides, amounting to about £90 per annum, and 7 churches. This property was increased by subsequent grants of bishops and other benefactors.

PETERBOROUGH.

In A.D. 664, Wulphere, King of the Mercians, founded and endowed the monastery of Medeshamstede, subsequently changed to Peterborough.

He endowed the abbey with lands of 42 villages and lands in 25

other places. The charter is dated 664, and was witnessed by 4 kings, the brother and 2 sisters of King Wulphere, 5 bishops, 2 presbyters, 1 abbot, 5 princes, 5 thanes, and others. His brother Ethelred, who succeeded him in 675, completed the endowment by granting, A.D. 680, 30 hides at Leugtridun. The endowment then included all the Nassaburgh Hundred of Northampton which now bears the name. It was then all folcland or public property.

In Domesday the abbey possessed $328\frac{1}{2}$ hides in 71 manors, 11 sokes, and 9 Berewicks in six counties, viz., Northamptonshire 200 hides, Lincolnshire 87, Leicestershire 19, Hunts 15, Notts 5, and Beds $2\frac{1}{2}$. At the dissolution Henry VIII. divided the revenue into three parts. The first he reserved to himself, amounting to £700 per annum; the second part he assigned to the new bishop, and the third to the new cathedral body. Therefore these two corporations received two-thirds of the revenues arising out of the $328\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Their endowments have therefore come from public property.

ROCHESTER.

There are twenty charters granting 109 hides of public property to the Bishop and Cathedral Church of Rochester. King Ethelbert granted land in the city of Rochester in 604, Eadbert 10 hides, Sigired 20, Offa 27, Egbert 14, Ethelbert 1, Cenulf 3, Ethelwulf 6, Alfred 10, Edmund 3, and Ethelred 15; total, 109.

In Domesday the bishop possessed only $55\frac{1}{2}$ hides in 17 manors in three counties—viz., Kent 44, Suffolk 10, and Cambridge $1\frac{1}{2}$. The bishopric lost $53\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Here was a poor bishopric and church, and yet among the principal plunderers of the $53\frac{1}{2}$ hides was the Conqueror's own brother, Bishop Odo, the wealthy Earl of Kent.

RIPON.

The bishopric was founded in 1836. The Bishop of Durham transferred towards its endowment landed property producing £1800 net per annum. The Archbishop of York transferred land producing £500 net a year. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners gave £2200 out of the episcopal fund. His income of £4500 has thus come from public property, because the episcopal properties transferred were, to a great extent, portions of folcland originally given to the Sees, and the Commissioners' grant comes now from the episcopal and capitular properties vested in them by Parliament.

With regard to the revenues of the Cathedral Church of Ripon; at the dissolution all the lands of the monastery of Ripon fell into lay hands.

In 1604 King James refounded the church, and endowed it with £274 per annum out of the Crown lands or the public property of

the State. This property produced a gross annual rental of £4910 for the seven years ending 1852.

The revenues of the bishopric and church have therefore come from public property.

SALISBURY.

In A.D. 705 Sherborne was made an episcopal see which comprised the following six counties, viz., Dorset, Berks, Wilts, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. In 904 this diocese was subdivided, and only included afterwards the first three counties. A few years after, the See of Wiltshire was formed, with its seat at Ramesbury. In 1060 Wilton was united to Sherborne, and in 1076 Bishop Herman translated the united Sees to old Sarum. It is absolutely necessary to give this brief sketch in order to understand the direction and source of the endowments which followed the Bishop of Salisbury. The bishops and monks of Sherborne received the following endowments out of folcland or the public property of the State, with the consent and approval of the respective Witans. King Kenewal granted 100 hides, Edgar 5, Ethelwulf 36, Athertus 8 hides at Tavistock and 12 at Up-Cernel, 20 at Stalbridge and 8 at Cumton; Kenulf 6, Cuthred 47, Kenefulf 80; Offa granted 52 hides at Poterne and 90 hides at Ramsbury, Egbert 98, Sigibert 12, Ina 25, Geroncius 5, Edred 7; total, 611 hides given by 12 kings. These grants are found in the Cottonian Library, British Museum; Faustin A. 2, fol. 23. Let us compare these endowments with those in Domesday. There the Bishop of Salisbury held 463 hides, and the monks of Sherborne 100 hides in 9 manors—total, 563. The difference is 48 hides between those recorded in the charters and in Domesday, and these possibly were lost between 705 and 1086. In Dorsetshire the bishop held 138½ hides in 12 manors; Wilts, 267 in 5; Berks, 25½ in 3; Oxford, 20 in 1; Somersetshire, 8 in 2; Lincolnshire, 3½ in 3; total, 462½ in 26 manors. The revenues of the monastery of Sherborne were confiscated at the dissolution.

WORCESTER.

The bishopric was founded A.D. 679, and the Cathedral Church was erected in the same year. The first endowment of this church on record was in 690, when Ethelred, King of the Mercians, granted 84 hides in Worcestershire; Ethelweard, viceroy of the Wiccii, granted 12, and Eanberht, another viceroy, 40; Ethelbald, King of South Saxons, 3; Ethelred in 736, 20 hides; Offa, King of the Mercians, granted 304 hides in 27 places; King Cenulf, 84 in Worcestershire; King Bertwulf, 25 in Worcestershire; King Burgred, 39 in Gloucestershire; King Ceolwulf, 6; Athelstan, 20; and Enwig, 5; total, 642. All this was public property granted by these kings with the consent and approval of their respective Witenagemōts.

In Domesday the See and Cathedral Church possessed 676½ hides, or 34½ more than I have stated. But three places named in the charters have not had the area of the lands stated. The bishop had 54½ hides in 6 manors in Warwickshire, and 84 hides in 5 manors in Gloucestershire. The Cathedral Church held 480½ hides in 64 manors in Worcestershire; 58 hides in 2 manors in Gloucestershire. There were many hides of land waste in Worcestershire.

The 677 hides were public property.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Sebert, King of the East Saxons, built a church, about A.D. 604, on Thorney Island, on the ruins of an old temple of Apollo. Widmore fixes the foundation between 730 and 740; but King Sebert was buried in the church, which is a strong fact to show that he was the founder.

King Sebert endowed the church with 3½ hides around the monastery, and 19 hides at Stanes. Ethelred, King of the Mercians, granted 68 hides in Surrey, including 28 at Battersea; King Offa, 10 hides in Middlesex, including 5 hides between Tyburn and St. Andrew's Church; Alfred, 2½ hides; King Edgar granted 85 in Herts, Middlesex, and Surrey; Edward the Martyr, 22 in Middlesex, Ethelred II., 29½; Edward the Confessor, 32 in Berks, Herts, and Middlesex; he also confirmed 17 hides about the monastery, which include the 3½ granted by Sebert. The total hidage which I can trace as public property is 285 hides. In Domesday the abbey possesses 565 hides in 51 manors in 15 counties, viz., Essex 43, Middlesex 99½, Herts 44, Surrey 52½, Northampton 5½, Bucks 18, Worcestershire 200, Staffordshire 3, Lincolnshire 12, Sussex 3, Hampshire 4, Berks 5, Gloucestershire 69, Beds 6½; total, 565; of these, 280 hides were given from private property.

WINDSOR CHAPEL.

Edward III. in 1351 refounded the old Royal Free Chapel in Windsor Castle, in connection with the Order of the Garter, and granted to it two manors and eight advowsons. Henry IV. granted nine manors, three priories, four advowsons, and parcels of lands in three counties. Edward IV. granted two manors. Total given by these three kings, thirteen manors, twelve advowsons, three priories, and parcels of land. John, Duke of Suffolk, gave a manor or advowson, and certain yearly rentals.

There is no doubt that the lands, &c., granted above by the three kings were a part of the Terra Regis, common or public property, of which they were only usufructuary possessors. This property produced in 1534 a net revenue of £1602 per annum, and in 1852, £17,091 a year, on beneficial leases.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

The following table shows the landed estates which were in possession of the Archbishops, Bishops, Cathedral, and other Churches at the time when the Domesday Survey was taken, and also the total values of their annual rentals in 1086. It also shows the hidage of the public or national property held by these respective corporations as embodied in Anglo-Saxon charters, and finally it shows the average annual rentals of all the episcopal, capitular, and collegiate church estates in 1850 and 1852.

	Domesday Survey.				Total Hidage in Domes- day.	Total Annual Rentals in 1086.	Total Hidage of Public or State property granted in (Charter).	Bishops.	Churches.	Total.
	Bishops.		Churches.					Average Annual net Revenue for the seven yrs. ending 1850.	Average Annual gross Revenue for the seven yrs. ending 1852.	
	Manors.	Hidage.	Manors.	Hidage.						
Canterbury . . .	61	697	34	159	856	£2,071	567	£23,966	£20,115	£44,081
York . . .	141 M 70 sokes	1137*	Included	in Bp.'s	1137	358	1,000	12,859	3,614	16,473
London (St. Paul's)	51	270	32	210	490	583	184	16,513	12,300	28,813
Durham . . .	60 M 34 sokes	368†	Included	in Bp.'s	368	198	308	26,730	54,337	81,123
Winchester (Bath) and Wells	45 18	665 242	39 Included	536 in Bp.'s	1,201 242	1,476 320	1,122 291	12,215 5,676	14,457 4,050‡	26,672 10,326
Carlisle . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,131	5,529	8,660
Chester . . .	—	—	21	28	24	14	17	3,638	5,064	8,702
Chichester . . .	0	159	1	16	175	149	175	3,735	4,639	8,384
Ely . . .	—	—	128 M 79 other places	534‡	534‡	803	109	7,791	11,766	19,557
Exeter . . .	52	343	Included	in Bp.'s	343	478	343	1,508	11,483	12,991
Gloucester . . .	—	—	16	100	100	92	41	4,501	7,986	12,487
Bristol . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,496	8,496
Oxford . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,763	17,363	19,126
Hereford . . .	11 41 M	98	49	310	407‡	304	407	4,540	6,278	10,818
Lichfield . . .	24 other places	192	—	—	192	94	192	3,408	3,167	6,575
Lincoln . . .	106 M 12 sokes	797	Included	in Bp.'s	797	700	797	4,057	9,017	13,074
Manchester . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,200	—	1,200
Norwich . . .	106 M 8 bere- wicks 16 other places	178	Included	in Bp.'s	178	397	68	5,653	9,280	14,933
Peterborough . . .	—	—	71 M 20 other places	329	329	291	200	3,509	6,032	9,541
Ripon . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,134	4,910	9,044
Rocheater . . .	17	55‡	Included	in Bp.'s	55‡	109	55‡	1,516	10,596	12,112
Salisbury . . .	26	463	Included	in Bp.'s	463	492	463	5,094	5,304	10,398
Worcester . . .	11	134‡	60	534‡	677	441	477	8,973	9,530	18,503
Westminster . . .	—	—	51	565	565	519	245	—	31,204	31,204
Windsor . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17,091	17,091
Totals . . .	5843	—	3325	—	9,168	£4,953	7,653	—	—	£166,233

* 323 waste.

† 130 waste.

‡ Wells church.

§ 33 waste.

REMARKS ON THE GENERAL SUMMARY.

In Domesday, the bishops and cathedral churches possessed 9168 hides of land in England, of which 7653, or more than four-fifths, were given by Anglo-Saxon kings out of folcland, or the public property of the community. The total rentals in 1086 were £9952 per annum.

About 500 hides were waste which then paid no rent. When cultivated, their rental was about £528, making total rentals £10,480. To get the *rack rentals* at the present time of a rental of £10,480 in 1086, we multiply by 216, and the amount is £2,263,680 net. The factor 216 is thus found. I have carefully calculated that the rack rental of land in 1534, when the Church property was valued, was nine times the rental of 1086; and in 1836, twenty-four times the rental of 1534. I say rack rents, in contradistinction to rents on beneficial leases. The former were three times more than the latter as regards Church leases. When the monasteries were dissolved, a large number of advowsons and rectorial tithes was handed over by Parliament to Henry VIII. Bishops and chapters were compelled to surrender some of their best landed estates to the Sovereign, especially to Elizabeth, in exchange for the rectorial tithes. In some cases there was no *quid pro quo*. Still, what was given to the bishops and chapters in exchange was national property. The gross annual rentals of all the episcopal and capitular properties for the year 1889 were £1,484,000, net £1,130,000. Of this amount, 28 archbishops and bishops received £152,200, and 30 cathedrals £154,000.* Five thousand six hundred and forty beneficed clergy received in augmentation of their incomes out of these revenues £816,000. Add to this the millions of capital paid since 1840 out of the revenues of the Common Fund towards the erection of some thousands of new parsonages and the repairing of others. Fully four-fifths of all this property originally came from national sources. And yet we are told that the Church of England is not indebted to the State for any of her endowments!

From the same national property for the year 1889, archdeacons received, *quæ* archdeacons, £12,254; £33,290 was paid for the Establishment expenses of the Commission; solicitors, who a few years ago had £20,000 a year, received £10,684; surveyors, £7640; architects, £1341; and £181,540 was paid for expenses connected with the management, &c., of the estates vested in the Commissioners, including the episcopal estates placed by the bishops under their management.

Lord Hartington, in a speech delivered at Derby on July 12 last, said: "Our ancestors had devoted a considerable share of public property to provide for the spiritual and moral instruction of the people," and also spoke of "State endowment for moral and religious instruction." The *Church Times*, referring to this speech, accuses his lordship of "ignorant or mendacious claptrap." This accusation is in truth and fact more applicable to those who assert the contrary. Lord Hartington was correct, and the *Church Times* wrong.

HENRY WILLIAM CLARKE.

* The cathedral and collegiate churches also received £146,000 additional from other sources, including the landed estates with which they are re-endowed, and which now form no part of the Common Fund.

KOCH'S TREATMENT OF TUBERCULOSIS.

NOW that the smoke of the tremendous salvo of journalistic artillery with which the announcement of Professor Koch's discovery was received is clearing away, it is becoming possible, in the words of Matthew Arnold, to "see things as they really are," and to form some kind of forecast as to the issue of this latest phase in the war of medical science against disease. Notwithstanding the carefully guarded terms in which Dr. Koch himself spoke of the results of his investigations, it was inevitable that exaggerated hopes should have been excited in the minds of persons untrained in the judicial weighing of scientific evidence, and only too willing, for their own sake or that of others dear to them, to be convinced that an effectual remedy had at last been found for consumption. And, indeed, the enthusiasm of the medical profession itself, especially in Germany, seemed to justify this belief. Never, so far as I know, has anything like it been seen in the history of medicine; in this, as in other fields of human activity, discoverers and inventors have generally been the victims of ridicule and neglect, when they have not been taken out and stoned. In the present instance, however, we have the extraordinary spectacle of whole colleges of learned pundits,

"so prudent held and wise
And wary, that they scarce received
As gospel what the Church believed,"

not merely accepting the Berlin professor's own words, but building fabrics upon them which the foundation by no means justified. This may seem strange to those who do not know that there are medical as well as theological superstitions. It is especially in the province of treatment that "weak-hinged fancy" is apt to manifest itself. A few days seldom pass without an infallible remedy for something or other being discovered, and the praises of the new *catholicon* are sung in the medical papers by all the superior young men to whom a new name is the Shibboleth of scientific progress. After a time a "dying fall"

becomes perceptible in the chorus; discordant notes make themselves heard, and, before long, the *ex-panacea* has none so poor to do it reverence.

When Dr. Koch's discovery was welcomed with such exaggerated enthusiasm it was evident to many practitioners who, like myself, had lost their therapeutical illusions, that disenchantment would speedily follow. The pendulum has begun to swing to a corresponding length in the opposite direction, and Dr. Koch may be temporarily deposed from the pedestal which he has lately occupied. After a time, however, public opinion will recover its equilibrium, and the world, in St. Augustine's famous phrase, will judge the whole question with certainty. When the details of the method have been perfected by experience, and when the capabilities and limitations of the remedy and the conditions of its use are accurately known, it will no doubt take its place among the most effective instruments at our disposal for the suppression of disease. It is safe to predict, however, that even when it is accepted by the majority of civilised men as a remedy of sovereign virtue, there will still be not a few fanatics who will see in it nothing but a "leprous distilment" which corrupts the blood and breeds disease instead of curing it.

In justice to Dr. Koch, it should be pointed out that he is in no way responsible either for the unfounded expectations to which his discovery has given rise, or for the sensational manner in which it was revealed to the world. All who know him agree in describing him as a man of the strictest intellectual honesty, who is careful to avoid rash deductions and hasty generalisations to a degree that is very rare even among scientific inquirers. Instead of rushing off to the nearest medical society, to deliver himself of every half-formed embryo of a new idea, as is the fashion nowadays, Koch would apply the Horatian precept to scientific, as well as to literary, work. In the present instance, he has done so almost literally, for it is more than eight years since he began to seek for a means of checking the ravages of the tubercle bacilli, and there is no doubt that he would have held his peace till his researches were completed, had he been allowed to do so. It is no secret that he was driven into premature publicity by pressure from his official superiors; but I hear from a friend who has just returned from Berlin that he has vowed that nothing shall induce him to say anything more till he has put the last touches to his work, be that a few weeks, or a few months, or many years hence. The irresponsible eloquence of "Our Own Correspondent" (who in medical matters too often rushes in where angels fear to tread) helped largely to bewilder the public mind; the consequence is that much bitter disappointment has been caused, and many victims of consumption have had their sufferings needlessly aggravated by a fruitless journey in the depth of winter to one of the worst climates in the world. Nor is the medical profession altogether blameless in the matter. The remedy

has more than once been tried in utterly unsuitable cases—whether from misguided enthusiasm or scientific curiosity, I do not presume to say—and already some “calamities of surgery,” to use an euphemism of Sir James Paget’s, have occurred, and the lymph has killed the patient, as well as the bacillus which preyed on him. What is still worse, there seems to have been an inclination to hush up these untoward effects of the new treatment.

But the discovery has not everywhere met with an enthusiastic reception—in some places not even with common fairness; because Koch thought it advisable to withhold for a time the details of his process, a few cynical pedants have endeavoured to place the remedy on the same level as Cockle’s pills or Holloway’s ointment. In France, indeed, there appears to be a tendency in some quarters to look at the whole question from a national, rather than a scientific point of view, and there is a disposition to treat Koch’s elixir as if it were a German spy. From a consideration of these various circumstances, it is to be feared that the reaction which has already set in may possibly prevent mankind from reaping the full benefit of Professor Koch’s labours for a long time to come. The only way to prevent so serious a misfortune is to educate public opinion on the subject. For this purpose, I have thought it might be useful to endeavour to put the matter in its true light, by stating in plain language the nature of the problem which Dr. Koch set himself to solve, and showing how far he has succeeded. This will, at any rate, give readers the materials for forming a correct judgment in the matter, and will help to dispel the misleading halo of the miraculous with which popular enthusiasm has surrounded the question.

It is unfortunate that the new treatment should generally be spoken of in this country as the “Consumption Cure,” for that is just what it is not. The beneficial effects of the remedy have, so far at any rate, been much less marked in consumption than in other forms of tuberculous affection; and, indeed, it is difficult to conceive that it could display its full activity in a lung riddled with abscesses, without destroying the patient as well as the disease. Before attempting to estimate the potency of the new remedy, however, it is necessary to have a clear notion of the evil which it is intended to combat. For this purpose, some explanation of the origin, nature, and effects of *tubercle* will be required, and I will endeavour to present the principal results of modern research on this subject without perplexing the reader with needless technical details.

Consumption is one of a group of diseases which, differing widely from each other in their outward and visible signs, have this one point in common, that they are all of tuberculous origin. Tubercle is a peculiar formation, different from anything that is found in the body in a condition of health. It is in fact a new growth which first becomes visible to the naked eye as a tiny nodule, grey in colour, and

of a cartilaginous hardness. This slowly increases in size, but in the very act of doing so undergoes a curious degeneration into a yellow cheese-like material. In course of time the natural structure of the part attacked may be actually transformed into a large mass of this substance. The further life-history of the individual tubercle varies according to the nature of the tissue on which it has quartered itself, and other circumstances. It may solidify into a hard, dry, sometimes even chalky, mass, or it may disintegrate, melting away into a thick, curdy fluid, and leaving a chronic abscess where there was a tumour. The last-mentioned process is the ordinary course of tubercle in the lungs. There is first the *deposit*, as it is often called—more strictly the first sprouting of new growth—in the lung, usually at the upper part of the organ. This increases in size till a solid accumulation of greater or less size is formed; this is the stage of *consolidation*. Finally, the tuberculous mass breaks down, and a *cavity* is formed. The internal surface of this cavity is an active ulcer, by which the lung is still further excavated, the destruction of tissue that is going on being fairly represented by the amount of purulent material expectorated. Any blood-vessels that happen to be in the way are laid open, as a leaden pipe is nibbled by rats; hence the blood-spitting, which is so alarming a feature of the disease.

This may be called the typical course of tuberculous disease. It would be impossible within the limits of a magazine article to give anything like a detailed description of the ravages wrought by tubercle in the different organs and tissues which it may attack. In some cases it is less actively destructive and less rapid in its course than in others, and, of course, the symptoms vary greatly, according to the part affected. So much is this the case, that it was long before many diseases of undoubtedly tuberculous nature were recognised as having anything in common. It is only within the last few years that the inflammations of joints, so painfully familiar in children's hospitals, have been traced to their true source, and it is only the other day that lupus (which gnaws the parts it fixes on like a *wolf*) was identified as "consumption" of the integument. Many of the manifestations of that constitutional taint, designated by the vague term *scrofula*, are now known to be really tuberculous, and, indeed, probably the best definition of *scrofula* that could be given would be that it is a condition of the tissues which makes them fall an easy prey to tubercle if they are exposed to its attack. But although the pathological features of all these maladies are identical, some of them do not appear absolutely the same in their nature, lupus of the larynx being a disease which differs from throat consumption both in its appearance and in the course it runs.

To Koch belongs the credit of having solved the mystery in which the origin of tubercle was involved. In 1882 he proved that it is caused by the action of a microscopic organism, the *bacillus tuberculosis*,

whose name is at present in all men's mouths. This tiny parasite, which measures about one ten-thousandth of an inch in length, is in shape like a little rod; it burrows in the tissues like a mole, throwing up its mound of "grey granulations" wherever it is at work. When it finds food to its liking it multiplies with great rapidity. Fortunately for the human race, however, it can only flourish in a suitable soil; in a perfectly healthy body it finds itself in the position of Polonius at supper, "not where he eats, but where he is eaten." For among the living elements of the body there are cells called "phagocytes," which play the part of sentinels; these arrest suspicious germs and "mak' sicker" that they shall give no further trouble by devouring them.

Koch showed conclusively, with regard to the *bacillus tuberculosis*, (1) that it is present in every case of tuberculous disease, and can always be found if looked for in the proper way and with sufficient perseverance; (2) that it is never found except in association with such disease; and (3) that if cultivated outside the body and grown pure, that is to say, free from admixture with other organisms, it invariably engenders the disease in any animal (not by nature insusceptible of tuberculous infection) into whose blood it is, so to speak, sown. The proof that the bacillus in question is the actual exciting cause of tubercle must therefore be held to be complete, and it is now accepted as such by nearly all scientific men.

The cause of the disease having been ascertained, it was natural to expect that the discovery of a remedy would follow as a matter of course. Modern chemistry has placed at our disposal a number of substances which have undoubtedly the power of killing germs, and the only difficulty seemed to be how to bring the bane within reach of the antidote. All manner of antiseptic agents, warranted to "smash, shatter, and pulverise" the most ferocious microbes, were tried in vain; like Toinette, in the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," they ought, according to all the rules of art, to have been killed, but they persisted in refusing to acknowledge themselves beaten. The reason of the failure of these attempts to discover a remedy for tuberculosis was, as Koch pointed out,* that the problem was attacked from the wrong end. The experiments were made from the outset on man, whereas they should first have been made on the bacillus, by seeking for something that would check its growth outside the body. This is what Koch did, and, as he tells us, he found that a large number of substances, such as various ethereal oils, and compounds of cyanogen and gold, arrest the growth of tubercle bacilli. But it is not enough to be able to kill or scotch the parasite in a test-tube; the living body is the real field of battle, and accordingly Koch followed up his success against what we may call the abstract bacillus by attacking it

* Address on "Bacteriological Research," delivered at the International Medical Congress held at Berlin last August.

in the concrete, that is, in tuberculous animals. Here, however, the substances referred to seemed to have altogether lost their power. At last his perseverance was rewarded by the discovery of an agent by means of which the growth of the bacilli within the body could be prevented. So potent is this remedy, that, to quote Koch's own words, "guinea-pigs which, as is well known, are extraordinarily susceptible to tuberculosis, if exposed to the influence of this substance, cease to react to the inoculation of tuberculous virus, and in guinea-pigs suffering from general tuberculosis even to a high degree, the morbid process can be brought completely to a standstill without the body being in any way injuriously affected."*

The next step was to try the effect of this powerful substance on man; and I, for one, think it is a pity that Dr. Koch was not allowed to carry his experiments on the human subject to the same degree of completeness as those on guinea-pigs before the results were made public. We should then, in all probability, have had a carefully tested and perfected method of dealing with tuberculosis placed at our disposal, and much of the disappointment that is beginning to find expression on all sides would have been avoided. At present, nearly everything connected with the new treatment is more or less uncertain and tentative, and there is reason to fear that a good many lives will be sacrificed on the altar of clinical experiment before the limits of its usefulness are definitively established.

Before discussing the results of the treatment, as they have so far been observed by various medical practitioners who have tried it, it will be well to consider carefully Koch's own statements as to the effects of his remedy on human beings. He says† that while the injection of an average dose (1 centigramme) of the fluid under the skin of a healthy person produces no particular effect, in a patient suffering from any form of tuberculosis it causes fever of greater or less intensity, with the usual accompaniments of such systemic disturbances. In addition to this, the remedy has a specific action on tuberculous processes of every kind, which shows itself in the form of what is practically an attack of acute inflammation of the affected parts. This effect is most marked in lupus, where the whole process is visible to the naked eye, and is also distinctly seen in diseased glands, bones, and joints, but is less obvious in the internal organs, especially the lungs. In the last-mentioned cases the general reaction predominates, but "we are justified in assuming that here, too, changes take place similar to those seen in lupus cases."‡ The fluid is, therefore, according to Koch, in the first place "an indispensable aid to diagnosis." To put his teaching into the form of an aphorism, No reaction, no tubercle. With regard to the remedial effect of the fluid, he says that it does *not* destroy the bacilli, but only the tissue in which they are embedded. In some parts the diseased tissue "becomes necrotic,"

* *Loc. cit.*

† *Deutsche med. Wochenschrift*, November 11.

‡ *Ibid.*

and is "thrown off as a dead mass"; in other parts it seems to "melt away." But it must be clearly understood that in these masses of dead tissue living bacilli may remain, and "may possibly enter the neighbouring still living tissue." This, especially when taken in conjunction with the fact that it is, as a rule, only when the disease is situated on the surface of the body that the dead mass can be "thrown off" without the aid of surgery, in itself constitutes a very serious limitation of the curative power of the new remedy.

The results of the treatment in Koch's own hands—or, to speak more accurately, under his eye—were as follows:—In two cases of lupus of the face the spots became completely cicatrised after three or four injections: other cases improved in proportion to the duration of the treatment. In cases of tuberculosis of glands, bones, and joints, there was "speedy cure in recent and slight cases, slow improvement in severe cases." With regard to pulmonary consumption, patients in the first stage were "all free from every symptom of disease, and might be pronounced cured," within a period of from four to six weeks. Other cases of greater severity "were almost cured"; in the last stage of phthisis no real improvement took place. Dr. Koch concludes by saying that incipient phthisis can be certainly cured by his remedy, though even here he is careful not to guarantee that the cure will be lasting. Moreover, he does not seem inclined to trust exclusively to the new treatment, even in the early stages of consumption, for he attaches considerable importance to such "adjuvants," to use a medical term, as mountain climate, fresh air, diet, nursing, &c.

I have thought it right to set forth Koch's views as far as possible in his own words, for he is a man who well weighs every syllable before he utters it, and is not likely to be carried away by enthusiasm into making any statement which he is not prepared to substantiate. It will be noticed that though he speaks with a good deal of reserve as to the effect of the remedy in bad cases, and as to the permanence of the result in all, he yet uses the word "cure" with regard to several conditions in which other methods of treatment have up to the present been but indifferently successful. On the whole, coming from so cautious a man, his statements must be pronounced to be highly encouraging, and it is not to be wondered at if to the public they seemed to herald the dawn of a new era in medicine.

The treatment has now been tried by many of the leading physicians and surgeons of Germany, and by several well-known practitioners in England, France, Italy, and Spain. Koch's description of the immediate effects of the injections has been confirmed by every one who has witnessed them. It is of course far too soon yet for a final judgment to be pronounced as to the curative value of the new remedy, but materials are accumulating day by day, and with respect to some elements of the question, professional opinion has already taken definite shape. There can be no shadow of doubt that in Koch's fluid

we have an agent of tremendous power. Only those who have seen the effect of the injection of a minute quantity of it can have any conception of the physiological earthquake which it causes. It seems to run through the system, searching out every nook and corner for tubercle, which it drags from its hiding-place into the light of day. A young physician-assistant to Professor Ewald, of Berlin, who supposed himself to be quite healthy, injected some of the fluid into his own body, out of scientific curiosity; the tell-tale reaction followed, and on examination he was found to have slight, but unmistakable, disease of one lung. The fluid has a true elective affinity for tubercle; neither on cancer nor any other disease has it any effect at all. Dr. Koch informed Sir Joseph Lister that the undiluted fluid probably contains only about a thousandth part of the really active ingredient. If, therefore, one milligramme of the fluid is injected—and this is the dose which is not unfrequently given to begin with—only one millionth of a gramme of the active principle enters the system. From the effects of this inconceivably minute quantity some idea may be formed of the almost “uncanny” energy which the substance would display if let loose, so to speak, in the fulness of its untamed strength. The statement attributed to M. Pasteur that no venom from a snake, if administered in such small doses, could produce such effects, is no exaggeration.

The power of the new remedy for evil, if rashly used, is, therefore, undeniable; and from what I have already seen of its effects, when given in properly regulated doses, I am disposed to think that its potency for good, within certain limits, is not less conclusively proved. It is premature, however, to speak of *cure*, even in cases of lupus, which, by universal consent, is the affliction in which the beneficial effect of the remedy has been most clearly displayed.

In lupus of the larynx, I have already seen marked benefit result from two or three injections, and in laryngeal tuberculosis (“consumption of the throat”), the improvement has also been pronounced, but the enemy is still within the gates. In pulmonary phthisis, again, there has been alleviation of symptoms, such as cough, expectoration, night sweats, and so forth, but it is impossible to speak yet of positive cures. It is necessary to repeat that Koch's own statement as to the curability of consumption amounts only to this, that it can be cured “in the beginning.” This, however, is nothing more than rational medical treatment and hygiene are able in most cases to effect if the disease be not too far advanced. Indeed, unassisted Nature often does it by herself, as is often proved years afterwards by the unimpeachable evidence of the post-mortem room. In many of the reports with which the medical journals are at present inundated, it is stated that the patients express themselves as “feeling better.” This I do not attach much importance to, as most patients feel better when their hopes are

excited by the prospect of cure, and consumptive persons are notoriously sanguine as to the results of treatment of any kind.

Of the dangers of the treatment it is unnecessary to say much. The fatalities which have occurred have sometimes been due to the fact that patients in the last stage of consumption have, with the proverbial tenacity to life of dying men, urgently requested to be injected, and in this way those who might have lived a few weeks have died in a few days. In one case reported from Innsbruck, a young woman only slightly affected with phthisis is said to have rapidly succumbed to a small dose of the fluid. In dealing with so potent a remedy, especially in the early stage of its employment, such results must be occasionally met with, and even at a later period may be expected as the result of idiosyncrasy. Such a remedy should always be used with the utmost circumspection, and only when the conditions offer a distinct prospect of improvement. When the patient is in the last stage of consumption, when he is worn out by his long suffering, when there is organic mischief of the heart or kidneys, or when the tuberculous disease is in a closed cavity (like the skull, for instance), I agree with Professor Senator that Koch's treatment should on no account be used.

To sum up : I believe that Koch's fluid is an agent of the highest possible value for the *detection* of tubercle, a remedy of great potency for certain of the slighter manifestations of tuberculosis, a palliative for some of the distressing symptoms of the severer forms of the disease, and a deadly poison in advanced or unsuitable cases. Probably when more is known as to its mode of action it will be possible to do more good by its means, with less risk of harm, than is the case at present. A wider sphere of usefulness will no doubt be opened up to it when practitioners have learnt how to combine other methods of treatment with it to the best advantage. A few months ago, Professor Tillmanns, of Leipzig, performed the unique surgical feat of removing a lung which had become hopelessly diseased. The patient recovered, not only from the operation, but from the disease, and in a few months had lost the appearance of an invalid to such an extent that Dr. Tillmanns failed to recognise him when he called. This case seems to me to open up great possibilities for the combination of Koch's treatment with surgery, but speculation on this tempting subject would take us too far afield.

One obvious defect in the treatment is that, whether or not it cures the disease actually present at a given time, it leaves the patient just as susceptible to tuberculosis as he was before. Hence there are endless possibilities of relapse either from the bacilli which are left behind, like the eagle renewing their youth, or by fresh infection taking place from without. The patient may therefore have to spend his life in almost constant subjection to treatment. It must be remembered that in the case of Pasteur's wonderful discovery, by which he renders cattle and sheep insusceptible to malignant pustule, the immunity only

lasts for about a year. This period is amply sufficient for fattening animals, but would be of little use in the case of human beings: it is impossible to say what the effects on the system might be if the poison had to be administered every year.

Possibilities of the utmost benefit to humanity are, however, in view, for after a time we may not only be able to cure consumption, but to prevent it in the way vaccination protects against small-pox. Dr. Koch has succeeded in making guinea-pigs invulnerable to tubercle, and this happy result may yet be attained by him in the case of man. MM. Charles Richet and J. Hericourt, who have lately been working at the subject in France, claim to have solved the problem so far as rabbits are concerned, and perhaps they also will be able to confer the same immunity on the human subject. There is a grand race going on between the French and German savants, but, comparing records, Koch is undoubtedly first favourite.

I have said nothing as to the probable nature of the remedy, and, in accordance with the advice of the wise man who observed that "you should never prophesy unless you know," it might be well to leave the matter alone. But from what has been ascertained of the effect on bacilli of the chemical substances which they themselves produce, I think it likely that Koch's fluid contains one or more of those poisons. Dr. Koch will no doubt reveal his secret when he is satisfied that the proper time has come for doing so; and that will no doubt be when the arrangements for producing it of uniform strength and perfectly pure quality are completed.

I cannot bring these remarks to a close without a feeling of sadness, almost of shame—that of the many important discoveries which have been made in the domain of medical science in recent years, so few are associated with the names of Englishmen. This country, which once stood in the forefront of scientific medicine, is now slowly following in the wake of both France and Germany. This is due in part to the opposition which well-meaning but mistaken persons have offered to biological research in England, but still more to the apathy and indifference to anything but their own material interests which have characterised the policy of our two leading medical corporations for many years back. The College of Surgeons, which is by far the richest body of the kind in the world, does hardly anything to encourage scientific investigation, but divides the bulk of its large revenues among the members of its governing body and their satellites. A representative form of government for this institution would at once put an end to the misapplication of funds, and would ensure a considerable portion of its income being spent in promoting original research. English medical science would in this way be soon restored to the proud position it once occupied.

MORELL MACKENZIE.

THE CERTAINTIES OF CHRISTIANITY.

WITH very much in Dr. Abbott's article on "Illusion in Religion" * I heartily agree. Looking back from our own intellectual standpoint upon the religious thought of past ages, and even upon that of our own day, we cannot doubt that with the highest truth error has frequently been associated. And since this error has often been confidently accepted as truth, we are compelled to admit that with knowledge of the truth has often been mixed a large element of illusion. Moreover, in view of this prevalent illusion, unless we are very wise or very foolish, we shall be slow to say that all the illusion is with others, and that our own conceptions of religion are absolute truth. Far more probable is the suggestion that into all human thought about the Unseen illusion enters. Yet, though probably universal, it is none the less dangerous. To reduce within the narrowest limits possible this element of illusion is one chief task of religious thought, and especially of scientific theology.

I also agree with Dr. Abbott that, in order to eliminate illusion as far as possible from our own conceptions of religion, each one is bound to sift with utmost care his own most cherished conviction, even when the search may "compel the seeker to reject traditions sacred to the majority of those around him, and perhaps to incur some social disesteem in so doing." Illusion in a matter so important as religion is excusable only when it lingers with us in spite of honest and resolute effort to dislodge it.

Even with regard to the method of disillusion I agree with Dr. Abbott so far as he goes. Nothing can be better or more beautiful than his wise words on page 738: "We must move in that direction in which, as we go forward, we gradually discern an increase of moral and spiritual sunshine for our souls, and in which—while true to ourselves,

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November 1890, p. 721.

and to our sense of intellectual as well as moral truth—we can find stimulus and encouragement in righteousness, power to control our passions, freedom from base and servile terrors.” The moral sense is the supreme arbiter of human life. That which appeals to, and elevates, our inborn sense of right cannot but be true; at least in its main outlines; and that which is morally hurtful cannot be other than false.

In this paper I shall endeavour to supplement Dr. Abbott’s article by showing that, inasmuch as Christianity claims to rest on historical facts, the methods of historical criticism afford us another means, in addition to the great criterion just noted, of testing the truth of religious opinion. This additional test is the more needful because the judgments of the moral sense are pronounced in that secret chamber in which the man dwells alone, and in which therefore personal prejudice is apt to rule. Our only safeguard in matters of religion, as in all others, is the coincidence of testimony of different kinds. Our faith in the Unseen can rest securely only upon objective historical evidence, confirmed by the approval of the Judge enthroned within. Only such beliefs as bring with them external credentials, and are also verified by their influence on our moral life, can we accept with confidence as true.

The most conspicuous objective evidence for religious opinions is their manifest effect on those who hold them. Dr. Abbott represents some one as asking, “If Buddhism or Mohammedanism is found to convert the majority of mankind, is Christianity to be counted false?” But his reply to this question is not the most effective. What are the facts of the case? Every Moslem and every Buddhist nation is, and for centuries has been, sinking into helpless and hopeless decay. The only progressive nations in the world are Christian nations. And it is hardly too much to say that of these every one bears marks of progress. Even the non-Aryan nations which have accepted Christianity—*e.g.*, the Hungarians—have left far behind the Aryan Persians and Hindoos. This monopoly of progress, during long ages, by the Christian nations is a fact as wide as humanity, and demands explanation. And it sets aside at once as needless the question suggested by Dr. Abbott.

As to numbers, a good authority on the religions of the world makes the Hindoos and Buddhists and Mohammedans, added together, to be fewer than the Christians.*

For an explanation of the immense superiority of all Christian nations to all others, we turn to the story of the rise of Christianity. It arose suddenly, in the first century, out of an obscure national religion. That century witnessed a religious impulse unique in the history of the world, an impulse which turned back the whole course of human society from the corruption to which it was hopelessly drifting

* Monier Williams on “Buddhism,” Preface, p. xvi.

into a new path of progress—moral, intellectual, and material. This unique impulse is attributed by all who recognise it to one unique personality. Indisputably, it is due to a Syrian artisan, who was laid in His grave before He had reached His prime.

To this unique personality, the position of the Christian nations to-day and the influence of Christianity upon the world written in unmistakable characters on the records of the centuries, give immense importance. We ask, Who and what was Jesus of Nazareth; what did He teach, and what is the secret of the effect of His teaching upon the world?

Fortunately, materials are at hand which enable us to give, with considerable confidence, an answer to this question. We turn at once to the Christian documents. We have thirteen letters bearing the name of Paul, the most conspicuous of the early missionaries who carried the Gospel of Christ to foreign lands. All these were accepted long before the close of the second century, in places so far apart as Egypt, Gaul, Carthage, without a shadow of doubt as written by the great Apostle. They were accepted as in the main genuine, in the middle of that century, as we infer from replies by early Christian writers, even by opponents of the traditional teaching of the Church. And these external testimonies are confirmed by abundant internal evidence. So complete is this proof that at least four Epistles, those to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, are accepted by all modern scholars, even by some who reject his teaching about Christ, as written by the Apostle Paul. Consequently, in these four Epistles, we shall see reflected the opinions about Christ of the most conspicuous and effective of the early Christian teachers. With the Epistles of Paul may be compared other documents differing widely from them both in phraseology and modes of thought, and thus revealing an independent origin, yet of extreme antiquity. We have four memoirs of Christ which were accepted by Irenæus (A.D. 180) and all subsequent Christian writers with complete confidence as written by Apostles of Christ or by their companions, and standing apart from all similar writings as authentic, and in some sense official, accounts of the life and teaching of Christ. He speaks of the First Gospel as written by "Matthew the Apostle";* of the Third, as written by "Luke, a follower and disciple of the Apostles";† of the Second, as written by "Mark, an interpreter and follower of Peter";‡ and of the Fourth, as by John, a disciple of the Lord.§ And his numerous quotations leave no doubt that the Gospels as he had them were in the main identical with our present copies. He adds, "So great is the certainty about the Gospels that even heretics themselves bear testimony to them; and from them each one endeavours to confirm his own teaching."|| Moreover, Irenæus is followed by

* "Against Heresies." book iii. 9. 1. † *Ibid.* ch. 10. 1. ‡ *Ibid.* § 6.
§ *Ibid.* ch. 11. 1. || *Ibid.* § 7.

the unanimous and confident testimony of all later Christian writers. This unbroken unanimity in the latter part of the second century, in accepting these four memoirs and no others, is complete proof that our Gospels were then old, that they cannot have been written later than the beginning of that century. In the Fourth Gospel, the external evidence that it was written by an intimate associate of Jesus is supported by strong internal evidence. We have also a narrative of the founding of the early Christian Churches universally attributed to the author of the Third Gospel. That it contains no mention of the Epistles of Paul, is complete proof that it was written before those Epistles had become famous. The First Epistle to the Corinthians is quoted expressly by Clement of Rome at the beginning of the second century.

That the Epistles of Paul and the Gospels as we now have them are practically the same as when they left the hand of their writers, is placed beyond doubt by the great number and the marvellous agreement of the manuscripts in various languages which have come down to us, some of them from the fourth century. It is true that these manuscripts, numbering many hundreds, present numberless variations, and that some of these variations are important. But let any one take the most corrupt manuscript he can find and compare it with a modern critical edition, or with the Revised English Version.* For the purpose we have in view he will detect no difference whatever. The comparison will assure him that in the extant copies he has before him substantially the very words of the Apostle and the Evangelists.

On this point I may quote Westcott and Hort, whose "New Testament in Greek" differs from the traditional text more than does any other critical edition. On page 561 of vol. i. they say: "If comparative trivialities, such as changes of order, the insertion or omission of the article with proper names, and the like, are set aside, the words in our opinion still subject to doubt can hardly amount to more than a thousandth part of the whole New Testament."

With the abundant materials available for determining the text of the New Testament, we may compare the scantiness of the materials for correcting our copies of the masterpieces of classical Greek literature. Our text of the plays of Sophocles is based chiefly on one manuscript not so early as A.D. 1000, and on some nine or ten others of much later date and less value. Yet even this scanty apparatus leaves us in no doubt that we have before us the work and thought of the great dramatist.

Such are the materials for our historical research touching the actual teaching of the Author of the great religious impulse which changed the whole current of human life and history. We have four letters

* This comparison is rendered easy by a collation of fifty cursive manuscripts published by Scrivener in his edition of the "Codex Augiensis."

written undoubtedly by the founder of the Churches of Europe, and four memoirs of Christ written not much later than the beginning of the second century. And our copies are practically identical with the original documents.

To these letters and memoirs we now turn, in order to reproduce the impression made by Jesus upon His earliest followers. Every page of the Epistles of Paul reflects the writer's profound reverence for Christ. In speaking of Him there is no trace of that sense of equality which no human distinctions can altogether efface. To speak of himself as "a servant of Christ" is felt to be high honour, and makes it impossible for Paul to seek the favour of men.* He glories † in being led captive in the train of so mighty a conqueror.

Not unfrequently Paul speaks of Christ as "the Son of God." He says ‡ that God "spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all"; suggesting a father who gives up his own son to save others who are not his sons. We read of "God sending His own Son in the likeness of the flesh of sin." § This can only refer to the birth of Christ; and, if so, implies His pre-existence as Own Son of God. Similarly, pre-existence is implied in the phrases, "He emptied Himself," || and "He became poor." ¶ In a document closely related to the Epistles of Paul, Christ is called the "Son" of God in contrast to Moses, who is only a "faithful servant." ** In an epistle †† written probably by Paul, Christ is said to be earlier than angels and the universe, and we are told that by His agency these were created. And before His tribunal ‡‡ Paul and all other men must in the Great Day stand and be judged. Christ will raise the dead. §§ These quotations prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Paul looked upon Christ as immeasurably greater than the greatest of men, and as occupying a close relation to God shared by no other. That Paul held this belief our evidence compels us to accept as assured historical fact.

In order to eliminate from this conception of Christ the Pauline element, we turn now to other documents which manifestly were not written by Paul, and apparently not under his influence. The teaching attributed to Christ in the First Gospel differs widely, in spite of subtle links of inner contact, from the teaching of Paul. Instead of "justified by faith apart from works of law," ¶ Christ is reported to say, "If thou desirest to enter into life, keep the commandments." ¶¶ The conspicuous teaching of Paul is absent: other teaching has taken its place. In the First Gospel we have an independent witness about the teaching of Christ.

* Gal. i. 10.

† 2 Cor. ii. 14.

‡ Rom. viii. 32.

§ *Ibid.* v. 3.

|| Phil. ii. 7.

¶ 2 Cor. viii. 9.

** Heb. iii. 5.

†† Col. i. 16. The genuineness of the Epistles to the Philippians and the Colossians I have discussed at some length in my recently published Commentary on them.

‡‡ Rom. ii. 16; 2 Cor. v. 10.

§§ Phil. iii. 21.

||| Rom. iii. 28, 30; Gal. ii. 16.

¶¶ Matt. xix. 17.

This new witness represents Christ as claiming expressly and frequently the honour paid to Him in the Epistles of Paul. He speaks of God as "My Father"; and declares to a nation which boasted its knowledge of God that "no one knoweth the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son is minded to reveal Him."* Yet after this stupendous assumption He adds, "I am meek and lowly in heart": and we feel at once that these words are true. Christ accepts from Peter† with warm approval the lofty title, "the Son of the Living God." Twice‡ a voice from heaven accosts Him as "My beloved Son."

The meaning of the phrase "the Son of God" is expounded by a parable§ in which the greatest earlier teachers are described as "servants," and Christ as the Master's "Son." Elsewhere,|| He is spoken of in plainest language as the Judge of the world. The same conception of Christ, but somewhat less fully, is given also in the Second and Third Gospels.

In the Fourth Gospel we have again the same portrait of super-human dignity. Christ claims to be the only Way¶ to God; and "the only begotten Son" ** of God. His voice†† will summon all the dead from their graves to judgment. He receives with approbation from Thomas the august title, "My Lord and my God."‡‡ At the beginning of the Gospel the writer declares that the Word who afterwards became Flesh "was God," and that by His agency was made whatever has been made.

From this wonderful agreement even in details of these five very different witnesses, an agreement not in any way contradicted by any early Christian documents, we learn that Christ left in the minds of the first generation of His followers the same conception of Himself—viz., as immeasurably superior to angels and to men, and as occupying a place of unique nearness to God. We all feel at once the great difference between the position of the King's son and that of the greatest of the King's servants, between the prisoner who trembles at the bar and the judge who sits in dignity upon the bench and pronounces judgment. Christ is represented by each of these five early witnesses as the Son and the Judge. Such honour was never else paid by man to a contemporary man. This conception of Christ is an historic fact attested by complete evidence and of the utmost significance.

Very significant also is another fact attested by all Christian literature—viz., that a conception of Christ practically identical with that delineated above has been held in all ages by a vast majority of the servants of Christ. It was embodied in the great historic Creed formulated at Nicæa and Constantinople. Dr. Abbott reminds

* Matt. xi. 27.

† Ch. xvi. 16.

‡ Ch. iii. 17; xvii. 5.

§ Matt. xxi. 33-40: a close parallel to Heb. iii. 5.

|| Matt. xiii. 41; xvi. 27; xix. 28; xxiv. 30; xxv. 31.

¶ John xiv. 6.

** John iii. 16.

†† Ch. v. 29; vi. 39, 40, 54.

‡‡ Ch. xx. 28.

us that the bathmen of Alexandria wrangled over a theological term. But the careful student of the history of doctrines and of the religious life of the world will bear witness that in all ages the faith embodied in the term *homoousios*, *of the same substance with the Father*, has been the cherished belief of nearly all those who have done most for the spiritual and moral benefit of mankind. The comparative influence upon their fellows of those who have held, and of those who have rejected, the superhuman and superangelic dignity of Jesus is another fact of the utmost importance.

In the above indisputable facts we have a firm historical platform from which to approach the actual teaching of Christ about Himself. Only three possibilities are open to us. Either all the early followers of Christ whose opinions have come down to us, and the immense majority of Christians in all ages, and nearly all those who have done most to spread Christianity, have utterly misunderstood His teaching about Himself, and have fallen into most serious error touching His relation to God; or Christ claimed for Himself a dignity to which He had no right; or the belief of His followers was correct. This alternative we shall for a moment consider.

The question at issue is of infinite importance. For the last of these three suppositions implies that there is with the Father from eternity One personally distinct from, yet most closely related to, Him, His own and only Son. If so, we have in the Godhead eternal society and order and harmony, the eternal archetype of all human society and order and harmony. The first and second suppositions are practically a denial of this eternal companionship, an assertion that in God there is only eternal solitude. In other words, the alternative before us involves our entire conception of God.

It is at once evident that the first and second of the above suggestions are suggestions of despair. Bold must he be who dares to charge with error so serious about the nature of God and about the dignity of Christ the great Apostle whose writings have in all ages been to the most thoughtful and to the best of men the highest stimulus to intellectual and moral culture. But if any one thinks that either of these two suggestions is less in conflict with all the facts of the case than is the third suggestion, let him do so knowing clearly what his judgment involves. If we cannot accept them, we have no alternative but to believe that the Christian documents present a correct picture of the claims and the real dignity of Christ, that He is in very truth the only begotten Son of God, the Creator of the Universe, and the future Judge of all mankind.

Other historical evidence now demands attention. We ask at once, How came the carpenter of Nazareth to make on the pupil of Gamaliel the profound impression so conspicuous on every page of his Epistles? What had Jesus done, so much above all that Paul could

do, to lead captive in willing bondage the author of the wonderful Epistle to the Romans? The answer is ready. Paul accepted Jesus as infinitely greater than all men, because he believed that He had risen from the dead. Of this we have complete historical proof. Upon the objective fact of the resurrection of Christ the Apostle stakes everything. "If Christ is not risen, we are found out to be false witnesses of God, because we have borne witness against God that He raised Christ."* That he refers to a bodily resurrection, is made certain by the analogy, in the same chapter, of the bodily resurrection of believers.† The resurrection of Christ as a manifestation of the power of God and as the historic ground of the Christian's hope is a most conspicuous feature of the Epistles of Paul.‡ It moulded his entire thought. Similarly, each of the Four Gospels tells of the grave found empty on the second morning after the crucifixion, and of Christ as risen. And in the Book of Acts the resurrection of their Master is again and again said to be a chief element of the Apostles' teaching.§ No historic fact is better attested than that the preaching and the courage both of the Galileans and of Paul were inspired by belief that their Lord had in bodily form risen from the dead. Indisputably, but for this belief there had been no Gospel preached and no Christian Churches.

The resurrection of Christ and the superhuman dignity claimed for Him must stand or fall together. None will admit these claims, whether they suppose them to have been actually made by Christ or only by His deluded followers, unless they believe that the body laid dead in the grave was raised to life. And none who believe that He trampled under foot the king of terrors, before whom all human distinctions fade, will deny Him to be greater than the greatest of men. Practically we have only one alternative. Either Christ rose from the dead and is divine; or He did not rise, and is only human.

Let us for a moment test these suppositions, by assuming them in turn to be true.

If in Christ the Creator of the world assumed human form, and lived and died and rose from the dead, the greatest facts of human history are fully explained. The faith of the Apostles is explained by the truth of that which they believed; and the conversion of Paul by the truth of that which he eventually accepted as true. The survival of the Gospel in spite of deadly hostility, its spread, its salutary influence, and the superiority to-day of the nations which have accepted it, will not surprise us. For the Gospel declares itself to be a power of God, for salvation to all who believe it.

On the other hand, if Christ did not rise, we must suppose that

* 1 Cor. xv. 14, 15.

† See *vv.* 35, 43, 44.

‡ Compare Rom. i. 4; iv. 24, 25; vi. 5, 9; vii. 4; viii. 34; x. 9; xiv. 9, &c.

§ So Ch. i. 22; ii. 24, 31, 32; iii. 15, 26; iv. 10; xiii. 30, 31, 34; xvii. 31, &c.

while His body lay rotting in the grave His followers believed that it had returned to life and risen to heaven, and that this delusion came to be shared by a colleague of His murderers, a man of culture and of well-balanced judgment; that while He was only the best of men, His most intimate friend and the converted Pharisee believed Him to be the Creator and the Judge of the world. We must also believe that this double delusion became the mainspring of a life of devotion to the highest interests of men, that it spread to all lands, and has continued to our day; and that wherever this delusion has been mistaken for truth there has been sustained progress, and that wherever it has not been thus accepted, there is stagnation and decay.

Shall we congratulate or commiserate the Nazarene? His most intimate disciples have perverted His teaching into that from which He would have shrunk back with horror as blasphemy. And a mere man has been exalted above the loftiest archangel.

In short, every hypothesis which denies the claims put forth for Christ by His immediate followers reduces the history of Christianity to a tissue of impossibilities. And the failure of these hypotheses compels us to accept as true the only alternative.

The one serious objection to the faith of the early Christians is that it seems to involve a suspension of the forces and laws of Nature. But the resurrection of Christ does not involve that these forces were suspended even for a moment, but only that certain natural forces which now work in all the dead, and which reduce to dust what was once a living body, were in the case of Jesus in some sense neutralised, or rather deflected from their ordinary course (as in our bodies certain chemical forces are constantly neutralised or deflected by the presence of animal life), by the presence or return of a higher life; so that what would have been in all others a final separation of body and spirit was in Him a transient sleep. It is true that the resurrection of Christ cannot be explained by the operation of the natural forces known to us. But no more can the first origin of life. For the lifeless constituents of our planet to wake up into life, as they must have done in the beginning of life, is as contrary to the observed sequences of Nature as for a dead body to return to life. The one is as much or as little a miracle as the other. In the origin of life, which has completely changed the face of our globe, and which cannot be explained by the forces which now maintain the life then given, we have a very close parallel to the origin of Christianity in the revival* of the dead body of Christ; and a complete answer to the frivolous objection that the dead never rise again.

* Compare 1 Pet. i. 3, "Begotten us again by the resurrection of Christ from the dead."

Such, in scanty outline, is the historical evidence touching the Author of the great religious impulse which has transformed and saved the world. The subjective evidence by which this historical proof must be tested is to be found in the inner life of each one. And it is incapable of complete statement. But a multitude which no one can number, of every nation and every age, bear joyful witness that the distinctive faith of the Apostles about the dignity of their Master has been to them, not only a light gilding the darkest paths of life and even the gloom of death, but the most powerful upward moral influence they have ever known. In other words, the inward experience of their own moral life has confirmed the teaching of the Apostles and Evangelists. This coincidence of evidence outward and inward removes from them all doubt that the teaching thus doubly attested is true.

Throughout his entire article Dr. Abbott seems to me to underrate the Christian documents and to mutilate their testimony about Christ.

He speaks about the uncertain authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and about the doubts which gather round the Second Epistle of Peter. But these doubts do nothing to weaken the evidence which has convinced all scholars that the four great Epistles came from the pen of Paul, and therefore reflect his actual opinions about Christ and the Gospel. Nor do these doubts invalidate the proof given above that the Four Gospels are not later than the beginning of the second century. They do not touch the argument of this article, which rests on the very close agreement, even in modes of expression, of five independent witnesses.

Dr. Abbott also refers to the variations in the manuscripts of the New Testament. On this point I have already quoted the able editors, Westcott and Hort. And their testimony may be confirmed by any one who will compare, in the many passages I have quoted, various manuscripts or versions or editions. Reference is also made to the doubtful authorship of the last twelve verses of the Second Gospel, and we are told that these verses are "the earliest evangelistic evidence as to the resurrection of Christ." The earliest documentary evidence of the resurrection is in ch. xv. of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; and about the authorship of this Epistle there is no doubt. The evidence afforded by the Gospels is of worth chiefly because it confirms the confident testimony of the great Apostle. Every textual critic will admit that the variations of existing manuscripts do nothing to lessen the historical worth of the Gospels and of the Epistles of Paul.

We are also reminded that "our Lord Himself spoke in parables, poetic hyperbole, or metaphors, which were misunderstood often by the multitude, and sometimes by His own disciples." This is a salu-

tary caution. But in the above argument parables and metaphor have been introduced only where they confirm the often repeated teaching of plain prose. Make all possible allowance for modes of speech, and the remarkable agreement of our five witnesses compels conviction.

On page 731 of the article we are considering we have a reproduction of the teaching of Christ. "His method was simply to declare that God was veritably our Father, and to illustrate this proclamation by His own life and conduct, by being what He was; not to argue, nor to demonstrate, nor to work signs in heaven by which whole multitudes, including the Pharisees, would have been irresistibly convinced; not even to announce Himself to be what He was, so that men might have accepted His message on authority." And much in the same strain. One is tempted to ask, From what source did Dr. Abbott derive this picture of the teaching of Christ? Let any one take one of the Gospels and read it through, and then compare it with this outline. Certain features he will recognise. But the most distinctive features of Christ, as portrayed in the earliest Christian documents, and as compared with other teachers, are absent from this modern outline. It is indeed "Hamlet," with Hamlet left out.

What Dr. Abbott would have said about a similarly defective account of the teaching of Mohammed, I do not know. But I cannot refrain from reminding him of his own good advice, on page 726, "To test and try our most sacred books and traditions (so far as the intellectual and critical appreciation of them is concerned) by the same severe laws of criticism, and in the same cold, dispassionate temper in which we would test the Koran, or a Greek play, or a book of Thucydides."

Certain indications that the writers of the Synoptist Gospels understood Christ to announce His own speedy return, I have no space now to discuss. The chief are Matthew x. 23, xvi. 28, xxiv. 34, and their parallels. Much less definite are 1 Corinthians xv. 51, 1 Thessalonians iv. 15, 17. These bear strong witness to the early date of the documents in which they occur, to the fact that Christ actually announced His return to judge the world, and to the deep impression made upon His hearers by the personality of Christ. Even if, in this small detail of time, the eagerness of His disciples misinterpreted the Master's words, this error does nothing to lessen the significance of their firm faith that a man whom they had seen face to face would indeed return to pronounce sentence on all ranks and conditions of men.

Nor is the significance of their faith that Christ had risen from the dead lessened by the discrepancies in the accounts of the resurrection. For discrepancies are always easily accounted for by the imperfection of human observation or record. In the case before us, the agree-

ment of independent witnesses can be accounted for only by the truth of that in which they agree.

In conclusion, I must again assert that in the Christian documents we have reliable evidence about the teaching and claims of Jesus, and that all intelligent inquiry about Him must begin with grammatical and historical investigation of these documents. Unless our ship is securely anchored here we shall certainly drift along the currents of our own imagination. On the other hand, I readily admit that the results of this investigation can claim our moral allegiance only so far as they commend themselves to our own moral sense, to the supreme Judge enthroned within. In all ages the picture of Christ portrayed in the New Testament has secured the homage of nearly all those whom their fellows have counted to be the best of men. And to-day, to most of those who are labouring to save and raise the lost, that image of the Eternal Son of God, who to save man became man, and lived and died and rose from the dead, is the brightest light they have ever seen. To them the agreement between the evidence written on the ancient documents and on the page of history, and that which they find in their own inner life, is complete proof that this vision of the Son of God is no illusion.

On the other hand, if we have never felt our need of a Saviour greater than the greatest of men, of an authority able to silence the condemnation pronounced against us by our own moral sense, and of a moral power able to rescue us from the bondage of our own sins, we shall never recognise in the Nazarene anything more than the greatest human excellence. But in that case the Christian documents, the origin of Christianity, and its effect upon the world, will be a contradiction to all the observed sequences of human life, an enigma which no man can solve.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

DEAN CHURCH.

IN the beginning of this year I was called upon, at short notice, to put down in this REVIEW some obituary impressions of the late Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger. I now venture, on still shorter notice, to pay such tribute as I can to the memory of the late Dean of St. Paul's. In the interval Lightfoot, Liddon, Newman have passed away. The extinction of five such luminaries in the ecclesiastical firmament is a rare event in the course of one year. They had much in common; but it might be said of each of them that "his soul was like a star and dwelt apart." The greatest of them, taking him all round, was undoubtedly Dr. Döllinger, greatest in intellectual range and in extent and minute accuracy of erudition. His learning was vast and various, but was ever at his command in its smallest details. His large library filled several rooms opening into each other, most of the shelves holding two rows of books, one behind the other. In the room next the one in which Dr. Döllinger himself worked it was my privilege to have a table whenever I went to Munich; and when I wanted a reference, no matter what the subject, he could tell me in a moment where to find it, and if I did not light upon it at once he would jump up with an agility hardly impaired by the weight of more than fourscore years and a half (last time I saw him), and put his hand upon the volume, even when a row of books stood in front of it. His spare form and exuberant vitality seemed to defy the ordinary law of decay. He knew not what illness was till the prevalent influenza seized him; and even that he shook off with comparative ease and was in a fair way towards recovery, when, rashly venturing on his usual cold bath, he received his death-stroke. Döllinger had a great admiration for Newman, who was about a year his junior, but he thought him a rash controversialist, sometimes

damaging his own cause more than his opponent's. I happened to be at Munich when a letter was published from Dr. Newman against Anglican Orders, the validity of which he impugned on *a priori* rather than on historical grounds; not because any historical flaw could be proved, but because God was not likely to commit the custody of His sacraments to such careless stewards as the Anglican clergy were alleged to be. "That argument," said Döllinger to me, "is more fatal to Newman's Roman Orders than to his Anglican, for nothing could exceed the confusion and carelessness in such matters which prevailed in Italy in mediæval times." And he proceeded to give a number of illustrations, adding: "The fact is, Newman's knowledge of the first four centuries of Christianity is unsurpassed; but there are few men of ability and learning so ignorant as he of the history of the Middle Ages, and that explains much." It is indeed curious how one-sided Newman's reading was—how much it was governed by his prepossessions. I remember asking his opinion some years ago on a pamphlet which argued that the Athanasian Creed was probably written by St. Augustine. He wrote back that he was not competent to give an opinion, as he was "not acquainted with St. Augustine." Of course, he must have meant that he had not made a study of St. Augustine. Yet it was a sentence from that great Father that shook Newman's faith in the English Church, and was the most potent cause of his conversion to the Church of Rome. The incident marks so characteristically the contrast between the cast of Newman's mind and Church's, that it is instructive to notice it. Cardinal Wiseman had written an article on the Donatist Schism, with an application to the English Church. Newman "read it, and did not see much in it." But one of his friends called his attention to St. Augustine's phrase, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*," quoted in the article. The friend "repeated those words again and again," says Newman; "and when he was gone they kept running in my ears. They were words which went beyond the occasion of the Donatists. . . . What a light was hereby thrown upon every controversy in the Church! . . . Who can account for the impressions which are made on him? For a mere sentence, the words of St. Augustine struck me with a power which I never had felt from any words before. To take a familiar instance, they were like the 'Turn again, Whittington,' of the chime; or, to take a more serious one, they were like the 'Tolle, lege; tolle, lege,' of the child, which converted St. Augustine himself. '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum!*' By those great words of the ancient Father, interpreting and summing-up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverised." Truly an amazing proposition! St. Augustine was writing against a handful of Christians in Africa who had separated from and excommunicated the rest of Christendom because the Catholic Church

continued to hold communion with men whom the Donatists accused of flagrant sin. It was a question of morals, not of faith, which was in dispute, and St. Augustine argued that Christendom at large (*orbis terrarum*) was a safe guide in such a matter, the *onus probandi* being on those who seceded from the ecclesiastical body and condemned it. That is true as a general principle; but St. Augustine did not even propound it as a general principle; the context restricts the phrase to the particular case of the Donatists. Yet in Newman's vivid imagination it suddenly assumed the portentous significance of a divine oracle proclaiming the infallibility of the Church of Rome.

The process of reasoning, the mental attitude towards great issues, revealed by this episode in Newman's religious development is quite foreign to the intellectual *ethos* of Dean Church. I cannot exhibit the difference better than by a quotation from the Dean's fine sermon on "Responsibility for our Belief":

"It is said, and rightly said, that we must follow truth wherever it leads us. Any one who believes in truth at all must say it. But I think that following truth is sometimes confounded with yielding to the immediate pressure of an argument—which is a very different thing. For I am sure it cannot be too much remembered—what the history of every controversy shows; and every controversy and argument has a most curious history, full of strange turns and eventful surprises—that the form and pressure of an argument at any particular time has much in it of what we call accident. . . . Further, though argument is the natural means of getting at the verdict of reason, it is only a means and step, part of a process more complex and subtle than itself. For reason is wide and manifold, and waits its time; an argument is partial, one-sided, and often *then* most effective when least embarrassed by seeing too much; and one link left out, one fact overlooked, one step missed, may vitiate the most triumphant argument, as one element forgotten vitiates the whole of a long and intricate calculation. Again, the weight of an argument, like the significance of an event, is itself determined by many things without it. It will appear very different to the old and the young; to the happy and to the miserable. Very different to the same mind in the intoxication of success and popularity, or in the depression of failure and rebuke; in the whirl of society and the sunshine of an easy life, or on the bed of sickness, of hopelessness, of death; *before* and *after* travel, with its enlargement or its dissipation of mind; in the free air of the mountains and the sea, or within the bounds of a quiet and narrow study. Its force varies as a man is surrounded by those who take for granted one set of assumptions and conclusions, or by those who oppose them or are indifferent. . . . Let us believe what all experience shows, the large part which the qualities of our moral nature, its self-discipline and refinement, must have in all questions which touch what is moral and spiritual: how profoundly, how indirectly, intellectual work is influenced by modesty, reverence, honesty. Be patient, be just, be tolerant, be hopeful, be humble. In our greatest differences, and in proportion as our own convictions are deep, let us not be afraid to be equitable, considerate, generous. . . . And remember what an element *time* is in all growth; how much *time* alone does in making troubled questions run clear; how often what perplexes us to-day is all explained to-morrow; how what is tangled by dispute and confusion of thought may become unravelled by simply waiting. By simply

waiting our horizon widens—widens almost without our knowing it. . . . Those who undertake to woo Truth by their own courage and venture, must not stumble at her conditions. They must not think it strange if for that Divine Bride they have to serve the seven years, and then the seven years more."

But what of those who have sought Truth loyally, yet have not found it when the end has come? Dean Church had no difficulty in facing that question. Be sincere with your intellect, he said. Play no tricks with it; "do not shrink from its full play, but be watchful over the heart and its temptations."

"I should be disloyal to Him, whom I believe in and worship as the Lord of truth, if I doubted that such seeking would at last find Him. Even if it do not find Him *here*, man's destiny stops not at the grave; and many, we may be sure, will know Him *there* who did not know Him *here*. Be the stages what they may, as rough, as strange, as prolonged as they often seem to be, true and earnest seeking cannot be in vain; they will lead the honest and good heart to the truth, and at last to the light it longs for."

I have quoted this long passage because it gives the key to Dean Church's character. Indomitable love of truth, sincerity, humility, equity, generosity, patience—these formed the ethical soil in which his mind was rooted. Consequently, he never lost his balance in any of the surging controversies of the last fifty years; while others, some of them men of great name, gave up hope and left the field—some for Rome, some for Agnosticism, some for weary Indifferentism. And even of those who remained, some, not excluding the most distinguished, were more than once frightened or hurried into rash courses. Dr. Pusey prevailed on the bulk of his party to join the *Record* and the Evangelical party in denunciation of "Essays and Reviews," and of the nomination of one of the Essayists (the present Bishop of London) to the See of Exeter. He afterwards hastened to denounce as heterodox the concordat on the *Filioque* agreed upon at the Bonn Conference in 1875 by a distinguished assembly of Old Catholics, Oriental, and Anglican divines (including Dr. Liddon). But in all the controversies of his time Church kept a clear, cool head, knowing "how much time alone does in making troubled questions run clear." And time has vindicated his wisdom. He felt the magic of Newman's personal influence; he admired and loved him; he more than any one else quashed by the Proctors' veto the University condemnation of Tract 90. Yet in the cataclysm of Newman's secession, which at the time seemed to shatter the High Church party, and which made even Pusey and Keble tremble for the issue, Church's faith and courage never wavered. Convinced of the truth of his position, he awaited the result with confidence. His attitude was equally brave and confident in the Gorham controversy, the "Essays and Reviews" controversy, the Ritualistic controversy, and the comparatively insignificant controversy about "*Lux Mundi*." In all

these controversies he deprecated an appeal to law courts or popular passion, however much he may have disapproved of the conduct of those who had provoked the controversy. He believed that "Truth was greatest and would prevail" in the end—believed it so entirely that he was not afraid to let Truth enter the arena of public discussion and abide by the ordeal of fair combat; not immediately perhaps, but in the long run.

I have compared and contrasted in some respects Newman and Church, master and disciple, albeit a very independent disciple. It was my privilege—and a great privilege and pleasure it was—to enjoy Cardinal Newman's friendship for the last five-and-twenty years of his life. He wrote to me with great frankness and freedom on questions of the day, and I subjoin a quotation from one of his letters which illustrates my theme, and is exceedingly interesting in itself. I shall quote nothing to which either he or any friend of his could object. A rumour had reached me that he was engaged on a book on the mutual relations of Faith and Reason, in connection with "Essays and Reviews," and having had occasion to write to him on another subject, I took the opportunity of referring to this rumour. He said in reply:

"I assure you I look with the most anxious interest at the state of Oxford, the more so because I anticipated its present perplexities; and it was one of my sorest trials in leaving it, that I was undoing my own work and leaving the field open, or rather infallibly surrendering it, to those who would break down and crumble to powder all religion whatever. As to the authors of 'Essays and Reviews,' some of them at least, I am sure, know not what they do. One of them I may still call my friend, and for two others, though I do not know them, I feel great respect. These, I trust, are urged by a sincere feeling that it is not right to keep up shams. Yet did they really see the termination, or rather the abyss, to which these speculations lead, surely they would see that, before attempting to sift facts, they ought to make sure that they have a firm hold of true and eternal principles. To unsettle the minds of a generation when you give them no landmarks and no causeway across the morass is to undertake a great responsibility.

"The religion of England depends, humanly speaking, on belief in the Bible, the whole Bible, &c., and on the observance of the Calvinistic Sabbath. Let the population begin to doubt in its inspiration and infallibility—where are we? Alas! whole classes do already; but I would not be the man knowingly to introduce scepticism into those portions of the community which are as yet sound. Consider the misery of wives and mothers losing their faith in Scripture; yet I am told this sad process is commencing.

"What I have said is not a gratuitous intrusion of my own thoughts upon you, but is virtually an answer to your question about myself. The volume in question, I know, is levelled at Revelation as a whole, but is especially a blow at the Old Testament. Now the plenary inspiration of Scripture is peculiarly a Protestant question; not a Catholic. We, indeed, devoutly receive the whole Bible as the word of God: but we receive it on the authority of the Church, and the Church has defined very little as to the aspects under which it comes from God, and the limits of its inspiration. Supposing, for argument sake, that it could be proved that some passage in

the Pentateuch about Egyptian history were erroneous; nay, let the universality of the deluge over the globe, or the literal interpretation of Genesis, be, for argument sake, disproved, it would not affect a Catholic, for two reasons:—1. Because the Church has not made them points *de fide*; and 2, because not the Bible, but the Church, is to him the oracle of Revelation; so that, though the whole Scripture were miraculously removed from the world as if it had never been, evil and miserable as would be the absence of such a privilege, he would still have enough motives and objects for his faith. Whereas to the Protestant the question of Scripture is one of life and death.

"You see then, much as I grieve at what is taking place, I feel no call on me to interpose in the controversy. And the more because *we* shall have a controversy of our own—viz., with Atheism. My own belief is that, if there be a God, Catholicism is true; but this is the elementary, august, and sovereign truth, the denial of which is in progress. May He Himself give grace to those who shall be alive on that terrible day to fight His battle well."

In reply I said, *inter alia*, that I did not think the religion of England did depend on "the observance of the Calvinistic Sabbath," and on the popular view of "the plenary inspiration of Scripture"; that I saw no sign of the decay of Christianity; that since he had left her, the progress of the Church of England had been forward, not backward—so much so, that the battle which he had thought lost when he left us had been practically won. How could he account for that fact, if the Church of England was no part of the body of Christ, and the Spirit of God was not energising within her? One sentence from his long answer will suffice for my purpose here. "As to your question about the growth of Church principles in the Anglican Church, I rejoice in the *fact*; but as to the *why*, there is another hypothesis besides that of serving as a note to the Apostolicity of Anglicanism; it may be to prepare for a large addition of members to the Roman Catholic Church."

I saw him the year after the Vatican Council, and he asked me whether I thought that one of the effects of the Vatican decrees would be to prevent conversions from the Church of England. I answered in the affirmative. "That is my own opinion," he said. I reminded him of his suggested explanation of the growth of Church principles in the English Church since his secession. He shook his head sadly, and said: "The ways of God are inscrutable."

The fact is, Newman's strong feelings and fervid imagination tended to make him see facts and their correlations, not as they were, but as he desired them to be. He first made up his mind; and then, with perfect sincerity, singleness of purpose, and consummate controversial skill, he accommodated the facts to his theory. He has confessed this himself in his description of his position as an Anglican. "I was angry with the Anglican divines," he says. "I thought they had taken me in; I had read the Fathers with their eyes; I had sometimes trusted their quotations or their reasonings; and from reliance

on them, I had used words or made statements which by right I ought rigidly to have examined myself. I had thought myself safe while I had their warrant for what I said. I had exercised more faith than criticism in the matter. I was in a humour certainly to bite off their ears." Writing to Keble in 1840, while still Vicar of St. Mary's, he said: "I do not think that we have yet made fair trial how much the English Church will bear: I know it is a hazardous experiment—like proving cannon. Yet we must not take it for granted that the metal will burst in the operation. It has borne, at various times, not to say at this time, a great infusion of Catholic truth without damage." "The arguments which I have published against Romanism seem to myself as cogent as ever; but men go by their sympathies, not by argument:" and he "feels the force of this influence himself." St. Augustine's "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*" was still ringing in his ears; and as, under its influence, he felt the *Via Media* theory, which he had built without due examination on the Anglican divines, quaking under his feet, he set himself to construct another theory that would enable him to get round the "arguments against Romanism," which were still "as cogent as ever" to his intellect, by reconciling history to his "sympathies." This was the theory of Development—a theory to which, as expounded by Newman, the Church of Rome refused to commit herself, and he was advised to publish his book before he was received into her communion. There is, of course, a legitimate theory of the development of Christian doctrine, when the development follows by logical necessity from what went before it. The Nicene Creed is thus logically contained in the Apostles' Creed, and was therefore no addition to the faith of Christendom. But Newman's premisses carry him beyond this point. His argument makes it impossible to set any definite limits to the enlargement of the Christian Creed.

Here then we have a temper of mind as earnest, indeed, as Dean Church's in the painful quest of truth, but lacking the Dean's humility, caution, patience, and intellectual conscientiousness. Newman, attracted by his sympathies, jumped to his conclusion, and then sought for arguments with which to justify the process to his own understanding. This was, in effect, to adopt the Catholic faith on rationalistic grounds, and to undermine the foundation of Christianity as an historical religion. Dean Church, on the other hand, combined in a rare degree the historical and critical faculties. His *Essay on Dante* alone stamps him as one of the first critics of any age; and his volumes on Anselm, Bacon, and "*The Beginnings of the Middle Ages*," his singularly brilliant and comprehensive sketch of "*The Early Ottomans*," must make every one who has read them sigh that a mind so powerful, so discriminating, so amply furnished with knowledge, and in command of a style at once so dignified and attractive, did not find time to leave

behind him some monumental work on history, in addition to the fragmentary monographs which show how well equipped he was for the task. It was therefore impossible for Dean Church, with his historical instinct and discipline and knowledge, to accept any view of the Church which he could not reconcile with the facts of history. And those facts taught him not to be dismayed or discouraged by the seeming failure of good causes, by the triumph of wicked men, by worldliness and corruption in the high places of the Church. The history of the Church had all along been fulfilling the parable of the drag-net which enclosed good and bad fish alike. The chequered career of the noble Anselm was but a picture of the Church at large in miniature. Her progress is not in a straight line, but zigzag, turning her back sometimes, like the Alpine climber, on the point for which she is making, yet in fact progressing steadily, in spite of appearances, towards her destined goal. "It was her own fault," the Dean tells us, "if the Church gained little by the compromise" extorted from the King by Anselm, and here is the lesson which he finds in the story of the long struggle :

"In one sense, indeed, what is gained by any great religious movement? What are all reforms, restorations, victories of truth, but protests of a minority; efforts, clogged and incomplete, of the good and brave, just enough in their own day to stop instant ruin—the appointed means to save what is to be saved, but in themselves failures? Good men work and suffer, and bad men enjoy their labours and spoil them; a step is made in advance—evil rolled back and kept in check for a while, only to return perhaps the stronger. But thus, and thus only, is truth passed on and the world preserved from utter corruption. Doubtless bad men still continued powerful in the English Church. Henry tyrannised, evil was done, and the bishops kept silence; low aims and corruptions may still have polluted the very seats of justice; gold may have been as powerful with Cardinals as with King Henry and his Chancellors."

Yet, on the whole, the victory was with Anselm, and so the cause of truth and justice moved on, though slowly, and the good fight has been maintained along the centuries, and will be maintained "till He shall come, to whom alone it is reserved to 'still' for ever 'the enemy and the avenger,' and to 'root out all wicked doers from the city of the Lord.'"

It is plain that Dean Church was not the type of English churchman from which converts are made. He saw nothing in the history of the Church of England since the Reformation which had not its analogue in her previous history and in the history of other parts of Christendom at different times. He knew history too well to be carried away by a specious theory, however brilliant, or cast down by a reverse, however formidable at the moment. Had he meditated a step like Newman's, and then felt as Newman did on the eve of his secession, that he would thereby be "undoing his own work"—admittedly a good work—"and leaving the field open, or rather infallibly sar-

rendering it to those who would break down and crumble to powder all religion whatever," he would at once have suspected a flaw in the reasoning which had conducted him to so disastrous a conclusion, and would have remembered St. Paul's warning that it is not right to "do evil that good may come," especially when the evil is certain to affect multitudes, while the good is problematical and reaches to oneself alone.*

To say that Church made an ideal Dean is, in his case, a commonplace. It is not too much to say that he would have dignified and adorned and elevated to an ideal standard any office committed to his charge, from the small village in Somersetshire, where he spent the happiest years of his life, and where his body by his own desire rests, to the Primacy of the English Church, of which he had, or might have had, the refusal. He gave one the impression, more than any man I have ever known, of saintliness, of a life detached from this world and having its roots in the unseen. To him it was an intense reality, not a mere phrase, that "the things which are seen are temporal, and the things which are not seen are eternal." You felt that he judged human conduct in everything by the test of how it would look when death approached. Worldly honours had thus no attraction for him, and he shrank from them, not so much because he feared their alluring temptation, as because his genuine humility made him self-distrustful. It was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Gladstone at last, aided by the entreaties of others, prevailed on Church to exchange his village home for the deanery of St. Paul's. To him the promotion was a sorrow and a sore trial, and he never ceased to pine for the sweet seclusion, in the midst of rural sights and sounds, where he had disciplined his soul by diversified study and meditation and writing, and, not least, by self-denying labours among the poor of his little flock, after the din and turmoil of Oxford controversy, and the great sorrow of Newman's secession. He seriously wished more than once to resign his deanery, not merely because he sighed for the country, but because he, the ideal Dean, believed himself unfitted for the post. And there came another motive later. He was very anxious to see Dr. Liddon removed from Oxford, both because he saw that Oxford was depressing him unduly, and also because he felt that a man of Liddon's power and unique position should, for the Church's sake and his own, be placed in a position of responsibility. When it became evident, therefore, that Dr. Liddon was not to be a bishop, Dean Church was desirous of making way for him in the deanery of St. Paul's—a sacrifice which friends prevented, and to which Dr. Liddon himself would have been the very last to consent. As some legends have grown round Dr. Liddon's name in connection with bishoprics, there can be no harm now in giving the facts. There is no truth in the rumour that the

* "I will never do what I know to be evil, and shrink in fear from what, for aught I can tell, may be good."—*Apology of Socrates*, xvii. 29.

Queen ever vetoed his nomination to the episcopate. No offer of a particular See was made to him till the year of his death, when he was offered the See of St. Albans. Some years previously, when two Sees happened to be vacant, the Prime Minister of the day begged the Dean of St. Paul's to find out privately whether Liddon would permit his name to be submitted to the Queen. Liddon at once refused, and even declined to take such an offer into his serious consideration. Whether he would have made the same answer had a particular See been offered to him I know not; but I am sure that he would always have refused an offer in the air. I remember his answer to myself when I left Dean Church and himself to decide for me in an offer of preferment which I had refused and been asked to reconsider. "You must remember," he said, "that when a definite offer is made to you it is a distinct call, and that there is therefore as much responsibility in refusing as in accepting it."

But it was not from moroseness, or fretfulness, or misanthropy, or disappointment, that Dean Church turned his back on the transitory attractions of this world. No man delighted more than he in the innocent enjoyments and amusements of life; no laugh was merrier than his; no eye delighted more in the varied and manifold beauties of Nature, as his writings abundantly show; no one engaged with keener zest and joy in the intellectual interchange and play of good conversation. In his admirable sermons on the "Gifts of Civilisation," he admits that the Church and Civilisation may stand apart as antagonistic forces, but argues that this need not and should not be. He shows how "great moral habits strike their roots deep in a society" even external to the Church.

"Civilisation has many shapes and means many things. But let us speak fairly, as we know it. Civilisation *to us* means liberty and the power of bearing and using liberty; it means that which ensures to us a peaceful life, a life of our own, fenced in from wrong, and with our paths and ends left free to us; it means the strength of social countenance given on the whole to those virtues which make life nobler and easier; it means growing honour for manliness, unselfishness, sincerity—growing value for gentleness, consideration, and respect for others; it means readiness to bear criticism, to listen to correction, to see and amend our mistakes; it means the willingness, the passion, to ameliorate conditions, to communicate advantages, to raise the weak and low, to open wide the gates and paths for them to that discipline of cultivation and improvement which has produced such fruit in others more fortunate than they."

In his Lectures (in the same volume) on the great religions of the East, the Dean admits that the high state of human nature, here described, owes much to the overshadowing of the Christian atmosphere which surrounds it, and cannot exist except sporadically, and on a comparatively small scale, outside the frontiers of Christendom. But something is still lacking to it.

"The heroic mind and the Christian mind are shown not simply in the loss of all things—in giving up this world, in accepting pain and want—but in doing this, if it must be done, for that for which it is worth a man's while to do it; for something of corresponding greatness, though unseen; for truth, for faith, for duty, for the good of others, for a higher life. And this view the words of the New Testament keep continually before us."

It was this life, inculcated and described in the New Testament, that the Dean made the standard of his own life and strove to impress on others. For, highly as he appreciated the gifts or civilisation in all their attractive forms, he saw the peril which lurked in that fascination :

"We trust that the Christian spirit can live and flourish in society as we know it, different as it is from the first days. But it is clear that as society goes on accumulating powers and gifts, the one hope of society is in men's modest and unselfish use of them; in simplicity and nobleness of spirit increasing, as things impossible to our fathers become easy and familiar to us; in men caring for better things than money and ease, and honour; in being able to see the riches of the world [he meant more than gold] increase, and not set our heart's heart upon them; in being able to admire and forego."

Such was his ideal of the Christian life; "using this world as not abusing it." And few men lived up to the ideal as he did. And modest and humble and retiring as he was, his example told; virtue went out of him, and the contagion spread silently, and multitudes felt better for the presence of that spare ascetic figure among them. And they came, a great crowd on a most inclement day, to testify their appreciation and gratitude at his funeral service in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was like him not only to wish to be buried among his old parishioners in the secluded Somersetshire village, but to forbid any kind of memorial to be raised in his honour. He has left behind him, though he thought not of that, a more enduring memorial than marble: feeble knees strengthened, wills braced up to resist temptation, lives purified and blessed by his example. And he has also left behind him another memorial in the transfigured character of the worship and crowded congregations of St. Paul's. He would be the first to disclaim all credit for that transformation; and, indeed, it would be unjust to deny to his colleagues their share in the wonderful improvement. Canons Gregory and Liddon began it before Dean Church's appointment; but they were a minority in the chapter, and without the Dean, moreover, not much could be done; and Dean Mansel's tastes lay in other fields of speculation. On Dean Church's advent things began rapidly to change. Under the old régime the Sunday congregation had room enough and to spare in the choir. Soon the space beneath the dome did not suffice to hold the crowds that went to the Cathedral, and when Dr. Liddon preached they extended to the west door. And now the ordinary daily congregation is larger than that which used to assemble on Sunday in

the choir. Nor was the influence of the Cathedral confined to London. It spread all over England, and reached even to America and the British colonies, raising the standard of worship among them all. And he who knew least of the source of this great work was the humble scholar and divine at the head of the institution from which it all radiated. It is to be hoped that a successor will be appointed who will carry on the traditions of St. Paul's during the last twenty years.

Let it not be supposed from anything said here about Dean Church's gentleness, humility, and self-effacement, that he was a weak man. He was, indeed, wonderfully tender and affectionate, though he kept his feelings under a disciplined restraint; but he was also not only habitually brave—he could be very stern when the occasion required it. Cruelty, injustice, falseness, always roused his indignation. He had imbibed an ardent love of liberty from his early Italian associations and studies, and from his family connection with Greece;—his uncle, Sir Richard Church, was one of the leaders and heroes of the Greek war of independence. He sympathised with every movement for the liberation and unity of Italy, and for the emancipation of the races still held in Turkish bondage. During the progress of the Eastern struggle in 1877, he wrote in the *Guardian* a series of interesting and instructive articles on the history of the Turks. The Crimean war had previously tempted him to write the most picturesque and most masterly sketch on record—at least within the same compass—of “The Early Ottomans.” The same occasion induced Dr. Newman (as he then was) to write his “Lectures on the History of the Turks,” where his beautiful style and brilliant powers of generalisation are displayed to advantage.

I may appropriately close this hurried and imperfect sketch with the following quotation from Dean Church's Essay on “The Early Ottomans” as a specimen of his historical style:

“For twenty years Orchan abstained from conquest, but he was not idle. While the Christian empire beyond the Straits was perishing, he was busy building up a power which was to be ready to take its place, and fit to grasp its heritage. The pastoral horde was becoming a State; the leader of the vagrant camp was taking delight in adorning the temporary capital of his house with the mosques and colleges, the hospitals and caravansaries, the fountains and tombs, which the piety and magnificence of Moslem princes are wont to rear in their royal cities. Brusa was well worth his care. From the last slopes of Olympus it looks over a green plain of woods and meadows; the famous and beautiful mountain, with its forest and its cliffs, overhangs it, and its abundant and ever-flowing waters—the warm, medicinal springs which well out beneath the baths of the city, and the cold, sparkling sources streaming down from above, among its rocks and its plane-trees—have made Brusa famous among Eastern cities. Not less famous is it for the choice excellence of its trees and fruits, its grapes and apricots, its chest-nuts, each of forty drachms weight, and its forty kinds of pears. The sheep in its pastures produced the finest wool, its mulberry-trees the finest silk, and drew to it craftsmen, who made the work of their looms, their scarfs,

and embroidered stuffs, their lawn, and their samit, renowned almost to our own day. Before the Ottomans appeared, Christian monasteries had gleamed among the woods of Olympus, or nestled in its folds; the hermit's cell had been hung on its precipices, or perched upon its crests, or hid within its caverns. Their place was taken by the deivishes and the santons, on whom Orchan bestowed his largesses with liberal hand; and Olympus became a holy mountain, sanctified by their retreats while living, and by their sepulchres in death. Among them, also, were the earlier poets and theologians of the Ottomans, who loved the stillness and the shade of the murmuring pines. There they could lie and look down on the glittering city and sunny plain below. The city of Orchan's choice had all that could make it dear to Moslems and Orientals; it was a worthy home for the last conquerors of Islam to depart from, and return to, in their wars, and to rest in during the days of peace. Here the first six sultans kept their court, and here they lie buried in stately tombs near the mosques which they founded. Round them are the sepulchres of their children and brothers; and these are encompassed on all sides by the resting-places and memorials of the great men of the rising State, its first viziers and lieutenants; and further, about the mausoleums of the early sultans and saints of the Empire are grouped some five hundred tombs of famous men—pashas, scheikhs, professors, orators, physicians, poets, musicians. Thus gifted and adorned by Nature, and consecrated by so many recollections and such venerable monuments, **Brusa** rivals Adrianople in dignity and Bagdad in holiness, and still, when the sultan's style and title is proclaimed, it is named as the third city of his Empire."

MALCOLM MACCOLL.

POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN INDIA.

DURING the past year the Government has declared its policy in regard to three important questions in India. It has accepted the offers of troops made by the princes of the Feudatory States; it has shown how far it is willing to accede to the wishes of our own subjects in the British Provinces, with reference to the expansion of the Legislative Councils; it has taken action to meet the demands of the social reformers for the protection of child-brides. I should like to explain briefly the influences now at work in India which have led to these three movements, and the stage which each of the movements has now reached.

In so doing I may have to repeat ideas to which I have already given expression. It is only by again and again insisting on the altered conditions of the India of our day that we can make clear its problems, or gauge the forces at work. For it is not the old India of romance and adventure with which we have to deal—the old India of magnificent emperors, and marble palaces, and jewelled gods. It is not even the India of the East India Company, with its heroic battles and its rapid fortunes, and its retired Anglo-Indian nabobs from Calcutta, whose yellow cheeks and abominable tempers were the laughing-stock of the English stage. It is the new and commonplace India of our own day, where men are beginning to be moved by the same political aspirations which have made England what she is; where they are trying to solve their own hard social problems, as we are trying to solve ours; where the struggle for life is gradually disclosing itself as a struggle between labour and capital, even as in our own land. It is the India of the railways and of the Factories' Commission, the India of the movement for bettering the condition of women, the India of the annual political Congress—in a word, the India of the Queen.

What has brought about this change in the India of our day? It is an uprising of the Indian intellect, an awakening of Indian thought and Indian aspirations, such as the world has not seen since the Revival of Learning in Europe. Until thirty-seven years ago, such education as existed in India rested chiefly on a sectarian basis. It was principally conducted by the priestly class of the Hindus, the Maulvis of the Musalman mosques, and the missionaries of various Christian bodies. During the last thirty-seven years Indian education has been reorganised on a non-sectarian basis, and Government schools and colleges have been thrown open throughout the land to all Indian subjects of the Queen, irrespective of their race, or their creed, or their caste. The result has been to create a system of public instruction, based on Western knowledge and Western enlightenment, which forms a new era in the life of the people.

One of its consequences has been to convert what was formerly a hostile India into a loyal India. We have during the last quarter of a century grown so accustomed to the loyalty of India, that we are apt to take it as a matter of course. But to the rulers of India under the East India Company, the one thing impossible seemed to be the creation of a loyal India. I will not refer to the malignant rejoicings which broke forth in the native Courts when a great disaster like the destruction of our army in Afghanistan, in 1842, made it seem safe for them to show their hatred. I shall take a period when Lord Wellesley's policy—the policy upon which the East India Company's rule rested during the first half of the century—was achieving its culminating triumphs; and I shall quote the words of one who knew India with the perfect knowledge of a man who rose from the ranks of the Civil Service to the Governor-Generalship.

"All India," wrote, in 1824, the distinguished administrator who was afterwards created Lord Metcalfe, "all India is at all times looking out for our downfall. The people everywhere would rejoice, or fancy that they would rejoice, at our destruction." In another State document he declared, in 1814: "Our situation in India has always been precarious. We are still a handful of Europeans governing an immense empire without any firm hold on the country, having warlike and powerful enemies on all our frontiers, and the spirit of disaffection dormant but rooted universally among our subjects." "We might now be swept away in a single whirlwind. We are without root. The best affected natives would think of a change of Government with indifference, and in the North-western Provinces there is hardly a man who would not hope for benefit from a change." "Shall we ever," he asked despondently, in 1820, after the final conquest of the Maráthás and Pindáris by the British arms—"shall we ever contrive to attach the native population to our Government? and can this be done by identifying the interests of the upper classes with our own? Is it possible in

any way to identify their interests with ours? To all three questions, if put to me, I should answer *No!*"

It was in this despair of ever conciliating India that the ablest of the Company's servants went through their lives. In order to understand the new forces at work in India, and in order to deal with them fearlessly and righteously, it is first of all needful to understand how profoundly they are changed for the better, compared with the forces which the East India Company had to encounter. Can we ever conciliate India? This was the vital question to which the ablest administrators deliberately answered No, in the India of the Company. It remains the vital question to which we deliberately answer Yes, in the India of the Queen. As a matter of fact the task of conciliation has been accomplished. It is the beneficent legacy which the past thirty-three years of the Queen's rule in India now hands down to the incoming century. The desire of the classes whom we sometimes hear spoken of as the troublesome classes in India, is no longer (as in Lord Metcalfe's time) to get rid of our Government, but to be admitted to a larger share in it. The problem of British rule in India is no longer to coerce and crush down the perpetual disaffection of hostile races, but to safely direct the new consolidating forces which have been evoked in a conciliated and a loyal India.

This change forms the key to the whole situation. It has profoundly modified the views of the native population towards our rule. Every national joy or sorrow, whether in the family of our Sovereign or in the life of the British people, is now felt by the Indian races to be a joy or sorrow in which they also share. If our Indian administration presses hardly at any point on them, they meet together no longer to rise in arms, but to petition for reform. Internal insurrection, which Lord Metcalfe declared to be a perpetual danger, has disappeared out of the calculations of the Governors of Indian provinces. External mishaps to our power, such as a defeat of our troops or a check in our foreign policy, no longer send a thrill of disloyal delight through India, but call forth eager and enthusiastic offers of their whole military resources from the princes, and of volunteering from the peoples of our own provinces. Compare the triumphant outburst of hatred against us, evoked by our temporary reverses in the first Burmese war under the Company, with the outburst of loyalty produced by the Penjdeh incident under the Crown.

"Your Lordship," wrote Sir Charles Metcalfe to the Governor-General, sixty-seven years ago, "will probably have heard from various quarters that the Burmese war has excited the strongest sensation throughout India. Everything of an unprosperous character has been exaggerated and magnified. Delay in decided success has been represented as entire failure and disastrous defeat. Our real victories and the exploits of our troops have been unnoticed, while the most wanton and extravagant reports of our approaching downfall have gained credit. I have seen a native paper stating that the

Commander-in-Chief had been killed in an action with the Burmans near to Calcutta, and that your Lordship had put an end to yourself by poison!"

Contrast these truculent rejoicings at a rumoured reverse of the British arms under the Company, with the wave of loyal and patriotic feeling which swept across India in 1885 at the tidings that the Queen's representatives had received a check at Penjdeh in Afghanistan from the Russians. The Indian races were again ready to rush to arms, but to arms no longer for the annihilation, but for the defence of the British Government. The native princes throughout India vied with each other in pressing the English Government to accept freewill offerings from them of money and transport and troops. Their one desire was to place the whole resources of their States, without fee or payment, at the disposal of the British Viceroy. They not only offered their armies fully equipped to take the field, but they asked as a privilege that they should themselves be permitted to defray the charge of their troops while fighting the battles of the Queen.

That crisis passed off without actual war. The incident, however, had awakened an enthusiastic loyalty to the British Government in India on which Russia had not reckoned. While the princes of India were offering their armies, the natives in our own provinces were asking to be enrolled as volunteers. Splendid as were the testimonies borne throughout the world to the wisdom and justice of Queen Victoria's reign in her Jubilee Year of 1887, still more impressive was that outburst of stern loyalty in India two years previously, those magnificent offers of patriotism from princes and people, among whom a new-born sense of union with England had grown up under Her Majesty's rule.

Nor was it a merely passing ebullition of sentiment. It was the embodiment of a deliberate conviction on the part of the Native chiefs and the educated classes in British India that their interests are bound up in the maintenance of the British power. Down to the end of the East India Company's rule, such an outburst of loyal enthusiasm would have been regarded as impossible. Not only did the ablest servants of the Company despair of ever winning the real and disinterested support of the natives to British rule, but shrewd non-official observers took an equally hopeless view. The most distinguished of Anglo-Indian journalists, who gained his experience at the close of the Company's rule, has, in the pages of this very REVIEW, scouted the idea of any actual existence of a British Indian Empire. His belief until recently continued to be that our power in India consisted solely of a close official corporation of English civilians and a garrison of English troops. "That corporation and that garrison," he said, "constitute the 'Indian Empire.' There is nothing else. Banish those fifteen hundred men in black, defeat that slender garrison in

red, and the Empire has ended. . . . They are the Empire, and there is no other."

To this conception of the Indian Empire, a conception which was a perfectly just one under the East India Company, the natives of British India have themselves made answer. "If there were ever to arise," said the President of the Indian National Congress at Madras—that is to say, the President of a native and spontaneous body of delegates from all the provinces of India, who meet together each year to express the feelings and the wishes of their countrymen—

"if there were ever to arise—which God forbid—any great struggle between Russia and Great Britain for the supremacy in India, who is best able to judge of the relative merits of the two empires? It is we, the educated natives, that are best qualified to judge, because it is we who know and are best able to appreciate, for instance, the blessings of the right of public meeting, the liberty of action and of speech, and high education, which we enjoy under Great Britain; whereas, probably, under Russia we should have nothing but a haughty and despotic Government, whose chief glory would consist in vast military organisation, aggressions upon our neighbours, and great military exploits."

This new feeling, on the part alike of the princes and the people of India, of a common interest with England in the stability of British rule, has given rise to two of the movements referred to in my opening paragraph.

The one is a movement among the Feudatory princes of India to be more actively incorporated in the military defence of the Empire; the other is a movement among our subjects in the British provinces, to be more actively incorporated in the work of Indian Government. The question before the Queen's representatives in India during the past five years has been how far it may be safe to trust the princes and the peoples of India to help us in the defence and in the government of the Indian Empire. This question of confidence now lies at the root of our whole position in India. How far is it safe to trust the native princes of the Feudatory States; how far is it safe to trust the influential classes in our own provinces?

To both of these vital questions the British Government has, as I mentioned, now given its reply. It has plainly told the native princes of the Feudatory States that it has confidence in their loyalty, and that it accepts their freewill offerings of troops. The matter was brought to an issue by the magnificent offer of the Nizam, the leading Muhammadan Feudatory prince in India, of £600,000 towards the frontier defences of the Empire. Other princes followed with offers of money, men, animals of transport, and the equipage of war. The British Government has not seen fit to accept offerings of money from the Feudatory chiefs. But it has accepted their loyal offerings of troops. We must remember that while the British Government has only an army (European and Native) of about

220,000 men in India, the Feudatory States maintain on their own account, and at their own expense, separate armies which aggregate over 350,000 men. Under the East India Company these vast bodies of troops were regarded as a standing menace to the British authority. In the India of the Queen, and under the influence of the sentiments of loyalty and united interest which have grown up, the armies of the native States are becoming a source of strength, and not of weakness, to the ruling Power. The result is that the English Government finds that it can now, with safety to itself, inaugurate a new system by which the flower of the Feudatory armies will be trained to form a reserve for the British forces in India. A certain number of picked men in the various Feudatory States who have offered their troops have been selected to be trained into an imperial contingent. The contingents already offered aggregate 25,000 men, the *élite* of the cavalry and infantry of the native States, besides transport and artillery.

It would be wrong to shut our eyes to the risks which may attend this new departure in the military policy of India. Those risks have at the outset been reduced to a minimum by declining the offers of artillery, on the ground that it "is an arm requiring such scientific training that the native States could not be expected to maintain it in a condition of efficiency for modern warfare." Great care has also been taken, by observing a wise distribution in regard to the contingents, to render any combination geographically difficult, and indeed almost impossible by reason of the barriers of caste and race. The Government of India has, moreover, recognised from the first the necessity of keeping a firm hand on the movement and exercising a steady supervision over it. During the present winter the new imperial contingents have been reviewed at places by the Viceroy in person, and elsewhere by British generals. Judging from the high praise which Lord Lansdowne has felt himself justified in according to the troops, they promise to add an effective reserve to the war array of British India, a reserve which will not cost a rupee to the British Indian Exchequer.

Each of the imperial contingents is maintained entirely at the cost of the native State which offers it. It is commanded by the Feudatory chief, and it is officered by native gentlemen and noblemen of the State to which it belongs. So anxious is the British Government that the movement shall be altogether a spontaneous one on the part of the Feudatory chiefs, uninfluenced by pressure from outside, that it only consents to lend a very few subordinate officers for the purposes of drill and instruction alone. The direct control and management of the new imperial contingents will rest with the native chiefs who have asked to be allowed to maintain them as freewill offerings of their loyalty. This is the answer which the British Government has made to the imperialising movement among the Feudatory princes of India.

In the British territories the new sense of a common interest with the Government has taken a different form. Its most conspicuous outcome is the Indian National Congress. This body consists, as I have said, of delegates from the various provinces of India, who meet together in the last week of each year to discuss the political needs of the country. The Congress has been in active existence throughout six years. It selects as its place of annual meeting one of the Presidency towns, or some other great centre in India, and has in this way familiarised the various divisions of the country with its work. During the past five years its numbers have increased from a few hundred to over a thousand delegates. At its sixth session, held in Calcutta a month ago, fourteen hundred delegates attended. Indeed, it is now stated, that to prevent the Congress growing into too unwieldy a body, arrangements have had to be made to keep down the number of delegates to one thousand. Whether we agree with the proposals of the Congress or not, it would be foolish to deny its significance. For the first time in the history of India the ruling power has thus been brought into contact with an authoritative expression of the wants and aspirations of the races whom it governs. Under the Mughal Emperors of India, such an assemblage would not only have been impossible from want of means of communication between the provinces, but it would have been regarded as a danger to the throne. The railways have made an Indian National Congress possible, and the loyal sentiments of the people towards the Queen have rendered it safe.

What is it that the educated classes of India, as represented by their delegates in the Indian Congress, now ask of their British rulers? Some of their requests deal with questions of local administration. They ask, for example, that the excise shall be administered in such a way as not to lead to the growth of intemperance and to drinking habits among the people. They ask that they shall be allowed to bear arms as volunteers in the defence of the Empire. They ask for certain changes in the revenue system, so that taxation in the form of the salt-duty shall press less heavily on the poor. They ask that they shall be more largely admitted to the public services which administer the affairs of their districts and provinces. They ask that the House of Commons shall exercise a more effective control over the Indian revenues and expenditure, by taking up the Indian Budget at an earlier period in the Session, instead of hurrying through it in the last days of Parliament before empty benches.

But beyond all such requests for administrative improvements, the Indian National Congress asks that the natives of India shall have a more effective voice in making their own laws. Thirty years ago, shortly after India had passed from the Company to the Queen's Government, Legislative Councils were created for India by Act of

Parliament. The chief of these bodies is the Viceroy's Legislative Council, which makes laws applying to the whole Indian Empire, or to any part of it. The other Legislative Councils are the Provincial Councils in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and now also in the North-west, which make laws for their respective provinces. It will suffice to explain the constitution of the most important of them—namely, the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

The Viceroy's Legislative Council is mainly made up of the high officials who form what may be called the Ministry, or technically the Executive Council, in India. To these official members are added certain "additional" members, whom the Viceroy selects chiefly from the influential classes of natives, and from the leaders of the British mercantile community in India. He also appoints certain other additional members, selected for him by the Provincial Governments, in order to represent the views and requirements of the various provinces.

This system has, on the whole, worked well during the past thirty years. But the educated classes among the natives now point out certain defects in its working, and ask that these defects shall be remedied. For example, they urge that it is not right that the whole revenue and expenditure of the Indian Empire should, except when a new tax is required, be exempted from discussion in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. As the British Parliament only deals with the Indian Budget during the last expiring hours of each Session, the natives complain that the Indian national expenditure is subject to no real constitutional control, either by the Legislative Council in India or by the House of Commons in England. They accordingly ask that the Indian Budget shall be regularly discussed every year in the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

In the next place, the educated natives of India, speaking through their National Congress, desire that the members of the Legislative Councils shall have the right to ask questions, somewhat in the same way as, but in a less degree than, the members of the English Parliament have this right. At present no member of an Indian Legislative Council can bring forward any business without the consent of the Government. Nor can he ask any question as to alleged miscarriages of justice, or as to alleged abuses in the administration, or in fact as to any subject whatever. This is now found to be not only a substantial grievance to the natives, but also a serious inconvenience to the Government. For it often happens that the action of Government is misunderstood by the Indian press, and bitterly condemned for want of proper information, when a few words asked and answered in the Legislative Council would make the whole matter clear.

A still more important request is being made by the natives through their annual National Congress, for an increase in the number of

members of the Legislative Councils. The constitution of the Viceroy and the chief Provincial Legislative Councils was practically fixed thirty years ago, when no large class of highly educated English-speaking natives existed who could supply effective members of the Legislative Councils. But during the past thirty years a new generation of influential natives has grown up into middle life, trained in our Indian State schools and colleges, and perfectly competent to assist in the task of Indian legislation. The natives of India now ask that this important change shall be recognised, and that the number of the non-official members of the Legislative Councils shall be increased.

As a matter of fact, the Government of India and her Majesty's Ministers at home have admitted in principle the reasonableness of the three foregoing requests in regard to the Legislative Councils. Lord Cross's Bill, which was introduced in the last Session of Parliament, provided for the annual discussion of the Indian expenditure in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, for giving the members the right to ask questions in the Legislative Councils, under suitable safeguards, and for a cautious increase in the number of the members of those Councils. It did not provide for nearly so many new members as the natives through their National Congress had asked for, but it took a moderate step in this direction.

There is, however, a fourth request put forward by the natives through their yearly National Congress, with regard to which a wide difference of opinion exists. Hitherto, all the non-official members of the Legislative Councils have been appointed by the Viceroy for his own Council, and by the Provincial Governors for their Councils. But, as a matter of fact, both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors have consulted the leading native and mercantile bodies in making their selections. For example, it is now understood that the Commercial member in the Viceroy's Council represents the views of the British commercial community in Calcutta. The great Native Landholders' Association in Bengal is, as a rule, represented in the Viceroy's Legislative Council by a native gentleman or nobleman who gives utterance to its wants. To a certain moderate extent, therefore, the Indian Legislative Councils have assumed a quasi-representative character.

The educated natives of India, speaking through their annual National Congress, now ask the Government to go a step further and to allow them to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Councils. One party among them went so far as to create a paper constitution for all India, with a cut-and-dried scheme of electoral colleges and constituencies, which should return so many members to the Legislative Councils calculated per million of the population. A Bill embodying that scheme was introduced into Parliament by Mr. Bradlaugh last Session, but little practical progress was made with it.

The Indian National Congress has now given up this hasty proposal, and wishes to leave it to the Government, under the control of Parliament, to work out such an elective system for India as may be found to be really suited to the country.

The views of the Government in regard to the adoption of the elective principle are not so clear as in regard to other requests made by the Indian National Congress. It is stated that no fewer than three Viceroy and several eminent Governors of Indian Provinces are disposed to give a cautious trial to representative government in India. Lord Cross's Bill, as introduced last Session, did not, however, accept this principle. But on an amendment made by Lord Northbrook, a very distinguished former Viceroy of India, it appeared that her Majesty's Ministry were not unwilling to reconsider the question, and that a qualified recognition of the elective principle might be introduced at a later stage into the Bill. The Bill for India was, unfortunately, crowded out by other measures affecting Ireland and England. It is understood that a similar Bill will be brought forward again during the coming Session.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bradlaugh has again prepared a rival Bill, embodying the new proposals of the Indian National Congress. Those proposals perhaps go further than even Mr. Bradlaugh or the Congress itself would eventually insist on. But the difference between Mr. Bradlaugh's proposed Bill and the Bill which we may expect from the Government is no longer a difference of principle, but of degree. Lord Cross's Bill of last Session went a certain length; Lord Northbrook would have liked it to go a little further; and Mr. Bradlaugh, on behalf of the Indian National Congress, would like it to go a good deal further.

The various measures now put forward enable Parliament to understand what the educated classes in India, as represented by their yearly political Congress, desire. They wish for a recognition of the elective principle in the constitution of the Legislative Councils; they wish for a numerical expansion of the Legislative Councils; they wish that more extended powers shall be granted to those bodies. Many of them wish for these reforms in a larger measure and at a quicker pace than the Government deems prudent.

During the debates on Lord Cross's Bill last Session, two things became apparent. In the first place, that Parliament will not allow a great constitutional change in our system of governing India to be rushed upon it. In the second place, that both Parliament and Her Majesty's Ministers are perfectly aware that the time for some advance has come. The arrangements for the introduction of the elective principle into India must take time, and the safeguards required to ensure its satisfactory operation can only be worked out province by province, and by the responsible authorities in India. But I believe that before the end of this century England will have added to the

other services which she has rendered to India, the noble gift of a true beginning of representative government.

In regard to the request of the educated classes in the British provinces to be allowed a larger share in Indian legislation, as in regard to the desire of the Feudatory princes to be allowed to take a larger part in the defence of the Empire, the Government has found itself able to go a certain length, but only a certain length. We shall presently see that the same result has been arrived at with reference to the demands of the party of social reform in India. Neither the Feudatory chiefs, nor the yearly political Congress, nor the child-marriage reformers have received all they asked for; but the Government has found it possible to make an advance, or to offer to make an advance, in each of the directions desired. The special value of Mr. Bradlaugh's proposed Bill is that it will indicate the exact difference in the length which the Government may be willing to go, compared with the length which the Indian National Congress asks it to go. For Mr. Bradlaugh takes the text of Lord Cross's Bill of last Session, and only alters it so far as to show how it would stand if Lord Cross's Bill had gone into committee, and if all the amendments which Mr. Bradlaugh had made to it had been carried.

Mr. Bradlaugh's new Bill leaves the working out of the elective principle to the Indian Government acting under the control of Parliament. But it goes on to provide that the Indian Government shall accomplish this task within a period of eighteen months. Again, Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill fixes the exact number of the members for the various Councils, and fixes them on a larger scale than the Government will probably listen to. Thus, Mr. Bradlaugh would fix the number of additional members of the Governor-General's Council at not less than forty, nor more than sixty. So far as one can infer from Lord Cross's measure of last Session the Viceroy's Council, on its new constitution, would consist of from twenty to thirty members, and not from forty to sixty as Mr. Bradlaugh proposes. There are a number of other differences between Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill and the one introduced last Session by Lord Cross—differences which, in the aggregate, would materially alter the framework of the Indian constitution as designed by Lord Cross's measure. But when all is said, these differences are differences in degree rather than in principle, and in each case a plain issue is placed before Parliament as to the rate of advance which it may deem safe alike in the interests of India and of England—an issue which Parliament is well qualified to decide.

The new awakening of the Indian intellect and conscience is making itself felt not only in the political aspirations of India, but is working a social and domestic revolution in the homes of the people. We sometimes hear those who are opposed to political gatherings in

India advising the political leaders to mind their own business, and to look into the institutions of their own family life. Now, this is precisely what the leaders of Indian thought are doing. For, as at the Revival of Learning in Europe, so at all times and in all lands, a great human movement advances not in one, but in many directions. In India, we see it take an industrial direction, we see it take an intellectual direction, we see it take a political direction, we see it take a religious direction, we see it rush into a hundred social and domestic channels. You cannot let loose the mighty waters of knowledge, and then command them to flow only in one narrow course. We have thrown open the floodgates of a new moral and intellectual life in India. The result is a new energy which is making itself felt in every department of human effort in India.

In economics, it is developing the old industrial system of India, which was conducted by household manufactures, into a system of production on a great scale. For the old basis of production by the family, or the unit, it is substituting the modern organisation of labour and capital. The Indian artisans are ceasing to weave each at his own loom in his own cottage, and are working by thousands in steam-mills and factories. In religious life, it is profoundly modifying ancient superstitions, and giving birth to new spiritual movements, some of which may yet be destined to compare with the Protestant Reformation in Europe. In intellectual life, it is creating written languages out of what were down to our own day only spoken dialects; it is producing a vast new literature, issuing six thousand printed books each year, and circulating daily and weekly a powerful newspaper press.

The new political activity in India of which we hear so much, is only one of the many aspects of this great awakening of the Indian races. It is as impossible to arrest that new political activity, as it would be impossible to arrest the new industrial activity, and to put a stop to the jute-mills and cotton-factories in Calcutta and Bombay. To accomplish these feats, we should first have to arrest the new educational activity, and shut up the 133,000 colleges and schools.

I propose to show how this new activity is affecting the inner household life of India—very briefly, on this occasion, for it is a subject on which I have written so much that I can scarcely hope to do so again without repeating myself. The rising generation of young men are becoming imbued with our Western ideas as to the true position of woman. They desire wives who will be helpmates to them, capable of understanding their aims and of sharing their thoughts. The remedy at first sight seems simple. The system of public instruction established by the British Government in India provides as liberally for the education of girls as of boys. The girls' schools are open to all who choose to go, and at fees so moderate as

to bring them within the reach of all. As a matter of fact, the Indian girls do go to school in considerable numbers, and in no department of public instruction has the proportionate rate of increase been so rapid as in female education. But the remedy is by no means so simple as it looks. For there are two influences at work in India which hamper and curtail the progress of female education. The first is a deep-seated prejudice against girls going out from the seclusion of their homes after the early years of childhood. Until the establishment of British rule this feeling was no prejudice at all, and but a very well-founded conviction of the dangers which lay in wait for female honour in a despotic and badly governed country.

Another obstacle to female education in India is early marriage. The first duty of an Indian father is to secure a provision for his daughters, and in Eastern countries that provision has almost always taken the shape of an early marriage. The great majority of Indian girls of respectable position are accordingly married before they are eleven years of age. Practically speaking, the school education of Indian girls comes to an end between the age of ten and eleven—that is to say, just at the age when the real school education of English girls begins. This is a very serious obstacle to elevating the position of women in India. But it is an obstacle which many earnest reformers in India are trying to overcome. A great native movement is taking place to persuade Indian public opinion against early marriages. The evils of such marriages, physical, moral, and intellectual, are being powerfully insisted on by native writers in hundreds of publications, and eloquently denounced by native speakers on scores of platforms. Associations are being formed in which the members bind themselves under penalties not to give their daughters in marriage or to allow their sons to marry wives under the age of sixteen. The wealthier classes to some extent get rid of the difficulty by retaining aged Brahman teachers to instruct their daughters and girl-relatives in their own homes. But it is gradually, although slowly, being accepted by the native leaders of thought that female education in India will not be possible on an adequate scale, until the prejudice against girls going out to school dies away, and until very early marriages are discountenanced by native public opinion. A Social Conference with this and similar objects is now held yearly during the Session of the Indian National Congress, and is largely made up of its members. But the two bodies having different ends in view, the one political and the other social, wisely maintain their organisation separate, and do not interfere with each other's work.

Side by side with the advance of female education, a movement is taking place to mitigate the harsh restrictions laid upon Hindu widows. The whole structure of Hindu society is arranged to give every woman one chance in life. As a matter of fact, every Hindu

girl of respectable position gets married, and the failure of a father to secure a husband for his daughter would be considered not only dishonourable to himself, but a crime against religion. In order, however, that every girl shall be sure of marriage, it seems expedient to Hindu society that no woman shall have two husbands.

Apart from the strong religious views of the Hindus as to the propriety of a celibate life for widows, a view which Saint Paul enforces in his Epistle to Timothy, the custom of prohibiting widows to re-marry had a practical basis of social expediency in India. For in India, under native rule, male life was subjected to many risks, and there was a constant tendency to disproportionately large numbers of females. A state of almost constant war, or invasion, or tumult, means a steady drain on the manhood of a people. As a matter of fact, the provision of a married home for the daughters of respectable families was an even greater difficulty during the rough mediæval ages in India than it was in Europe. For the difficulty in Europe was to some extent met by convents, nunneries, and various sisterhoods. Mediæval India, after the political expulsion of Buddhism, had not these devices on any adequate scale for providing for its surplus women. It accordingly placed harsher checks on their disproportionate numbers by female infanticide, by the prohibition of widow re-marriage, and by the voluntary burning of widows of certain of the higher castes upon their husband's funeral pile. The British Government, in putting an end to the wars and tumults which formed a constant drain on male life in India, also put an end to the female infanticide and the voluntary widow-burning, which tended to keep down the surplus of female life. The growth of the two sexes was allowed to follow its natural laws, with the natural tendency towards an equilibrium. The census of 1881 showed that the male population is now in excess of the female population of British India, in the proportion of 101 men to 97 women. An important survival of the old system remains, however, in the strong public sentiment that every girl should be married; but that, having been once married, if her husband dies, she should not marry again.

A large and enlightened section of the Indian community is now asking Government to remove by legislation the restrictions thus imposed by custom on the re-marriage of Hindu widows. They point out that the practice of child-marriage leaves at the age of fourteen or fifteen large numbers of Hindu child-widows, and that there are over two million of young widows in India, to whom enforced celibacy is an injustice and a wrong. The evil is cruelly intensified by the custom of child-marriage, and by the multitude of child-widows who are left without having been really wives at all. The reformers accordingly ask Government to do one of two things: either to refuse to recognise child-marriage as binding—that is to say, to treat the

religious marriage ceremony of the Hindus as merely a betrothal ; or by law to remove all restrictions placed by custom on the re-marriage of widows.

The Government finds it impossible to accede to either of these apparently reasonable requests. For the British Government, when it took over India from the native dynasties, repeatedly assured the people that it would not interfere with their family customs ; and these solemn assurances helped to procure the acquiescence of the native races in our rule. Now the most imperative custom of Hindu family life is that every Hindu girl shall be married, and one of the most deeply rooted convictions of the great majority of Hindus is the necessity of very early marriages in order to secure this end. The necessity is not one of expediency alone, but a solemn obligation imposed on parents by the Hindu religion. The Government cannot, therefore, interfere without breaking its promise to the people. But it can show its sympathy with the movement of the educated classes against child-marriage ; and it can let it be known that it is willing to legislate as soon as it can do so with the support of the Hindu community.

The other proposals of the social reformers is for Government to legislate in favour of the re-marriage of widows. This also is not so simple as it seems at first sight. For if the Hindu law attaches severe restraints to the position of a widow, it also grants her important privileges. According to Hindu law, the widow has always a right to be maintained by her husband's family. Among the poorer working Hindus, a widow forms a recognised charge on the labour of the male members of the household. In well-off Hindu families, if the husband leaves no son, the widow succeeds as a matter of right, not by favour or by testament, to her husband's property. In some parts of India she takes all his movable wealth as her own, and has a life interest in his landed estate. In other parts of India she has only a life interest in both his real and personal property. But in all parts she succeeds to very substantial legal advantages as a widow, because the law regards her as continuing the religious *persona* of her deceased husband in this world, and as ministering to his soul's welfare in the next by her round of pious ceremonies, her prayers, and self-denying life. If she marries again, she gives up her religious status of widow, and therefore has no claim to carry away into her new husband's family the property to which she succeeded for the express purpose of benefiting her late husband's soul by the ceremonies, prayers, and self-denials of Hindu widowhood.

The British Government has tried to cut the knot by a law allowing every Hindu widow to re-marry if she pleases, but attaching to her re-marriage the condition that she shall give up to her late husband's family the usufruct which she had inherited from him to maintain

her religious status as his widow. The reforming Indian party now ask that this unpleasant condition shall be abolished in whole or in part, and that Hindu widows may be allowed to re-marry without giving up their late husband's property. The British Government can only answer that if the reformers will persuade the majority of their countrymen of the expediency of the change, the Government will be ready to legislate in the manner proposed. But, as a matter of fact, Hindu public opinion is at present opposed to such a change.

The net result is that the Government does not find it possible to at once accede to either of the demands of the social reformers, whether in regard to placing restrictions upon child-marriage or in regard to removing the restrictions on the re-marriage of Hindu widows. Yet it has been able to do something towards social reform. It declines to interfere with the religious marriage of the Hindus, and it refuses to declare such marriages (in however early childhood the marriage may be contracted) as inoperative. It respects the religious marriage ceremony among the Hindus as a valid and binding act of marriage. It refuses to treat that ceremony as a mere betrothal, as some of the social reformers suggest, or to allow a right of repudiation to the boy and girl before the marriage is actually consummated. But it is about to pass a law which will practically defer the consummation of marriages in India until the child-bride reaches the age of twelve. It will thus indirectly aid in extending the unmarried years of girl-life in India, but extending them only to the age of twelve. This may seem a small advance. But it is an advance in the right direction, and the opposition which has already developed among the orthodox Hindus proves how necessary is the caution which has been observed by the British Government.

The truth is that to whatever form of Indian aspiration we turn the same result is disclosed. While the Feudatory princes of India have made large offerings to the British Government of money and men and transport animals, to aid in the defence of the Indian Empire, the Government has only accepted a small imperial contingent of troops or transport from each State that desires to maintain one. In like manner, while the Indian Congress, which represents the political movement among our own subjects, asks for a large expansion of the Legislative Councils, and a widespread introduction of the elective principle and of representative government, her Majesty's Ministers, while willing to go as far in these directions as they think safe, do not find it possible to go so far as the more advanced of the Indian political reformers desire. The social reformers complain of the same incompleteness in the Government response to their requests for improvements in the marriage system of the Hindus. In each of these

three departments of Indian activity—Feudatory, political, and social—the British Government finds itself unable to fully satisfy the aspirations of the more advanced reformers.

The important fact is that such aspirations have for the first time sprung into existence in India, and that they have found a loyal expression. Last year the leading Indian social reformer, Mr. Malabari, came to England to plead his cause. A strong deputation of Indian political reformers also spent several months in this country in explaining their wants. The telegraph announced a few weeks ago that the Indian National Congress is again going to appeal to the British nation during the present year. It is said to have appointed no fewer than one hundred delegates to come to England and state their case on British platforms. Such a spectacle must, I think, stir the hearts of us all. It may not be possible for the British Government to grant all that the Indian political reformers desire in the way of political progress, just as it has not been found possible to grant all that the Indian social reformers desire in legislative restrictions upon child-marriage. Yet the fact of such a deputation coming to us from India forms a splendid recognition of Britain's position as the mother-country of her great Empire throughout the world. It makes us realise not only the solidarity which is growing up between India and Britain, but also the confidence which the Indians themselves feel that they can lay their requirements before the British people, with the certainty of a fair hearing and of a fair consideration of their wants. The sight of the Indian troops hurrying to the aid of the Queen's armies in the Mediterranean and in Egypt, taught the military nations of Europe a lesson as to the power and resources of Greater Britain. But the present project of a hundred delegates coming from India to explain their political needs to Englishmen strikes me as a far more imposing spectacle. For it tells the world in unmistakable language that India herself believes in the justice of England, and in the determination of the British nation to do what is right by the Asiatic Empire which Providence has committed to their care.

W. W. HUNTER.

THE ETHICS OF WINE-DRINKING AND TOBACCO-SMOKING.

1.

WHAT is the true explanation of the use which people make of stupefying stimulants and narcotics, of brandy, wine, beer, hashish, opium, and of others less extensively indulged in, such as morphia, ether, fly-agaric? How did it first originate, and what caused it to spread so rapidly and to hold its own so tenaciously among all sorts and conditions of men, savage and civilised? To what are we to attribute the incontrovertible fact that wherever brandy, wine, beer, are unknown, there opium, hashish, fly-agaric, &c., are sure to be common, while the consumption of tobacco is universal?

What is it that impels people to stupefy themselves? Ask any man you meet what it was that first induced him to drink alcoholic liquors and why he drinks them now. He will reply: "It is pleasant to do so; every one drinks"; and he may possibly add, "to keep up my spirits." There is another category of persons—those who never take the trouble to ask themselves the question whether it is right or wrong to drink alcoholic liquors—who will urge as an all-sufficient reason, that wine is wholesome, and imparts strength to him who drinks it—viz., they plead as a satisfactory ground a statement which has been long ago proved to be utterly false.

Put the same question to a smoker: ask him what first led him to smoke, and what compels or induces him to keep up the habit now, and the answer will be the same: "To drive away melancholy; besides, the habit is universal; everybody smokes."

The same or some analogous plea would most probably be advanced by those who indulge in opium, hashish, morphia, and fly-agaric.

"To drive off the blues; to keep up my spirits; because every one does the same." Reasons of this kind might, without glaring absurdity, be advanced as grounds for the habit of twirling one's fingers,

of whistling, of humming tunes, of playing a tin whistle; in a word, of occupying oneself in any one of a thousand ways that do not entail the destruction of natural riches, nor necessitate an enormous expenditure of human labour, of doing something, in fine, which is not fraught with mischief to oneself and others. But none of the habits in question are of this harmless character. In order that tobacco, wine, hashish, opium, may be produced in sufficient quantities to keep pace with the present enormous rate of consumption, millions and millions of acres of the best soil, among populations sorely in need of land, are set apart for the cultivation of rye, potatoes, hemp, poppy, vines, and tobacco, and millions of human beings—in England one-eighth of the entire population—devote all their lives to the manufacture of these stupefying stimulants. Nor is this all. The consumption of these products is, beyond all doubt, highly pernicious, is fraught with terrible evils, the reality of which are admitted by all—evils that work the ruin of more men and women than are laid low by all the bloody wars and infectious diseases that decimate the human race. And people are aware of this; so perfectly well aware of it, indeed, that the statement cannot for a moment be credited that they set in motion the baneful cause of it all, merely *to drive away melancholy, to keep up their spirits*, or solely because *every one does it*.

It is obvious, therefore, that there must be some other explanation of this strange phenomenon. On all the highways and byways of life we are continually meeting with affectionate parents who, though perfectly ready to make any—the heaviest—sacrifice for the welfare of their offspring, do not hesitate one moment to squander upon brandy, wine, beer, opium, hashish, and tobacco, a sum of money amply sufficient to feed their miserable, hunger-stricken children, or at least to insure them against the worst kinds of privation. It is perfectly evident, therefore, that the man who, placed by circumstances or his own acts in a position that imposes upon him the necessity of choosing between the infliction of hardship and misery upon the family that is dear to him, on the one hand, and abstinence from stupefying stimulants and narcotics, on the other, chooses the former alternative, is impelled to this choice by something far more potent than the desire to keep up his spirits, or the speculative consideration that every one else does the same. And so far as I am competent to hazard an opinion—and my qualifications consist solely in a theoretical knowledge of the judgments of others, gleaned from book-reading and in close personal observation of men, of my own self in particular at a time when I still drank wine and smoked tobacco—I would formulate that potent cause as follows:—

Man, during the course of his conscious existence, has frequent opportunities for discerning in himself two distinct beings: the one blind and sensuous; the other endowed with sight, spiritual. The

former eats, drinks, rests, sleeps, perpetuates itself, and moves about just like a machine duly wound up for a definite period ; the seeing, spiritual being, which is linked to the sensuous, does nothing itself, but merely weighs and appreciates the conduct of the sensuous being, actively co-operating when it approves, and holding aloof when it disapproves the actions of the latter.

We may liken the being endowed with sight to the needle of a compass, one extremity of which points to the north and the other to the south, and the entire length and breadth of which is covered by a layer of some opaque substance. The needle thus remains invisible so long as the ship or vehicle that carries the compass is moving in the direction towards which the needle is pointing ; nor does it move or become visible until the vessel or vehicle deviates from that direction.

In like manner, the seeing, spiritual being, whose manifestations we are wont in the language of every-day life to term conscience, always points with one extremity to good, and with the opposite one to evil, nor do we perceive it until such time as we swerve from the direction it indicates—viz., from good to evil. But no sooner have we performed an action contrary to the direction of our conscience than the consciousness of the spiritual being manifests itself, indicating the degree of the deviation from the direction pointed out by conscience. And as the mariner who has discovered that he is not moving towards the port for which he is bound cannot continue to work with his oars, his engines, or his sails until he either rights the vessel and steers her in accordance with the indications of the compass, or else succeeds in shutting his eyes to the fact that there is a deviation, so also the man who discerns the discord between his conscience and his sensual activity cannot continue to exercise that activity until he either brings it once more into harmony with the dictates of his conscience, or else hides from himself the testimony borne by his conscience to the irregularity of his animal life.

All human life may be truly said to be made up of one of two kinds of activity ; (1) The bringing of one's conduct into harmony with the dictates of conscience ; or (2) the concealing from oneself the manifestations of conscience, in order to make it possible to continue to live as one is living.

Some people are engaged in the former occupation, others in the latter. There is but one way to accomplish the former : moral enlightenment, increase of light within ourselves, and of attention to what the light reveals. There are two methods of attaining the second object—that of concealing from ourselves the manifestations of conscience : an external and an internal method. The former leads us to engage in occupations calculated to withdraw our attention from the

teachings of conscience, while the latter consists in darkening the conscience itself.

Just as a man has it in his power to blind himself to an object that is immediately under his eyes in one of two ways: either by fixing them upon other and more striking objects, or by obstructing the organs of vision—thrusting some foreign body upon them—so, in like manner, a man can hide from himself the manifestations of his conscience, either by having all his attention engrossed by occupations of various kinds, cares, amusements, pastimes, or else by obstructing the organ of attention itself. When it is a question of persons of a blunted or limited moral sense, outward distractions are frequently quite sufficient to hinder them from noting the testimony borne by their consciences to the irregularity of their lives. With people of sensitive moral organisation such mechanical devices are seldom enough.

External means do not entirely draw off the attention, or wholly prevent it from recognising the discord between actual life and the requisitions of conscience. And the knowledge of this antagonism hinders people from living; in order, therefore, to remove this obstacle, and continue to live irregularly, they have recourse to the unfailing internal method of darkening conscience itself. And this is effectually accomplished by poisoning the brain by means of stupefying stimulants and narcotics.

Let us suppose, for instance, that a man's life is not what, according to the promptings of conscience, it should be, and he does not possess the force necessary to remould and reform it in accordance with these exigencies. On the other hand, the distractions which should have diverted his attention from the consciousness of this antagonism are either insufficient in themselves, or else repetition has worn off their point, and they no longer produce the looked for result. It is then that a man, desirous of continuing to live in spite of the testimony of his conscience to the irregularity of his life, determines to poison, to paralyse completely for a time, that organ through which the warnings of conscience are made manifest, just as a person might throw a handful of flour or snuff in his eyes in order to deliver himself from the sight of a disagreeable object.

II.

It is not inclination, therefore, nor pleasure, nor distraction, nor amusement that gives us the clue to the universal habit of consuming hashish, opium, wine, and tobacco, but the necessity of concealing from oneself the records of one's conscience.

One day, while walking along a street, I passed by a number of *droschky*-drivers, who were gathered together in groups conversing,

when I was struck by the remark which one of them addressed to another: "Who doubts it? Of course he would have been ashamed to do it if he'd been sober."

A sober man scruples to do that which a drunken man will execute without hesitation. These words embody the essential motive that induces people to have recourse to stupefying drugs and drinks. People employ them either for the purpose of stifling remorse, after having performed an action disapproved of by their conscience, or else in order to induce a state of mind in which they shall be capable of doing something contrary to the dictates of their conscience, and to which the animal nature of man is impelling him.

A sober man has conscientious scruples to visit lewd women, to steal, to commit murder. A drunken man, on the contrary, is troubled with no such scruples. Hence it is that if a person wishes to do something which his conscience forbids him to do, he first stupefies his faculties.

I recollect being struck by the statement made by a man-cook on his trial for the murder of the old lady—a relative of mine—in whose service he had been living. From the account he gave of the crime, and the manner in which it was perpetrated, it appears that when he had sent his paramour, the maid-servant, out of the house, and the time had come for him to do the deed, he seized a knife and repaired to the bedroom where his intended victim was; but as he drew near he felt that in his sober senses he could not possibly perpetrate such a crime. "A sober man has conscientious scruples." He turned back, gulped down two tumblers of brandy that he had provided beforehand, and then, and not before, felt that he was ready to do the deed, and did it.

Nine-tenths of the total number of crimes that stain humanity are committed in the same way: "First take a drink to give you courage."

Of all the women who fall, fully one-half yield to the temptation under the influence of alcohol. Nearly all the visits made by young men to disorderly houses take place when the faculties have been blunted and dulled by intoxicating liquor. People are well acquainted with this property of alcohol to deaden the voice of conscience, and they deliberately make use of it for this very purpose.

Nor is this all. Not only do people cloud their own faculties, in order to stifle the voice of conscience, but, knowing what the effect of alcohol is, whenever they wish to make other people perform an act that is contrary to the dictates of their conscience, they purposely stupefy them, in order to render them temporarily deaf to its remonstrances. In war, soldiers are always made drunk, when they are about to be sent into close hand-to-hand combat. During the storming of Sebastopol, all the French soldiers were completely intoxi-

cated. After the storming of a fortress in the Central Asian War, when the Russian soldiers showed no inclination to plunder and kill the defenceless old men and children of the place, Skobeleff ordered them to be duly plied with brandy till they were drunk. Then they rushed out to accomplish the ghastly work.

Every one is acquainted with individuals who have drunk themselves out of their social sphere in consequence of crimes that tortured their conscience. It requires no extraordinary powers of observation to remark that people who in their lives set at naught the moral laws are much more addicted than others to stupefying stimulants and narcotics. Brigands, gangs of robbers, prostitutes, cannot dispense with alcohol.

Every one knows and acknowledges that indulgence in these things is a consequence of the remorse of conscience; that in certain immoral avocations stimulants are employed for the purpose of stifling the conscience. In like manner, every one knows and avows that the use of these stimulants does effectually deaden the voice of conscience, that a drunken man is capable of accomplishing acts, from the very contemplation of which in his sober moments he would have shrunk back in horror. About this there is no conflict of opinion. It is admitted on all hands without demur or reserve. And yet, strange to say, whenever the consumption of stupefying stimulants does not result in such acts as robbery, murder, violence, &c.; whenever they are indulged in, not as a consequence of remorse for terrible crimes, but by persons who follow professions which we do not regard as immoral, and are taken not all at once in large quantities, but continually, in moderate doses, it is taken for granted—no man can say why—that these stupefying stimulants have no effect upon the conscience, and certainly do not stifle or even deaden its voice.

Thus it is taken for granted that the daily consumption by a Russian in easy circumstances of a small glass of brandy before each meal, and of a tumbler of wine during the repast; by a Frenchman of his daily allowance of absinthe; by an Englishman of his port wine and porter; by a German of his lager-beer, and the smoking by a well-to-do Chinaman of a moderate dose of opium, besides a certain quantity of tobacco, are indulged in solely for pleasure, and have the desired effect on the animal spirits, but none at all on the conscience.

It is furthermore taken for granted that if after this customary stupefaction no robbery, murder, or other heinous crime is perpetrated, but only foolish and evil acts are performed, these acts are spontaneous, and are in no way the result of the stupefaction. It is taken for granted that if these persons committed no criminal act, they had therefore no need to gag their consciences, and that the life led by people addicted to the continual use of stimulants and narcotics is in every way excellent, and would have been in no respect

different if these people had abstained from thus clouding their faculties. It is taken for granted, in fine, that the continuous consumption of stupefying stimulants does not in the least obscure the conscience of those who thus indulge in them.

On the one hand, then, every one knows by experience that his frame of mind, his mental mood, undergoes a change after he has indulged in alcohol and tobacco, and that what he was, or would have been, ashamed of before this artificial excitation, he has absolutely no scruples about afterwards; that after every sting of conscience, after the least painful of its pricks, one is possessed by a violent longing for some stimulant or narcotic; that under the influence of such stimulants it is very difficult to survey one's life and position; and that the continual consumption of an invariable moderate quantity of stimulants produces precisely the same kind of physiological effect as the instantaneous consumption of an excessive quantity. And on the other hand, people who indulge moderately in drinking alcohol and smoking tobacco flatter themselves that they take these things, not at all to silence their conscience, but solely to please their taste and obtain pleasure.

But one has only to give the matter a little serious, unprejudiced consideration—without attempting to cover and excuse one's own action—in order to acquire the conviction, in the first place, that if a man's conscience be deadened by his taking a large dose of alcoholic or narcotic preparations, the result is identical when he indulges in them continuously, though in smaller doses; for stimulants and narcotics always produce the same physiological action, which begins by abnormally intensifying, and ends by proportionately dulling and blunting the activity of the brain; and this, independently of the circumstance whether they are taken in greater or smaller quantities. In the second place, if these stimulants and narcotics possess at any time the property of benumbing the conscience, they are equally endowed with this property at all times, to the same extent if murder, robbery, and violence be perpetrated under their influence, as when only a word is spoken, a thought harboured, a feeling cherished, which would not have been spoken, harboured, or cherished without their influence. In the third place, if these brain-poisoning stimulants and narcotics are indispensable to robbers, brigands, and professional courtesans in order to drown the voice of their consciences, they are not less necessary to persons who follow certain other professions which are condemned by their own consciences, although regarded as legal and honourable by the vast majority of their fellow men.

In a word, it is impossible not to see that the habit of indulging in intoxicating stimulants in large or small doses, periodically or continuously, in the higher or the lower social circles, is always

induced by the same cause, namely, the need of muffling the voice of conscience, in order not to be compelled to take notice of the jarring discord between actual life and the requisitions of conscience.

III.

Therein lies the true cause of the universality of the habit of indulging in brain-poisoning stimulants, among others in tobacco, which is probably the most wide-spread and baneful of all.

It is claimed for tobacco that it gladdens the heart of the smoker, clears up his thoughts, attracts and gratifies him in precisely the same manner as any other habit he may have acquired, but that under no circumstances has it the effect possessed by alcohol of paralysing the activity of the conscience. But it is only necessary to analyse more carefully than is the wont, the conditions under which a peculiarly strong craving for tobacco manifests itself, to acquire the conviction that brain-clouding by means of tobacco fumes, like brain-clouding by means of alcohol, exerts a direct action on the conscience, and that the need for this kind of stimulant is peculiarly intense precisely when the desire to stifle the voice of conscience is at its height. If it were true that tobacco only gladdens the heart and clears up the thoughts, no such passionate craving for it would be felt under such clearly defined circumstances, and people would not be heard averring that they are ready to dispense with food rather than deny themselves a smoke, a statement which, in many cases, we know to be literally true.

The male cook already alluded to, who murdered his mistress, told the court, on his trial, that when he had entered the bedroom and cut her throat with the knife, and seen her fall back uttering a hoarse, guttural sound, while the blood spurted out in a torrent, he was struck aghast at what he had done. "I had not the courage to finish her," he exclaimed, "so I went out of the bedroom into the parlour, sat down, and smoked a cigarette." It was only after he had clouded his brain with tobacco fumes that he summoned up the force necessary to return to the bedroom and ply the knife until his victim was dead, when he began to ransack her movable property.

Now, it is obvious that the craving he felt to have a smoke under these peculiar circumstances was not due to a desire on his part to clear his thoughts or gladden his heart, but to the necessity of stifling a voice that was hindering him from consummating the deed he had planned and partially executed.

Every smoker can, if he will, discern the same clearly defined need of stupefying his thinking faculties with tobacco fumes at certain critical moments of his life. Speaking for myself, I can distinctly call to mind the times when I, while yet a smoker, felt this peculiarly

pressing need of tobacco. It was always on occasions when I was desirous not to remember things that were thrusting themselves upon my memory, when I was anxious to forget, to suspend all thought. At one time I would be sitting alone, doing nothing, conscious that I ought to be engaged at my work, but averse to all occupations. I would then light a cigarette, smoke it, and continue to sit in idleness. Another time I would remember that I had an engagement for five o'clock, but that I had lingered too long in another place and it was now too late. The thought that it was too late being disagreeable to me, I would take out a cigarette and drive it away in tobacco fumes. If I felt cross and peevish, and was offending another man by the tone or contents of my speech, and recognising my duty to cease, yet resolved to give way to my peevishness, I would smoke and continue to show my ill-temper. When sitting at the card-table I had lost more than the sum to which I had determined to limit my losses, I would light a cigarette and play on. Whenever I had placed myself in an awkward position, had done anything reprehensible, had made a blunder, and feeling myself bound to acknowledge the true state of affairs in order to extricate myself from it, was yet unwilling to do so, I shifted the blame on to others, took out a cigarette and smoked. If, when working at a book or story I felt dissatisfied with what I was writing, and saw it to be my duty to cease, but felt an inclination to finish what I had thought out, I took out a cigarette and smoked. Was I discussing some question, and did I see that my opponent and myself, viewing the matter from different angles of vision, did not and could not understand each other, if I felt a strong desire to make him hear me out notwithstanding, I began to smoke and continued to talk.

The characteristic that distinguishes tobacco from other kinds of brain-clouding stimulants, besides the rapidity with which it stupefies the faculties, and its apparent harmlessness, consists in what may be termed its portativeness, in the ease with which it can be employed upon every trivial occasion. Thus the consumption of opium, alcohol, hashish involves certain arrangements which one cannot make at all times and in all places, whereas the tobacco and paper necessary for making cigarettes you can always carry about with you without the slightest personal inconvenience. Then, again, the opium-smoker and the drunkard excite loathing and horror, whereas there is nothing repulsive about the tobacco-smoker as such; but, over and above these advantages, tobacco possesses another property that materially contributes to render it popular; while the stupefaction induced by opium, hashish, alcohol, extends to all impressions received, and to all actions performed over a relatively long period of time, the deadening effect on the brain of tobacco can be regulated in accordance with the exigencies of each particular case. Do you wish, for instance, to

do something which you know you ought not to do? Smoke a cigarette, muddle your faculties just to the extent that is absolutely indispensable to enable you to do what you should have left undone, and you are at once as fresh as ever, and can think and speak with your wonted clearness. Are you too painfully conscious that you have done something which you should have refrained from doing? Smoke a cigarette, and the gnawing worm of conscience will be quickly smothered in the fumes of your tobacco, and you can turn forthwith to another occupation, and forget what occasioned your annoyance.

But making an abstract from all those particular cases in which every smoker has recourse to tobacco, not for the purpose of satisfying a habitual craving, or of whiling away the time, but as a means of silencing the voice of his conscience, which protests against certain acts that he has already performed or intends to perform, do we not clearly discern the strictly defined relation and interdependence between people's way of living and their passionate love of smoking?

When do boys begin to smoke? Almost invariably when they have lost the innocence of childhood. Why is it that people addicted to smoking can leave it off the moment they raise themselves up to a higher moral level, and others recommence as soon as they drift into a dissolute social circle? Why is it that almost all gamblers are smokers? Why is it that among the female sex the women who lead blameless, regular lives are the least frequently addicted to smoking? Why do courtesans and the insane all smoke without exception? Habit, no doubt, is a factor in these cases which cannot be ignored, but after having given it our fullest consideration, we must still admit that there is a certain well-defined, undeniable interdependence between smoking and the need for silencing one's conscience, and that smoking does undoubtedly produce that effect.

To what extent can smoking stifle the voice of conscience? We have no need to seek for the materials for a solution of this question in exceptional cases of crime and remorse; it is amply sufficient to observe the behaviour of the ordinary—one might almost say of any—smoker. Every smoker abandoning himself to his passion, loses sight of, or rides roughshod over, certain of the most elementary rules of social life, the observance of which he demands from others, and which he himself respects in all other cases, whenever his conscience is not completely silenced by tobacco. Every person of moderately good breeding in our social sphere holds it to be unseemly, ill-mannered, churlish, merely for his own pleasure to interfere with the peace and comfort of others, and *à fortiori* to injure their health. No one would take the liberty to flood with water a room in which people were sitting; to scream and yell in it; to turn on hot, cold, or foetid air, or to perform any other acts tending to disturb or injure others; and yet out of a thousand smokers scarcely one will hesitate to fill

with noxious fumes a room the atmosphere of which is being breathed by women and children who do not smoke. If before lighting their cigarette or cigar, they ask the company present, "Have you any objection?" every one knows that he or she is expected to answer, "Not the least!" (although it is inconceivable that it should be anything but disagreeable to a non-smoker to have the air he respire poisoned, and to find stinking cigarette ends in glasses, tumblers, cups, plates, candlesticks, or even were it only in ash-trays). And even if we suppose that non-smoking adults can support the discomforts in question, surely no one will maintain that it is agreeable or wholesome for children, whose permission nobody ever thinks of asking. And yet people who are perfectly honourable and humane in all other respects smoke in the company of children, at table, in small rooms, poisoning the air with the fumes of tobacco, and never feel the faintest prick of conscience.

It is commonly urged in favour of the practice—and I used to advance the plea myself—that smoking conduces to efficient mental work; and there is no doubt that if we confine our consideration to the quantity of intellectual work done, we shall find this plea well grounded. To a man who is smoking, and who has consequently ceased to gauge and weigh his thoughts, it naturally seems that his mind has suddenly become thronged with ideas. As a mere matter of fact, however, his ideas have not become more numerous, but he has simply lost all control over them.

A man who works is always conscious of two beings within himself—the one who is engaged in work, and the one who sits in judgment upon the work done. The severer the judgment he passes, the slower and the more perfect is the work done, and *vice versa*. If the judge be under the influence of a stimulant or a narcotic, there will be more work done, but of an inferior quality.

"If I do not smoke, I cannot work; I cannot get my thoughts upon paper; and even when I have begun, I cannot go on." So people commonly say, and so I said myself in times gone by. Now, what is the meaning of this statement? It means that you have nothing to say, or that the ideas to which you are endeavouring to give expression have not matured in your consciousness—are only dimly dawning upon you—and the living critic within you, unclouded by tobacco fumes, tells you so. Now, if you were not a smoker, you would, under these circumstances, either wait patiently until you had acquired a clear conception of the subject about which you wished to write, or else you would strive, by throwing yourself manfully into it, to master it thoroughly, weighing and discussing the objections that suggest themselves to your mind, and generally elucidating your thoughts to yourself. Instead of this, however, you take out a cigarette, and smoke; the living critic within you becomes clouded,

stupefied, and the hitch in your work is removed; that which seemed petty, unworthy, while your brain was still fresh and clear, now appears great, excellent; that which struck you as obscure is no longer so; you make light of the objections that occur to you, and you continue to write, and find to your joy that you can write quickly and much.

IV.

"But can it be possible that such a slight, almost imperceptible, change as is produced by the mild flush of excitement that ensues upon our moderately indulging in wine or tobacco should work such grave results? No doubt, to a person who smokes opium, takes hashish, drinks alcohol so immoderately that he falls down helpless and bereft of his reason, the consequences may be very grave indeed; but it is very different when a person only takes as much as suffices to cause a pleasurable excitement. This state can surely be productive of no such wide-reaching results." This is the objection that people usually make. It seems to them that mere incipient inebriation—the partial eclipsing, or rather the mellowing, of the light of consciousness cannot entail serious results of any kind. Now, it is as reasonable to think thus as to imagine that, although a watch may be seriously injured by striking it against a stone, it is not liable to any damage whatever from the introduction of a splinter of wood, or some other foreign body, into its internal mechanism.

It should not be lost sight of that the labour which is mainly instrumental in moving and moulding human life does not consist in the movement of human hands, feet, or backs, but in modifications of consciousness. Before a man can perform anything with his hands and feet a certain change must necessarily have taken place in his conscience. And this change determines all the ensuing actions of the man. Now, these modifications of human consciousness are always slight, well-nigh imperceptible.

The Russian painter Bruloff was once engaged in correcting a drawing of one of his pupils. He touched it very slightly with his pencil here and there, with the result that his pupil cried out: "Why you have only given the drawing one or two scarcely appreciable touches, and it has undergone a complete transformation!" Bruloff sententiously replied: "Art begins only there where scarcely perceptible touches effect great changes."

This saying is strikingly true, and not merely when restricted to art, but when applied to all human existence. We are justified in affirming that true life begins only where scarcely perceptible touches begin to tell, where such changes as are produced are infinitesimally small, and seem to us of no account. It is not where vast outward changes take place, where people move backwards and forwards, cross-

ing each other, clashing with each other, fighting and slaying each other, that true life is to be found; it is where infinitesimal differential changes occur.

Take Rasskolnikoff,* for instance. His true life did not coincide with the moment when he killed the old woman or her sister. When he set about murdering the old woman, and especially when he was killing her sister, he was not instinct with genuine life; he was acting as a wound-up machine acts, doing what he could not possibly refrain from doing; firing off the charge that he had accumulated within himself long before. One old woman lay killed before him, the other stood there in his presence, and the axe was ready in his hand.

Rasskolnikoff's true life coincided not with the moment when he met the old woman's sister, but the time when he had not yet killed either of the two, when he had not yet entered a stranger's lodging bent upon murder; when he had no axe in his hands, no loop in his greatcoat on which to hang it, when he had no thoughts of the old woman whatever; it coincided with the time when, lying on the sofa in his own room, not thinking of the old woman, nor of the question whether it was lawful or not in obedience to the will of one human being to wipe out the earthly existence of another unworthy human being, but was debating with himself whether he should or should not live in St. Petersburg, whether he should or should not take his mother's money, and meditating upon other matters that had no reference whatever to the old woman. It is at such conjunctures that the greatest attainable clearness of mental vision is of the very utmost importance for the right solution of such questions as may then arise; it is at such moments that one glass of beer drunk, one little cigarette smoked, can hinder that solution, can cause it to be put off, can silence the voice of conscience, and can bring about a solution of the question in a sense favourable to our baser nature, as was the case with Rasskolnikoff.

Upon what takes place after a man has already formed his decision and has begun to embody it in action, many important issues of a material order may, no doubt, depend; edifices may be pulled down in consequence, riches may be scattered to the winds of heaven, human bodies may be deprived of life; but absolutely nothing can be done but what was already included in the consciousness of the man himself. The limits of what can take place are fixed by this consciousness.

Let me not be misunderstood. What I am saying now has nothing in common with the question of free will and determinism. The discussion of such matters is superfluous here, seeing that it has no connection with the question at issue, and I believe I may say it is quite superfluous for any intelligible purpose whatever. Putting aside, then, the question whether a man is or is not free to act as he pleases

* The hero of Dostoffsky's novel, "Crime and Punishment."

(a problem which, it seems to me, is not properly stated), all that I am here concerned to maintain is, that as human activity is determined by scarcely appreciable changes in consciousness, it follows (whether we admit so-called free will or not) that too much attention cannot possibly be given to the state of mind in which these changes occur, just as the most scrupulous care should be taken of the condition of the scales in which we are about to weigh precious objects. It is incumbent upon us, as far as in us lies, to surround ourselves and others with the conditions most favourable to that precision and clearness of thought which are so indispensable to the proper working of our consciousness; and we should certainly refrain most scrupulously from hindering and clogging this action of consciousness by the consumption of brain-clouding stimulants and narcotics.

For man is at once a spiritual and an animal being. His activity can be set in motion by influencing his spiritual nature, and it can likewise receive an impulse by influencing his animal nature. In this he resembles a watch which can be moved by moving either the hands or the main wheel. And as it is much more expedient to regulate the movement of a watch by its internal mechanism than by moving its hands, so it is far more judicious to determine a man's activity by means of his consciousness than by means of his animal nature. And as in a watch we should be most concerned to maintain those conditions which ensure the smooth working of the inner mechanism, so in man we should lay most stress on the attainment and maintenance of unclouded purity and sharpness of consciousness, through which man's activity is most easily and most conveniently determined. Of this there can be no doubt; every one feels and knows that it is true. But very often people also feel the necessity of deceiving themselves. They are not so much concerned that their consciousness should work smoothly and well, as that they should persuade themselves that what they are bent on doing is right and good; and in order to acquire that persuasion they deliberately have recourse to means which they know will interfere with the right working of their consciousness.

V.

People drink and smoke, therefore, not merely for want of something better to do to while away the time, or to raise their spirits; not because of the pleasure they receive, but simply and solely in order to drown the warning voice of conscience. And if that be so, how terrible are the consequences that must ensue! In effect, just fancy what a curious building the people would construct who, in order to adjust the walls to a perpendicular, should refuse to employ a straight plumb-line, and for the purpose of measuring the angles should object to use an ordinary carpenter's square, preferring to the

former a soft plastic plumb-rule, that bends and adjusts itself to all the irregularities of the walls, and to the latter a carpenter's square that folds and yields to the touch and adjusts itself equally well to an acute and an obtuse angle !

And yet this is exactly what is done in every-day life by those who stupefy themselves. Life is not regulated by conscience, it is conscience that plies and adjusts itself to life.

This is what we see taking place in the life of private individuals. This it is which also takes place in the life of all humanity—which is but the sum total of the lives of private individuals.

In order thoroughly to realise all that is involved in this clouding of one's consciousness, the reader has only to call distinctly to mind his frame of mind at each of the chief periods of his life. He will remember that at each of these periods he found himself face to face with certain moral problems which he was bound to solve in one sense or the other, and upon the right solution of which the well-being of his whole life depended. To arrive at this solution after an exhaustive survey of all the factors and phases of the problem is an utter impossibility without putting a very severe strain upon the attention. Now, this effort of attention constitutes work. Whatever work we put our hands to, there is always a period in its progress—generally the commencement—when its disagreeable features very strongly impress us, when it seems peculiarly arduous and irksome, and human nature in its weakness suggests the wish to abandon it altogether. Physical work seems irksome in the beginning, intellectual labour appears still more irksome. As Lessing remarks, people have the habit of ceasing to think as soon as the process of thinking becomes difficult, and in my opinion precisely when it becomes fruitful. A man feels instinctively that the problems that come up before him clamouring for a solution, the Sphinx's riddles that must be answered on pain of death, cannot be properly thought out without strenuous and, in many cases, painful labour, and this he would gladly shirk. Now, if he were bereft of the means of clouding his mental faculties, it would be impossible for him to expunge from the tablets of his conscience the questions on the order of the day, and, *nolens volens*, he would find himself in conditions that necessitated an answer, and admitted neither of excuse nor delay. But, behold, he discovers an effective means of putting off these questions whenever they present themselves for a solution ; and he does not fail to make use of it. The moment life demands an answer to these questions, and they begin to worry and harass him, he has recourse to those artificial means, and delivers himself from the vexation of spirit engendered by the disquieting questions. His consciousness no longer presses for a speedy solution, and the problems remain unsolved until the next interval of lucidity. But when the following period of lucidity comes round the same thing is repeated, and the individual continues to stand for

months, for years, sometimes during his whole life, face to face with the same moral problems without moving one step forward in the direction of a solution. And yet all the movement and progress of human life consists exclusively in the right solution of moral problems. This curious mode of procedure presents considerable analogy with the conduct of a man employed to recover a lost pearl lying at the bottom of a shallow river, who, to escape entering the cold water, prevents himself from seeing the pearl by deliberately stirring up the mud, and repeating the process whenever the water shows signs of becoming clear again. A man addicted to the habit of stupefying his faculties by artificial means will often continue stagnant during the whole course of his existence, standing in the same place, looking out upon the world through the mist of the vague self-contradictory life-philosophy that he once accepted; at the beginning of every new period of lucidity pressing hard against the same wall, against which he pressed in the same way ten, fifteen, twenty years before, and in which he lacks the means to make a breach, because he persists in deliberately blunting the edge of the thought which alone was capable of effecting it.

Every one has it in his power to verify the truth of this assertion upon himself and upon others. Let him conjure up before his mind's eye the principal events of his own life for the period during which he has been indulging in smoking and drinking, and let him pass in review the same period in the life of others. He will then clearly perceive the line of demarcation, the characteristic trait that separates smokers and tipplers from people who are free from those habits. For the more a man stupefies himself with these stimulants and narcotics the more stolid, quiescent, and stagnant he becomes intellectually and morally.

VI.

Terrible indeed are the evils that have been more than once described to us, which opium and hashish bring upon those who consume them; terrible, likewise, are the effects—which we can every day observe—of alcoholism upon the inveterate drunkard; but more terrible beyond comparison for the entire community at large are the effects of moderate drinking and smoking, habits largely indulged in as harmless by the majority of the people, more especially by the so-called educated classes of our social world.

These consequences cannot be otherwise than terrible if we admit what it is impossible to deny, that the guiding force of the community—political, administrative, scientific, literary, artistic—is wielded for the most part by men who are not in a normal condition of mind, by men who, to call things by their names, are in a state of intoxication. It is usually taken for granted that a man who, like most of the members of our well-to-do classes, indulges in a little spirits every

day before each meal, is during the hours of work next day in a perfectly normal state of mind. This is a grievous error. The man who yesterday drank a bottle of wine, a tumbler of *rodka*, or two large measures of beer, is to-day in a state of subsiding intoxication or incipient sobriety, a state of dejection which follows upon yesterday's excitement; consequently, he is mentally oppressed as well as depressed, and this feeling is but intensified by smoking. A man who drinks and smokes moderately but regularly every day, requires—in order to restore his brain to its normal condition—at least one week, probably more than a week, of total abstinence from spirits and tobacco. Now, no smoker or bibbler ever voluntarily abstains for such a long time.

It follows, therefore, that by far the greatest part of all that is done in this world of ours, both by those whose profession it is to guide and teach others and by those who are thus guided and taught, is done in a state of ebriety.*

And I trust this will not be taken either as a joke or an exaggeration: the extravagant disorder, and especially the senselessness and folly, of our life springs mainly from the state of continuous inebriation in which the majority of people deliberately place themselves. Is it conceivable that people not drunk should calmly set about doing all the extraordinary things that are being accomplished in our world, from the Eiffel Tower to obligatory military service? It is utterly inconceivable. Without the slightest need, or even semblance of need, a company is formed, a large capital subscribed; people go to work to make estimates and draw plans; millions of working days and millions of *poods* † of iron are spent in the construction of a tower; and, when finished, millions of persons consider it their duty to repair to the summit of this tower, stay a short time, and then crawl down again, and the only effect produced on the minds of men by this tower, and the frequency with which ascents are made in it, is the desire and the resolve to go and erect still loftier towers in other places. Now, is it conceivable that these things should be done by sober people? Or, take another case; all European States are, and have

But how are we to explain the undeniable fact that people who neither drink nor smoke are frequently on an incomparably lower intellectual and moral level than inveterate toppers and smokers? And how is it that people who drink and smoke often give proof of the highest intellectual and moral qualities?

To this objection the answer is, in the first place, that we are ignorant of the degree of excellence which these persons would have attained if they never drank nor smoke. In the second place, from the circumstance that spiritually vigorous people, while subjecting themselves to the debasing action of brain-poisoning stimulants, yet manage to perform marvellous and sublime deeds, we can only draw the conclusion that they would have accomplished still greater things had they not clouded and clogged their faculties. It is highly probable that, as an acquaintance of mine once remarked, Kant's books would not have been written in such strange, clumsy language had their author not been such an inveterate smoker. Lastly, it should not be forgotten that the lower a man's position in the moral and intellectual sphere, the less acutely he feels the jarring discord between consciousness and life, and, consequently, the less pronounced is the need of stupefying himself; it is for a like reason that the most sensitive natures, those who are painfully, nay, morbidly conscious of this discord between life and conscience, become addicted to narcotics, which work their ultimate ruin.

† A Russian pood is about thirty-six English pounds.

for scores of years been, busily engaged in inventing and perfecting effectual weapons to kill people; and they carefully teach the science of organised murder to all young men who have reached manhood's estate. All are well aware that incursions of barbarians are no longer possible, and that these preparations for murder are intended by Christian, civilised nations to be employed against each other; all feel that this is unseemly, painful, nefarious, ruinous, immoral, impious, and senseless; and yet all persist in carrying out their preparations for mutual destruction: some by arranging political combinations, making alliances, and settling who is to slaughter whom; others by directing the work of those who are engaged in getting things ready for the slaughter; and others, again, by submitting against their own will, against their conscience, against their reason, to these preparations for murder. Now, could sober men act in this way? None but drunken men, men who never have a lucid interval of sobriety, could do these things, could live on in spite of this perpetual, irreconcilable, terrible conflict between life and conscience, in which not only in this matter, but in all other respects, the people of our world live and have their being.

At no other period of the world's history, I feel convinced, did mankind lead an existence in which the dictates of conscience and their deliberate actions were in such evident conflict as at present.

It seems as if the human race in our days had got fastened to something that is holding it back, impeding its progress. There would seem to be some external cause which hinders it from attaining the position that belongs to it of right, in virtue of consciousness. The cause in question—or, if there be several, the main cause—is the physical state of stupefaction to which the overwhelming majority of human beings reduce themselves by means of alcohol and tobacco.

The deliverance of humanity from this terrible evil will mark an epoch in the life of the race, and, apparently, this epoch will arrive in the near future. The evil is already recognised. A change in the consciousness of men in reference to the use of brain-poisoning stimulants and narcotics has already taken place: people are beginning to realise the terrible mischief they produce, and they are manifesting this feeling in acts; and this imperceptible change in their consciousness must inevitably bring in its train the emancipation of humanity from the influence of all such brain poisons. This emancipation of mankind from the thralldom of brain poisons will open their eyes to the demands of their consciousness, and they will forthwith begin to put their life in harmony with its dictates.

This process seems to have already begun. And, as is usual in such cases, it is beginning in the higher social classes, after all the lower orders have become infected with the evil.

LEO TOLSTOI.

ANCIENT CHURCH ENDOWMENTS.

MR. H. W. CLARKE'S article on the "Public Landed Endowments of the Church" in the last number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW reminds me of the distinction which Xenophon puts into the mouth of the boy Cyrus between the Median and the Persian manner of dining. Both had the same end, that of filling the empty stomach; only the Persians got to that end by a short and simple way which took little time and gave little trouble, while the Medes got to it by a round-about path, which took a great deal of time and gave a great deal of trouble. So I believe that, for all practical purposes, Mr. Clarke and I hold exactly the same notions as to the right of the State to deal with what is called Church property. Only I get to those notions by a very short and simple path, while Mr. Clarke gets to them by a path that is very long and round-about. I hold that the State has the fullest right to deal as it pleases with the property of ecclesiastical corporations. I hold that to pass Acts confiscating* the property of any such corporation is an inherent part of the power of the supreme authority of the land, that is, of King, Lords, and Commons assembled in Parliament. I hold that the passing of such Acts may be, and sometimes has been, just and expedient. I do not see what more Mr. Clarke can ask for than this. He and I might or might not agree as to the justice and expediency of any particular act of confiscation, past or future: there can be no difficulty between us as to the abiding lawfulness, the possible justice and expediency, of such acts. Only I get to this conclusion by a short Persian road; my argument is a very simple one. I hold that the power of which I speak, the power of dealing at pleasure with property of this kind, is something which, in the very nature of civil government, must be

* I use the word "confiscation" in its true, not in its vulgar use. It is one of the words which, like "coercion," it is absolutely necessary to keep to their right meaning. See more in "Disestablishment and Disendowment," pp. 6, 7.

vested in the supreme authority of every independent political body. This is a position which can be taken in without any curious research, without any special knowledge. Mr. Clarke gets to the same conclusion by a round-about Median road. To prove that the State may deal as it pleases with the property of ecclesiastical corporations, he thinks it necessary to prove that such property is "national property." To prove that it is "national property" he thinks it necessary to prove that a great deal of it was granted by ancient kings, with the consent of their Witan. In short, where the road to his own conclusion was as plain and easy as might be, he leaves it in order to flounder about in a quagmire of fallacies and misconceptions.

Mr. Clarke begins by saying :

"My object in this paper is to show that a very large proportion of the landed estates of the archbishops, bishops, and capitular bodies was given to her out of national property by Anglo-Saxon kings and their respective Witenagemôts."

On reading this sentence by itself, one simply asks, "Quis dubitavit?" Why should Mr. Clarke set himself as an "object" to "prove" what nobody who had the faintest knowledge of Old-English history could ever have questioned? If not only a very large proportion, but every scrap of the landed estates of ecclesiastical bodies could be shown to have been granted by kings with the consent of their Witan, what then?

Mr. Clarke tells us What then? as he understands the case :

"Certain writers boast that the Church of England never received any of her endowments from national sources, and that no part of her present endowments is national property. I contend that these statements are opposed to the facts which appear in Anglo-Saxon charters. These instruments conveyed large portions of *folcland* or *national property* to the above corporations. And the charters changed the *folcland* into *bocland*."

Nothing can be more true than what Mr. Clarke says as to the charters and their effects. The difficulty is about the "certain writers," who, according to Mr. Clarke, like the "certain Anabaptists" in one of the Articles of Religion, "do falsely boast." Their false boasting Mr. Clarke holds to be opposed to the facts that appear in the charters. And this confident boasting of which Mr. Clarke complains seems to be twofold. Certain writers boast that the Church of England never received any of her endowments from national sources. If this means that they boast that none of the property of ecclesiastical corporations was granted out of *folcland* by ancient kings with the consent of their Witan, then their boast is very false indeed, and Mr. Clarke does well to reprove them. It is the second clause of the boast, as reported by Mr. Clarke, which begins to be puzzling. The certain writers go on to boast that "no part of her [the Church of England's] present endowments is national property." In what relation does the second part of the boast stand to the

former? Are the two propositions which Mr. Clarke condemns, "that the Church of England never received any part of her endowments from national sources," and "that no part of her present endowments is national property," supposed to stand or fall together? We shall see our way a little clearer if, for the two negative propositions which Mr. Clarke condemns, we should substitute two affirmative propositions which it is to be supposed that he would approve. I conceive Mr. Clarke saying, "Part at least of the endowments of the Church of England was received from national sources; therefore any part of her present endowments which originally came from such sources is national property." Mr. Clarke, if I understand him rightly, holds this to be a sound argument.

The first proposition, as I have already said, cannot be doubted; for Mr. Clarke has made its meaning perfectly clear by defining what he means by grants from "national sources." He means, in early times, grants made by the King with the consent of his Witan; in later times therefore he would mean grants by Act of Parliament. Here there is no doubt at all as to his fact. But the inference from the fact is by no means so clear; for Mr. Clarke does not define the important words "national property." The second proposition admits of a good deal of debate; it may be accepted or denied according to the different senses which may be put upon those words. Leaving for the present the possible different meanings of the words, "national property," let us follow Mr. Clarke a little closer. He seems to hold that, because certain lands were national property a thousand years back, therefore they must be national property now. This does not seem necessarily to follow; they may have been national property then, and may have ceased to be so at some later time. But Mr. Clarke seems, yet more remarkably, to hold that these lands are specially proved to be national property now, because, a thousand years back, they went through a process which at first sight would seem to have the effect of making them cease to be national property. This is really Mr. Clarke's argument. He tells us, and tells us with perfect truth, that the land spoken of was once *folkland*, and that *folkland* was national property. He further says, no less truly, that the charters changed these lands from *folkland* into *bookland*. That is, the charters changed these lands from national property into something else. It is on this fact that Mr. Clarke, somewhat remarkably, grounds his argument that these lands are national property still. It would seem more natural to argue that, if there be such a thing as national property still among us, these lands at any rate which, according to Mr. Clarke's own showing, were changed from national property into something else a thousand years back can never be held to be part of it.

I will not say anything yet as to the nature of national property, or as to any general question at all. I will follow Mr. Clarke through his argument. He goes on to pile together through several pages,

a vast number of cases in which kings, with the assent of their Witan, granted lands to bishoprics, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical bodies. He remarks that "none of these charter-grants seem to have been given to parishes." I heartily wish some of them had been. For then we should surely have had some further light thrown upon all the puzzling questions as to the origin and growth of parishes. If we had a grant to a parish at a certain date, we should at least be sure that there was such a thing as a parish at that date. But Mr. Clarke comforts himself with the thought that, if "the parochial incumbents and curates" got nothing direct from the ancient kings and their Witan, they have at least got "over £800,000 per annum from the Common Fund of the Ecclesiastical Commission." One does not at first see how this bears on Mr. Clarke's professed object. The line of argument seems to be that, as much that the Commissioners gave to the parochial incumbents had once been part of the folkland that was changed into bookland, therefore the parochial incumbents are now sharers in this mysterious "national property" as well as the bishops. He then goes on to lament that the monastic property in the sixteenth century was granted to private persons instead of going to the relief of the poor. One is inclined to say so too, at the risk of political economists finding fault. But one hardly sees what light this throws upon folkland and bookland, and the action of ancient kings and their Witan.

Mr. Clarke seems to have taken great pains to get his facts together. I am not going to take anything like the same pains to test all his instances, to see which are right and which are wrong. For my object it is exactly the same if every one is right and if every one is wrong. But I can see here and there that Mr. Clarke is not very much at home in these matters. He has worked hard, but with the air of one who is not used to the kind of work. I must specially ask about one thing which concerns me locally and personally. Mr. Clarke knows so much more about the history of the church of Wells than I can profess to do. Above all, I want to know the meaning of a mysterious passage in page 106: "When Earl Harold and his father Godwin were banished by Edward the Confessor, he bestowed on the church of Wells, in A.D. 1065, Earl Harold's estates in Somersetshire, amounting to 210 hides." This savours rather of Collinson's History of Somerset than of Domesday Book. Does Mr. Clarke really think that Godwine and Harold were banished in 1065? I can only guess that he has got hold of the well-known spurious charter in Codex Diplomaticus, iv. 163 (No. 816); but what has this, if it were genuine, to do with Harold's banishment or with Harold at all? Mr. J. R. Green, and myself also, did take some little pains about these matters a good many years back; but it seems all one to Mr. Clarke. And it does seem strange at this time of day, after the very simple matter has been explained over and over again, to find Mr.

Clarke going on, as he might have gone on fifty years back, to tell us how "the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham are not described in the survey, neither is Lancashire under its proper title." Yet he shows the next moment that the lands which now make up Lancashire are all entered in the Survey, each "under its proper title," though not under the title of Lancashire, which was not yet in being. And Mr. Clarke clearly does not understand that, when the Survey was taken, Cumberland in the strictest sense, the land of Carlisle, was no more likely to be described than Caithness or Maine, because, like them, it was no part of the kingdom of England.

A man really ought not to undertake enquiries of this kind till he has got up such matters as these. But, as I just now said, it does not in the least matter whether Mr. Clarke's facts are minutely accurate or not. They are accurate enough to prove what nobody ever doubted, namely, Mr. Clarke's first position that such grants as he speaks of were made, and very often made. The real question is, What does the making of such grants prove? Before we go on to consider this question, I would ask Mr. Clarke whether, in turning over his *Codex Diplomaticus*, he ever stopped to look at any of the charters which are not granted to ecclesiastical bodies, but to laymen in their personal character? There are a great many of them, and they are the exact fellows of the grants made to bishops and monasteries. They are made by the same authority; they do exactly the same things; they follow exactly the same formulæ; they confirm the grant with exactly the same awful sanctions; he who shall disturb the lay grantee in his possession is to be sent to the company of Judas in the next world, just as much as he who shall disturb the spiritual grantee. Mr. Clarke has quoted very many instances of the one kind and not one of the other. Some, therefore, might be tempted to fancy that the ancient kings and their Witan were always granting away national property to bishops and monks, and that they never granted away any to earls and thegns. I will not count the number of documents of each kind to be found in the book, or painfully add up the amount of hides granted to each class of grantee; it is enough that there are a great many cases of both, and that one kind of grant was clearly as familiar as the other. I will compare one or two examples of each.

I lighted by chance on two charters of Æthelstan in *Cod. Dipl.* v. 187, 189 (No. 1099 and 110), each of which illustrates some curious points as to tenure. In 926, Æthelstan, "*Angulsaxonum rex non modica infulatus sublimatus dignitate*," makes a grant "*superno instigatus desiderio*," to his faithful thegn Ealdred (*fideli meo Ealdredo ministro*) of certain lands, *Cealhgræfan* and *Peobban-wyrðe*—I am not concerned to point out the locality, but the former name sounds attractively like *Chalgrove*. The land had been bought by

Ealdred for ten pounds of certain pagans, that is to say, Danes; whether it was his own land that he ransomed or what, we are not told. He had made the purchase at the bidding of the late King Eadward, of Ealdorman Æthelred and others; but the transaction was still held to need the more solemn confirmation of the present King and his Witan. The land clearly still was, in the eye of the law, *folkland*, "national property," which needed to be "booked" to Ealdred before it was fully his beyond dispute. So King Æthelstan, as the English form puts it, "books it to him in clean fee (*Æthelstan cyng gebócade Ealdrede wið his clæne feo*)." In the Latin the King explains himself more at large. He grants the land to Ealdred for life, and Ealdred, at his death, may leave it to whom he will (*"hæreditari libertate"* concedens donabo habendam possidendamque diu vixerit, et post obitum suum quibuscumque sibi placitis hæredibus dare voluerit). But in order to obtain the cherished privilege of holding the land free from all burthens, except the inevitable three, Ealdred has to pay. "*Sit autem hæc præfata terræ donatio ab omni sæculari onere libera, præter expeditionem et arcis pontisve constructionem, pro competenti pecunia quam ego accepi ab eo, id est, CL. mancās de puro auro.*" This time Judas is not mentioned, but any who shall disturb Ealdred in his possession are solemnly warned that it will be the worse for them at the last day. A number of bishops, ealdormen, and thegns give their assent to the King's act. That is, the grant was an act of the Witan, answering to an Act of Parliament now.

I might have chosen a simpler example, in which there was nothing about paying and no earlier story. But this charter is of special importance as showing that, in any matter of doubt, as there may have been in Ealdred's case, it was at least safer to get the formal confirmation of the highest authority. If the land which Ealdred had bought of the pagans was not "national property" before, it became so by legal fiction. The king and his Witan treated it as such; they booked it to Ealdred, and so turned it from *folkland* into *bookland*.

The charter that immediately follows (v. 189) is a grant of Æthelstan to the church of Canterbury in the days of Archbishop Wulfhelm. The land granted is at Folkestone, and its history is to be noticed. A monastery of nuns had stood on the spot which had been destroyed by Danes. The ancient employment of the land to sacred uses suggests that it would be becoming to apply it to sacred uses again. But that is all; the king merely mentions this as the motive of his act; he distinctly asserts the land to be his by right; "*terra juris mei*." That is to say, Æthelstan knew nothing of any abiding and inherent right in Church property, of any abiding or inherent curse of sacrilege. He who shall violently or fraudulently dispossess either clerk or layman is threatened with the terrors of the

* It is "*libertatem*" in the text, therefore, doubtless, in the MS.; but it surely ought to be "*libertate*." The word "*injuriis*" close by must also be wrong; but I cannot undertake to guess what is right.

next world; but there is no magic or mystery about land which had been held by nuns. As the nuns had vanished, as there was no ecclesiastical claimant, the land naturally reverted to the Crown, or became "national property." Æthelstan implies his full right to keep it; only it pleases his pious feelings to give it again to a pious use, "ut servitium quod ita fieri solebat restituatur."

The land now granted to the church of Canterbury is given on the same terms as what the other land was granted to the layman Ealdred. It is to be free from all burthens, except the three that cannot be escaped ("Sit prædicta terra libera ab omni mundiali obstaculo exceptis expeditione pontis arcisve adificatione"). The subscribing Witan are few, the archbishop, three bishops, and one ealdorman. It should perhaps be noticed that none of them uses the emphatic word "consensi," which abounds in the signatures to Ealdred's grant. It is therefore open to any one to argue that this was not a grant of folkland by authority of the Witan, but a grant of the king's own bookland, to which these five great persons were simply witnesses. If so, and if the land is still part of the "endowments of the Church of England," we shall have a case of private endowment, not out of national property, more than nine hundred years old. In two charters that follow next but one, one of them to Abbot (or Bishop) Ælfric, the other to a layman of the same name, the "national property" stands out clearly enough. The Witan, clerical and lay, not only subscribe, but consent by dozens. What I want to know is whether Mr. Clarke, who clearly makes a difference between endowments from private and from national sources, would, in an act of Disestablishment and Disendowment, take away the land granted by the authority of the Witan, and leave the private gift of Æthelstan (if it is ruled to be such), which a few Witan only witnessed. That is, of course, unless, as is likely enough, both have gone the way of such things under Henry the Eighth or Edward the Sixth.

But I am much more anxious to know with what eyes Mr. Clarke looks on the charters to laymen. Does he draw any distinction between them and the charters to ecclesiastical bodies? The grants to the two are made from the same sources, by the same authority, in the same terms, on the same conditions. In each case *folkland*, "national property," is changed into *bookland*. I should have argued that this proved that in both cases it ceased to be national property by virtue of the charter. Mr. Clarke argues, in the case of ecclesiastical grants, that this change of folkland into bookland then is the most unanswerable proof that it remains folkland to this day. Does he apply this argument to the lay grants also? Or does he distinguish between the lay and the ecclesiastical grants? Does he hold that the land granted "out of national sources" to Ælfric the layman and to Ælfric the churchman is now alike "national property"? Or does he hold that the land granted to Ælfric the churchman is

now "national property," but that the land granted to Ælfric the layman is not? And, if he draws the distinction, what are the grounds on which he draws it?

The conclusion to which Mr. Clarke's argument would seem naturally to lead may seem a little dangerous to the landed interest in days when that interest is so much talked about, and not always kindly. All, or a very large part, of the endowments of private men would seem suddenly to find itself "national property." That stubborn piece of ground which Æthelstan by consent of his Witan granted to the thegn Ælfric was in vain changed by the charter from *folkland* into *bookland*. According to Mr. Clarke's argument, whoever may be the present owner, it remains *folkland*, "national property," to this day. It may at any moment have anything done to it which may be rightly done to "national property." That is not unlikely to be something which the present owner would not like. We have heard a good deal lately about the "Nationalisation of the Land"; it may be that it is going to be done by authority of charters of King Æthelstan.

When Mr. Clarke has finished his studies in Domesday and the Charters, he goes on to give some figures belonging to our own time. He then steps in to deliver judgement in a case of "mendacity," at least of "ignorant or mendacious clap-trap" between Lord Hartington and the *Church Times*. "Mendacity" means, I believe, in English, "lying." If David or his translators had been more polite in their speech, they would have said in their haste that all men were "mendacious." I am not concerned with the *Church Times*; but I should really have thought that Lord Hartington was one of the last men to be likely to indulge in "mendacity," though the milder alternative of "ignorance" might, in a matter of King Æthelstan's charters, seem not altogether impossible. The positions which the *Church Times* pronounces to be "ignorant or mendacious clap-trap," but about which Mr. Clarke rules that "Lord Hartington was correct, and the *Church Times* wrong," stand thus, as reported by Mr. Clarke: "Our ancestors had devoted a considerable share of public property to provide for the spiritual and moral instruction of the people." "State endowments for moral and religious instruction;" here the verb is lacking. Now is Lord Hartington "correct"? One needs things to be a little more clearly defined before one can say Yea or Nay. One would like to know something about these ancestors of ours, their date and circumstances, and what it was that made them so specially thoughtful about the spiritual and moral instruction of the people. For instance, do the ancestors spoken of come down so late as the foundation of Cistercian abbeys in places where there were so few people to instruct? Or did Henry the Eighth take these abbeys away, because he found that they were useless for purposes of instruction? And was the whole of this "considerable

share of public property " given to these purposes of " instruction," and nothing either to the *servitium Dei* or for the good of anybody's soul? And one would like to have a little clearer notion of a " State endowment." Somehow there is not much about " spiritual and moral instruction " in the documents, memorials of our ancestors, at which we have just been looking. Æthelstan thinks it becoming that, where God had been worshipped before, He should be worshipped again; but he says not a word about " instruction." Ælfric the churchman and Ælfric the layman each receive what we may, if we please, call a " State endowment "; but there is just as little about " moral instruction " in the endowment of the bishop or abbot as there is in the endowment of the thegn. On the interpretation and bearings of the grants and other acts of our ancestors, the judgement of Kemble or Guest—I will not quote churchmen—was worth a good deal. I cannot think that Clarke-upon-Hartington gives us any great enlightenment.

Very soon after I came back to Oxford in 1884, I heard one of Mr. Ruskin's last lectures in the chair of Fine Art. He spoke of many things, among others of the care which the mother of Theodoric the East-Goth took of her son's clothes. But I specially marked the great advantage that Mr. Ruskin drew from freely speaking of himself, and referring to his own writings. I thought that the example was a good one for all of us who have written anything. It saves a great deal of trouble to cast off all false modesty, and boldly to refer to oneself in all those cases in which one would think it right to refer to some one else. I therefore make no scruple about calling notice to the fact that a little book of mine headed, " Disestablishment and Disendowment, What are They ? " was first published by Macmillan in 1874, and that more than one edition of it has appeared since. In that little book I took no side; I did not argue either for or against Disestablishment and Disendowment; I simply tried to get rid of some common fallacies on both sides which seemed to me to confuse the matter and to hinder both sides from arguing the case as it should be argued. I will not repeat here all that I said there. I will only put forth in the clearest and strongest way that I can a few propositions that may be of use in the controversy. Some of these I would specially recommend to Mr. Clarke.

First and foremost, the State in every country—that is, the supreme power—that is, in Great Britain, King, Lords, and Commons—can lawfully do anything. The power of the State has, in the nature of things, no bounds. It is the sole judge of its own actions. It may lawfully do things which would be crimes in any individual, or in any body of men of less authority. It is supreme over life and property. It may cut off Strafford's head without the sentence of the ordinary court; it may authorise a railway company to take a man's land

against his will. In any individual, in any corporation, these acts would be crimes. In King, Lords, and Commons assembled in Parliament, they are lawful acts.

It follows then that, the power of Parliament being boundless over all things and persons, it cannot have more or less power over one class of things or persons than over another. It has therefore the same power over the property of ecclesiastical corporations that it has over all property and over everything. It cannot have less; it cannot have more. It cannot have less power; because no founder or benefactor can put his gifts beyond the reach of that authority which is supreme. It cannot have more power; because that which is boundless cannot be increased. It is therefore vain to talk about "robbery" and "sacrilege," as applied to the acts of the supreme power. It is no less needless for the purposes of this argument to dispute whether the property of ecclesiastical corporations is "national property" or not. The State may deal with it as it pleases, whether it be "national property" or anything else.

It follows then that an Act for "Disestablishment and Disendowment" is to be debated on a very simple issue—Is this measure for the good of the nation or not? That simple issue ought not to be disturbed by cries, either of "national property" on one side, or of "sacrilege" on the other. "Disestablishment" is a term not easy to define; but Acts of "Disendowment," that is, Acts for the confiscation of the property of ecclesiastical corporations, have been repeatedly passed at various times of English history. Such Acts may be passed again. It is open to me or to Mr. Clarke or to anybody else to approve or to disapprove of any particular Act of this kind, just as we may approve or disapprove of a Home Rule Bill or of a Parliamentary Reform Bill. We may think any of these measures unjust or inexpedient. That is, we may think it our duty, if in Parliament, to vote against them; if not in Parliament, to petition against them. But, when passed by King, Lords, and Commons, they are all lawful; the Bill for Disendowment is lawful in exactly the same way as the other Bills. In all three cases alike the supreme authority exercises its inherent and boundless power. That power needs not to be strengthened by any special argument in any particular case.

I may add a few more sayings which may also be useful in the controversy; useful, that is, towards clearing the way on both sides.

First, then, it is well to avoid, as far as possible, talking about the "property of the Church of England." The phrase is accurate in a sense, and it cannot always be avoided; but it is always liable to strengthen a popular misconception. There is no corporation called the Church of England, holding property as a whole. Till the erection of the Ecclesiastical Commission, there was no corporation holding ecclesiastical property for general ecclesiastical purposes. To

this day, whatever ecclesiastical property is not held by the Ecclesiastical Commission is held by a crowd of corporations, sole and aggregate, endowed each for itself, in sundry times and in divers manners. Some people, I fancy, really believe that the Church of England was, at some time or other, endowed by a general act, the act of a nation convinced of the advantages of a national establishment and endowment of religion. Lord Hartington's words, countersigned by Mr. Clarke, sound something like this. And most certainly many people who know better than to believe anything so foolish as a matter of fact, do yet practically believe it; for they speak and act as if they did.

Secondly, it is sometimes thought that the inherent and boundless power of the State to deal at its will with ecclesiastical property, as with everything else, can be strengthened by saying that the existing ecclesiastical property has already been taken from one Church and given to another. This event is supposed to have happened at some stage of those changes backwards and forwards, taking up about thirty years in the sixteenth century, which are often jumbled together under the name of "the Reformation," as if they were one event which happened at one time.* Now the theological result of those thirty years of change it is not for me to speak of; the spiritual unity of the Church of England at the accession of Henry the Eighth with the Church of England at the death of Elizabeth is a matter for divines to argue. As a matter of plain fact, there was no general taking from one set of people to give to another. Many ecclesiastical corporations were suppressed; many were impoverished, lawfully and unlawfully; a good many new ones were founded. When the property of a suppressed corporation was given to a newly founded one, then alone was there anything at all like taking from one set of people to give to another. And that was not taking from men of one religion to give to another. Many ecclesiastical corporations went on untouched through the whole time; if their members conformed to the successive changes of the law, there was nothing to touch them.

Here again, as in the last case, many who, if examined, would answer rightly as to the facts, practically believe something different from the facts. That is, they speak and act as if they did.

Lastly, for a word or two on "national property." From my point of view, it is needless to argue whether the property of ecclesiastical corporations is "national property" or not. The supreme power of the State supplies all that is wanted. I should be sorry to speak of the charters of Æthelstan, or of any other ancient king, as rubbish; but they are rubbish for the immediate practical purposes of this controversy. I am fully aware that the words "national property" have been applied to the property of ecclesiastical corporations by public men

* It must be remembered that in several foreign countries, "the Reformation" was one event which happened at one time. This adds to the confusion.

on both sides in politics, whose words on such matters are worth a good deal more than the confused utterances of Lord Hartington. Still I must venture to think that the expression is vague and misleading. If all that is meant is that the State may deal as it pleases with this kind of property, that is undoubted. But to that end to call it "national property" is to get at the fact by a hard Median road, while we have already got to it by an easy Persian road. If anything more definite is meant, I must reject the name. "National property," in the strictest sense, does not now exist among us. That is property like the old *folkland* or the Roman *ager publicus*, land of which the nation, as a nation, is the corporate landlord. The *folkland* changed into *Terra Regis* by a gradual process to which the coming of the Conqueror gave the last stroke.* I fancy that the assent of the Witan even under Æthelstan was becoming a little formal. Since this change was completed, there has been in England no national property in this strict sense. The property of ecclesiastical corporations is no more national property in this sense than any other property is. The nation, as a nation, is not its landlord. It may have been its landlord once; it may become its landlord again; but it is not its landlord now. The name "national property" is, in a rough practical sense, fairly enough applied to various things like the London Parks or the British Museum, which are held by the Crown or by Trustees, but which are practically open to the enjoyment of every man. But these are not "national property" in the sense of the old *folkland*; nor is the property of ecclesiastical corporations "national property" in the sense in which the Parks and the Museum are. For they are not held by the Crown or by Trustees, but by the corporations themselves. They are not open to the enjoyment of every man. On these grounds the words "national property," as applied to the property of these corporations, though possibly, by an extreme effort, "patient" of an accurate sense, are always liable to confuse and to mislead, and are constantly used in a sense which is not accurate.

Lastly, I believe that a good deal of the unwillingness to admit that the State has exactly the same power over ecclesiastical property as it has over all property, and no more, often springs from undervaluing the power of the State over other kinds of property. I suspect that the "ancestors" referred to by Lord Hartington did not think on this matter exactly as Lord Hartington most likely thinks. But on this head I should like to speak a little more fully some time or other, as soon as the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW will give me leave.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

* Local *folkland* still exists in several places, as in the *Portmeadow*, the *ager publicus*, of the freemen of Oxford. But this is not national.

ROMANCE REALISTICISED.

IT is Carlyle, if I remember rightly, who remarks somewhere on the curious resemblance in behaviour between an annihilated disputant and the murdered Banquo. We should hardly, perhaps, be justified in addressing to him Macbeth's pathetic, yet grimly humorous protest against the conduct of such irrepressible *revenants*; for it is doubtful whether "the times" have ever been "that when the brains were (argumentatively speaking) out, the (controversial) man would die." On the contrary, it is probable that from the date of the very first contention in which human beings were engaged—which I take to be the dispute between Adam and Eve as to whether the unbridled curiosity and wilfulness of the woman who listened to the Tempter were or were not more discreditable than the meanness of the man who threw the whole blame on the woman—it has been an ascertained fact that to knock the brains, in a dialectical sense, out of an opponent has no effect on his polemical vitality whatsoever. He rises again, "with twenty mortal syllogisms on his crown," and pushes the triumphant syllogist—or fully satisfies himself that he has pushed him, which is just as good for all practical purposes—"from his stool." And the worst of it is that in some cases—as, for instance, where the fact of death is itself the point in dispute—there is an inconvenient air of plausibility about the mere display of any sign of life. When, for example, it has been proved to demonstration that a man is dead, there is no more specious rejoinder than for the corpse to rise to its feet. Of course it may be galvanism, and, in the case I am about to refer to, no doubt it is: but still there is the reply, showy if superficial, theatrical if you will, but imposing, the very thing to "go down with the gallery," and to deceive the vulgar unless the "superior person" is unusually prompt and clever in explaining "how it's done."

This he has not been, I am bound to say, in the instance to which I desire to call attention. The apostles of the New Realism in fiction are still apparently disposed to rest on the convincing demonstration which they submitted to the world some few years ago, that "Romance

was dead," that "all the stories had been told," and that nothing was left for the novelist but to treat minute changes in the human consciousness as "events," and to recount them with the same elaboration of detail as the romance-writers of the past were accustomed to bestow upon the thrilling incidents, the crowded action, and stormy passions with which they habitually dealt. That demonstration remains on record, and if subsequent facts conflict, or appear to conflict, with it, so much the worse, our Realists appear to think, for the subsequent facts. Their subsequence is no excuse for their intrusiveness; and they are properly treated in being as completely ignored by the theorists whom they defy as if they had been in existence when the theory was propounded. Thus, for example, the circumstance that, since the well-established death of Romance, there has been one of the most tremendous "booms" in the fiction of "adventure" that has ever occurred; and that, since the "last story was told," there have been more explorations of mysterious countries, more seekings and findings of treasure, more hand-to-hand battles against overwhelming odds, and generally a more astonishing outburst of activity among the inventors of exciting narrative than has been witnessed for a couple of generations—this, I say, is a circumstance which, on the principles of controversy above referred to, deserves no attention whatever. Romance still remains "dead," however many new romances may make their appearance every year, and the constant telling of original or reputedly original stories, is in no way irreconcilable with the proposition that "all the stories have been told."

This position of the Realists is for the moment, no doubt, a rather difficult one to hold; but time, after all, is on their side. Invention must sooner or later be exhausted among the Romantic School, who, indeed, are already showing, in the occasional failure and misdirection of that faculty, at what a disadvantage they stand as compared with those writers who do not require to employ it at all. In a word, the field which lies open before the latter is boundless; that of the former is obviously, and will soon no doubt be narrowly, limited. The materials which serve a Romancer only for a single novel would furnish forth a dozen or more for the Realist, who by dint of "analysing" the emotions experienced by a romantic hero at his first appearance on the scene can easily expand the contents of a Romancer's first chapter into an entire volume. What a difference, for instance, between the respective methods of the two Jameses—the realistic Henry and the romantic G. P. R.! This now forgotten follower of the author of "Waverley" (*haud passibus æquis*, of course, but then who could expect to match Sir Walter's stride?) was much in the habit of opening his stories with a statement—supposed to be calculated, like the clock striking as the curtain rose on Mr. Puff's tragedy of "The Spanish Armada," to "beget an awful attention in the audience"—to the effect that "on a lovely evening towards the

close of the fifteenth " or other yet more remote " century, two mounted travellers, enveloped in ample cloaks, might be seen slowly ascending the winding road which led to the "—and here Mr. James selected and named his mediæval castle. One of these travellers was generally a youth "over whose head" some inconsiderable number of "summers had passed;" the other "a man past middle age, whose scarred and swarthy visage" betokened familiarity with martial pursuits and habitual exposure to the weather. His usual mode of commencing conversation with his companion was to exclaim, "By my halidame!" thus sufficiently preparing the reader for an archaic style of discourse, which, however, did not escape occasional lapses into modern, not to say "newspaper," English. However, to do Mr. G. P. R. James justice, the colloquy was seldom long, and was for the most part strictly to the point. In fact, it usually lasted only just long enough to enable the two travellers to complete the ascent of the winding road which led to the castle. The road and the dialogue would be much longer, and both would wind much more if these two travellers were "personally conducted" by Mr. Henry James; and when they got within the walls of the fortalice, and the fun would have begun for the readers of the elder novelist, there would be less exciting matter for the admirers of the younger. G. P. R.'s account of the "chatelaine," again, would be only just sufficient to explain the inconsiderably-summed traveller's falling immediately in love with her. "Our" Mr. James would have a great deal more to say about her than that. He would not, perhaps, expend so much wealth of descriptive language on the lady's personal appearance, but we should be treated to a much more complete inventory of her emotions; we should be told not only what the young man thought on seeing her, but also, and perhaps at considerably greater length, what her feelings were on seeing him. This done, the two travellers would lay aside their ample cloaks for a good long spell; and, instead of becoming involved in a series of romantic adventures with each other, with the chatelaine, and with the ruffianly captain of freebooters who is known to aspire to her hand, and whose night attack upon the castle at the head of his band would probably be due at about the fifth or sixth chapter of Mr. G. P. R. James's romance, the youthful and the middle-aged cavalier would spend at least a volume or so in the castle, engaged in a minute study of their own, and, as far as opportunity allowed, of each other's mental processes and emotional changes.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to pursue this comparison further. Enough has been done, I submit, to demonstrate the advantage which the Realistic novelist enjoys over the Romancer, in that, whereas it would be impossible, or at any rate extremely difficult, for the latter to make use of the former's materials, to reverse the operation is, quite plainly, the easiest thing imaginable. And what an immense field is thus laid open to writers of the Realistic School! Why, the Shakspearian

drama alone, to say nothing of the library of Fielding, Scott, Bulwer, Kingsley, Dumas, Hugo, and a host of others, would supply their wants for a generation. For it must always be remembered that one of Shakspeare's tragedies will usually furnish matter for a dozen realistic novels.

Note, for instance, the extraordinary waste of material of which that romantic prodigal has been guilty in his treatment of the story of Othello. It seems incredible that he should have failed to perceive that the incidents set forth by the Moor in a single speech of some forty odd lines, addressed by him to the Venetian Senate, would more than suffice for the entire outfit of a three-volume novel of the Realistic School. As thus:

" Her father loved me, oft invited me,
Still questioned me the story of my life
From year to year," &c.

How came a proud Venetian Senator to love a Moor? Here, to begin with, is a psychologico-ethnological problem of extreme obscurity, upon which at least a couple of chapters would be well laid out, and which could, with the effect of heightening the interest of the reader, be left unsolved after all. Then after a short account of Othello's extraordinary "travellers' tales" we come to the passage:

" These things to hear
Did Desdemona seriously incline."

Why did Desdemona seriously incline to hear these things? Did she know enough Greek to wonder what was the difference between the "Anthropophagi" and the "cannibals that each other eat"? And did she begin by believing in the "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders"? Or did she only feign belief in such marvels just to see how far Othello would go? Several chapters might be devoted to tracing out the subtle processes by which the obvious good faith and sincerity of the narrator ultimately triumphed over the half-amused and half-contemptuous scepticism with which Desdemona had at first listened to his stories. Then, when at last she began to take a serious interest in the Moor's adventures:

" Her house affairs would draw her thence,
Which ever as she could with haste despatch,
She'd come again, and with a greedy ear
Devour up my discourse."

Now, here is a genuine incident thrown away. There could scarcely be a stronger situation—as the Realistic School understand strong situations—than that of the already love-smitten damsel divided between the calls of her household duties and her girlish curiosity. Yet it is a situation which Shakspeare, in his eagerness to get on to the cheap melodrama of Iago's machinations and the vulgar sensationalism of the "smothering scene," has entirely neglected to develop. Desdemona has been summoned, say, to inspect and count the

articles returned from the wash, and has left Othello in mid-recital of some "hair-breadth 'scape, i' the imminent deadly breach." One of Brabantio's night-shirts—as well as, by-the-by, one of her own handkerchiefs—proves to be missing, and to make inquiry into the cause of its disappearance would involve a somewhat lengthened absence from the drawing-room. Is Desdemona justified in postponing the investigation in order to get back and hear the end of a story, which, after all, may not be true—for her former scepticism would have a curious habit (which can be analysed in about a couple of pages) of reviving every now and then in her bosom—or ought she not rather to make her father's linen her first thought, and to suppress her curiosity until the matter—and the clothes basket—has been sifted to the bottom? Filial duty after an agonising struggle (say two chapters) ultimately triumphs, and she delays so long as to find on her return that the Moor has taken his leave. No man likes to have a good story spoilt in this way, and the incident accordingly leads to an estrangement between the two lovers, which, properly handled, will carry a Realistic novelist well into the middle of his second volume, just as it might have tided Shakspeare, if he had understood how to use his material, over his first two acts.

The account of Othello's actual courtship, and ultimate proposal of marriage (which the dramatist hurries over in a dozen lines or so), contains matter enough to fill at least a volume and a half. In the first place, the Moor tells us that, at the request of Desdemona herself, he recounted the whole of his adventures over again; and though it might not be necessary for the novelist to relate them once more in detail—and, indeed, would be undesirable, as introducing too much of the element of romance into a realistic work of fiction—he might well devote a considerable amount of space to explaining how it was that the narrative did not pall upon Desdemona on a second repetition. We then come to the curious psychological phenomenon indicated in the lines :

"She wished she had not heard it : yet she wished
That heaven had made her such a man ;"

and immediately after to the lady's *naïf* suggestion that—

"If I had a friend that loved her,
I should but teach him how to tell my story,
And that would woo her. Upon this hint I spoke."

And well he might; the hint was broad enough, in all conscience. But it raises the extremely interesting question how a well-brought-up young Christian woman could, no doubt in perfect innocence of heart, thus throw herself, so to speak, at a Saracen's head. "She loved me," concludes Othello,

"for the dangers I had passed ;
And I loved her that she did pity them."

No more crucial example of Shakspeare's lack of subtlety is to be found anywhere, perhaps, in his writings than he furnishes in this singularly inadequate treatment of a complex emotional situation. For of course it should have been clear to him that, if Othello loved Desdemona for pitying his dangers, Desdemona would, by a natural law of reaction, love Othello for loving her for her compassionate nature; while his love again would undoubtedly be heightened by his observing that a passion originally awakened in him by her pity for his dangers (which were themselves the original source of her nascent love for him) had called forth a separate response on its own account. And it would certainly require a consummate master both of analysis and exposition to unravel this highly complicated tissue of interacting emotions in less space than the last six chapters of the novel would, with the strictest economy of language, supply the writer.

The natural end of the story is of course the acceptance of Othello's offer by Desdemona. But Realism, having so completely supplanted Romance, can afford to be generous to its ousted rival; and it may therefore be admitted that the value of this famous love-tale for the purposes of the modern novelist does not absolutely end with the unwilling acquiescence of Brabantio, at the close of the first act, in his daughter's marriage. The character of Iago has possibilities, and might be made the subject of an interesting study in the modern manner; but his original grudge against Othello, which Shakespeare, in his careless way, only just glances at, should have been much more fully brought out; and as Iago had been jealous of the Moor's attentions to Emilia, the proper and artistic form of reprisal would have been for him to have made love to Desdemona himself. This arrangement would enable the novelist to dispense with the character of Cassio (thus getting rid of the absurd and obsolete drinking-scene) as well as with those of Bianca (whom, by-the-way, the stage manager already makes short work of) and of the "snipe" Roderigo. Of course there would be no sensational smothering of Desdemona, or, indeed, any murder or other so-called dramatic climax of any kind. The retribution will have been effected, and the story, therefore, will be, artistically speaking, complete, when Othello has been made to feel those pangs of jealousy which he has inflicted upon Iago.

It is, in short, clear that for the true artist the last word has really been spoken when Iago exclaims: "Look where he comes! Not poppy nor mandragora," &c. The sentiment is here too vehemently, not to say melodramatically, expressed, but the passage contains the "root of the matter." The realistic novelist would probably wind up his story in this way:

"How did you sleep, General?"

The other fixed upon him a troubled look. There was menace in it, and suspicion, and yet a mute appeal for pity.

Ensign James eyed him narrowly—prepared for an outbreak, which, however, did not come.

"I had a wretched night, James," was all the General said.

The ensign turned away, and a curious smile flitted for a moment across his honest face. "I am afraid," he thought to himself, "that it is a case in which chloral or sulphonal would be tried, as the doctors say, 'with negative results.' Indeed, I should not be surprised," ran his musings, "if my commanding officer were to be a martyr to insomnia for some time to come."

THE END.

I have heard the opinion hazarded that the four lines of romantic drama of which I have here endeavoured to give the modern equivalent in realistic fiction—the lines

"Look where he comes ! not poppy nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
Which thou ow'dst yesterday,"

are the most terribly intense expression of the devilish exultation of hate that poetry has ever achieved. It may be so ; but in these days people do not exult devilishly about anything, and it is needless, therefore, to point out that the prose rendering of the situation is infinitely truer to the spirit of contemporary life, with which alone now that "all the stories have been told" the artist in fiction should, or indeed can, concern himself.

The modernisation of "Romeo and Juliet" is a task of so obvious a nature that the proper mode of setting about it seems hardly worth indicating. Its real *motif* should, of course, be, not the loves of Romeo and Juliet, but the rivalry of Juliet and Rosalind, between whose competing attractions Romeo should stand balanced until near the end of the third volume, when he should at last come to the conclusion (unless, indeed, it be considered more in keeping with the spirit of the age to allow the story to close on his continuing indecision) that it would on the whole be an act of imprudence on his part to marry into the family of his hereditary foes. Mercutio—whose duel with Tybalt might be converted appropriately enough into a controversy on the terms of the fencer's art, and the comparative merits of the ancient and modern schools of arms, in one of the Veronese reviews—would attempt to combat Romeo's determination by pointing out to him the advantage of marrying a lady whose mother would be necessarily precluded from taking up her abode with him ; but the long-hesitating youth should be represented as at last fixed in his resolve to decline a match which seemed to offer no other promise of settled matrimonial happiness.

By the exercise, in fact, of a little ingenuity, it would be found that nearly all the Shakspearian drama, excepting, of course, the Histories—though some even of these are evidently capable of being treated more realistically than they are—might be induced to lend itself to the methods of the latest school of modern fiction. Nor is this the earliest body of romantic narrative which could be made available for the same purpose. Even so ancient a legend as that of the "Odyssey"

will be seen to afford an excellent subject to the Realistic novelist who is acute enough to perceive that the most promising possibilities of that famous story are to be discovered, not in the adventures of Odysseus, but in the contemporaneous emotions and reflections of Penelope, the diurnal weavings and nocturnal unravellings of whose celebrated web may indeed be regarded as picturesquely allegorising the method of the Realistic School. There is much interest too—and much of a kind altogether neglected by Homer—to be got out of the character of Telemachus, whose position with respect to his mother's suitors is one of a delicacy to which a Greek rhapsodist of the Heroic Age would be naturally far less qualified than an American novelist of the nineteenth century to do justice.

The "Iliad" appears, I admit, to be a rather more intractable subject. At first sight it presents to us little more than a series of noisy battle-pieces, in which hulking heroes hurl javelins at each other, in a manner most disconcerting to a subtle analyst of character, and deliver boastful and threatening speeches which, although characterised, at least in the poet's report of them, by a certain rude rhetorical vigour, are sadly wanting in the higher literary *finesse*. Still, there are certain passages in which Homer—or the committee who passed under that name—would appear to have stumbled upon a situation of psychological promise, though marred, it is needless to say, by an exasperating failure to appreciate, to say nothing of developing, its possibilities. One such situation is to be found in the interview between Priam and Achilles, where the aged king petitions for the restoration to him of the body of Hector, and remarks that he, the father, undergoes greater anguish than had ever been undergone by mortal man before him, in that he had "stooped to kiss the hand that slew his son." Surely this treatment of the scene is quite inadequate. The emotions of the bereaved Priam in the presence of the slayer of his beloved Hector must have been of a highly complex character, and, indeed, they present a more interesting psychological problem than a novelist of the nineteenth century has often the good fortune to meet with, either in England or in America. Yet how bald and jejune is the solitary brace of hexameters (for there are really only two) in which Homer disposes of it! It was not necessary, of course, to prolong the old king's speech; perhaps one has had more than enough of it already; but, at least, a couple of hundred lines should have been interpolated between its conclusion and the reply of Achilles. For no less than that space is, on the most moderate estimate, required to do justice to the extraordinary mixture of feelings with which Priam's prayer was offered.

Virgil, it must be allowed, has shown a juster sense of the relative importance of emotion and action in the amount of space which he has devoted to the story of Dido. He does at least assign to it an entire book of the "Æneid," whereas one can quite believe Homer capable of

knocking it off in a few score of lines. The character of Anna, however, seems somewhat imperfectly developed, and her insidious advice to her sister to yield, on national grounds, so to speak, and in the public interests of Carthage, to her growing passion for Æneas, raises a curious question of mixed ethics and politics, which might have been worked out by an analytic novelist to most instructive results, and which, in the present political situation, would be studied with peculiar interest.

There is, of course, however, a much larger field to be worked among the famous romances of the modern than among those of the ancient world. Defoe, for instance, threw away a great opportunity in "Robinson Crusoe." He begins fairly well with his account of the castaway's plight on his desert island, but in the end the eternal craving for sensationalism overcomes him; he brings in the cannibals, and sinks to the level of Mr. Rider Haggard. It is a question whether even the introduction of Friday is not a blemish on the work, as distracting the attention from the central figure. A greater genius than Defoe, say, Mr. Rufus W. Saltbox, of Dollarville, Pa., would have produced his effect with a stricter economy of material. I have scarcely a doubt that in the hands of this, or some other kindred artist, the diary of Crusoe's life on his island—of course he would have to be made a different kind of Crusoe—would for subtle fascination have rivalled the "Journal Intime" of Henri Frédéric Amiel. Of course, it would have been vain to expect anything of the kind from the author of "Moll Flanders"; but that only illustrates that perversity of fortune, which so often bestows the best literary subjects in the world on those who are least fitted to do justice to them.

Take, again, that much belauded effort of one of our first (and last) of English story-tellers, the romance of "Tom Jones," "that exquisite picture of human manners," which is to "outlive the Palace of the Council and the Imperial Eagle of the House of Austria." Gibbon's opinion of it as a portrayal of manner was not shared, as we all know, by the great and good Dr. Johnson, who quotes Richardson as saying that "if he had not known who Fielding was he should have believed him to be an ostler." Fielding would probably have replied that, even knowing who Richardson was, he had a difficulty in not believing him to be an old woman; but the Realist's objection to "Tom Jones" is not so much to the quality of the manners depicted in it as to the fact that the book is all manners, that it deals with the externals of life, and is utterly wanting in true spiritual inwardness. What, for instance, are we to make of the relations between Tom and Lady Bellaston, a question which Fielding seems to slur over with such light indifference to the probable effect on the reader's estimation of his hero, yet, at the same time, one by which even Thackeray (who had the makings of an analyst in him)

found himself staggered. The character of Squire Western is another case in point. With how little delicacy of touch is this country gentleman drawn! Note this conversation with his daughter: "I'll forgee her if she wull ha' un. If wot ha' un, Sophy, I'll forgee thee all. Why dost unt speak? Shat ha' un, d—n me! Shat ha' un! Was ever such a stubborn twoad?" And this is not unusual with him; indeed, it is his habitual style of talk. Yet it is impossible to believe that a squire of the mid-eighteenth century was a mere conduit-pipe, so to speak, for provincial dialect and profane expletives. Mr. Western must have had his better moments and his glimpses of a higher life. These it was the business of Fielding to have seized upon and to have brought into relief. But no; he so revels in the broad touches, the strong *chiaroscuro*, so to speak, of this coarse if vigorous portrait, that he cannot bring himself to tone it down and to shade it off, until, no doubt at some expense to what is called its humour, it should become a realistic portrait of a Somersetshire landed proprietor. However, the neglect of the eighteenth-century romancer is the gain of the nineteenth-century reader. For the character of Squire Western, with all its undeveloped possibilities, still lies ready to the hand of the author of "A Foregone Conclusion" and "A Modern Instance."

There is perhaps but one English classic, so-called, of the last century whose romances present any difficulty to the modern novelist of the analytic school. Need I say that I refer to one who has been mentioned above—the author of "Pamela," "Sir Charles Grandison," and "Clarissa Harlowe"? There is assuredly no denying that Richardson deals with his characters, for the most part, in the approved modern manner. No doubt the story of *Clarissa* is in its way sensational, and there are scenes of adventure, as I suppose one must call them, both in "Pamela" and in "Sir Charles Grandison." But Richardson, partly by dint of providing himself with plenty of elbow-room, has certainly contrived to interweave a respectable amount of "analytic" matter with the texture of his narrative. The portrait of his Christian hero is certainly no rough sketch in the slap-dash manner of Fielding. On the contrary, it is drawn with a certain minuteness of detail, and one may be permitted to doubt whether the most elaborately finical miniaturist of the modern school would easily find an unoccupied square half-inch of ivory to receive the marks of his brush. And when we recollect Dr. Johnson's blunt criticism, "Why, sir, if you were to read Richardson for the story, your impatience would be so much fretted that you would hang yourself," we feel that it would indeed be difficult for the masters of modern realistic fiction to improve upon him. Even the most merciless of analysts, employing the latest and most perfected methods, can hope for no more triumphant success than this.

H. D. TRAILL.

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM AND THE CHURCH.

IN a previous paper¹ we discussed modern Anglo-Catholicism from its rise as an archæological theory of the Church to its transformation into a sacerdotal and symbolical system inspired by evangelical beliefs. The change is so marked, and has so affected the temper and methods of the men who embody the movement, that did we know only the first stage and the last we could not believe that they were moments in the life of the same party. Ritualism, while the most superficial, is the least characteristic sign of the change; one deeper and more real is the supersession of the old aristocratic spirit by one humaner and more democratic. The new men are possessed, as the old were not, by missionary zeal, by the passion to reach and reclaim the masses, by the endeavour to make the Church the attractive home of the people, and the people the obedient sons of the Church. The religious polemics of the older men were often inspired by the intensest political antipathy to Liberalism and all its works, even when these were philanthropic or remedial; but the new men are distinguished by a progressive spirit, which has tempted the more forward to grapple, in the interests of the poor, with our graver social problems, and even to help in their practical solution. Of course the country has changed at once with the party and because of it, while common tendencies have been at work in both, shaping their respective activities, and modifying their mutual relations. The sense of responsibility to the people, which is, of course, a tribute levied by their accession to power, has penetrated what used to be called the governing classes; the men who serve the State live under a more jealous criticism, and the men who minister in the Church have become more conscious of duties, parochial and national. And

¹ CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March 1890.

for the clergy, the Anglo-Catholic revival has given at once form and sanction to this new consciousness of duty; it has made them, while more priestly, more evangelical, ministers of a more ornate service, studiously seeking to help worship by a richer symbolism, and to teach dogma by a more elaborate ceremonial. Under their hands the Church has become a new institution, more active, more aggressive, making claims that would have bewildered or amused the men of fifty years ago. But while merely academic claims are heard with scorn, claims supported by devoted lives, and illustrated by fulfilled duties, are, even when doubted, patiently endured. Respect is the simple right of the Anglo-Catholic men; rigorous examination of their claims is the duty of those who at once love religion and wish to obey the truth.

I.

1. In order to connect the present with the previous discussion, and to show how the newer Anglo-Catholicism stands related to the older, yet distinguished from it, we must attempt to discover and define their respective determinative principles. We may say, then, that the new men are less Anglican and more Catholic than the old; their Church, while no less political or institutional, is more ideal; they conceive it more through a dogma or a philosophy than through a fixed and provincial, or limited tradition. The old and the new agree in identifying what may be described as a given framework of the Church with its essence; they agree as to its polity, the value and function of its sacraments, the origin, necessity, gradation, and succession of its orders. These things must be that the Church may be; whatever may be changed or transcended, they must stand. In all its forms Anglo-Catholicism is a theory as to the necessity of a specific ministry to the Church, not of the Church to any ministry. But these points of agreement only emphasise the point of difference, with all that follows from it. This point may be stated thus: the determinative principle of the older men was historical—tradition, but the determinative principle of the younger men is metaphysical—a doctrine. What we may term the immanent idea is in each case different; in the one it was an objective model, or specific authority—certain Fathers as interpreted by certain Anglican divines; but in the other it is an underlying philosophy or theology, which penetrates and modifies the whole conception of the Church, and governs the methods and use of historical proof. This philosophy or theology may be conveniently described, though by a species of synecdoche, as the notion of the Church in its Catholic or Anglican sense as “naturally of a piece with the Incarnation”;¹ in other words, the Church is so construed through the Incarnation as to experience a kind of apotheosis, as to become “a

¹ Gore, “The Church and the Ministry,” p. 64; “Lux Mundi,” p. 367.

new and higher mode," or continued form of the profoundest mystery known to the Christian Faith. The poetry in the sublime and beautiful image of Paul, the Church is the body of Christ, is for the benefit of an institution turned into the most prosaic of prose. Truths that relate to the theanthropic Person, His sanctity, His sovereignty over mind, His authority over conscience through belief, become predicable of the Catholic Church which, as continuing the work of its Founder, is the only recognised way of man reaching God or God reaching man. "Access to God" is free to a man, provided he belongs to the one body; "fellowship with God" is possible "only through membership in the one body and by dependence on social sacraments," "of which ordained ministers are the appointed instruments."¹ And so the Church, taken as strictly an episcopal and sacerdotal institution, becomes the mystical and "Spirit-bearing" body,² created and inhabited by Christ, and possessed of all the energies, capabilities, and functions of a living organism. It may be conceived as a colossal individual whose years are centuries, whose life is continuous, and who is alone able, by virtue of its apostolic descent and proper administration of sacraments, to articulate and, as it were, realise Christ's presence on earth.

2. So much for the determinative idea; now a word or two as to its action on Anglo-Catholicism. For one thing, the point of emphasis was changed; it passed from the Patristic period to the Church as one, living, catholic, continuous. The change was, as it were, from the idea of the law that ruled the body to the idea of the body that made the law. The Church in a sense superseded the Fathers, and though Apostolic and Patristic voices are still heard with reverence, it is less as independent and more as organs through which the society has spoken; they must be canonised that they may have authority. But this change involves another: the authority the older men appealed to was specific and concrete, antiquity as understood by recognised Anglican scholars; but the authority of the younger men is more general and ideal, either a composite abstraction spoken of in historical terms as "the Catholic Church," or a series of selected opinions called "the Catholic tradition." By the very terms of the appeal, and the logical necessities of the situation, the authority appealed to is masked and made but an echo of the appealing voice, for an eclectic Catholicism is the most arbitrary of individualisms; it is but subjective tendencies or judgments done into ecumenical formulæ. And this involves another difference: the older men defended dogma by institutions, the younger defend institutions by dogma, which means that the attitude of the mind to the ideal contents of religion and to the intellectual tendencies of the age has changed. The old attitude to reason was hostile, the new is friendly; the older men had the idea of an authority that must be obeyed, but the younger have the idea of an au-

Gore, "The Church and the Ministry," pp. 93-94.

² "Lux Mundi," p. 321

thority that can be adapted to living thought. The Anglicans laboured so to organise the Church after a definite ideal that it might the more effectually resist the modern spirit, but the Catholics endeavour so to construe the traditional creed as to make it incorporate the ideas of the age. The Anglican idea of the Church was more concrete, and of authority more defined; while the Catholic idea of authority is more elastic, and of the Church, on the intellectual side, more flexible—so much so that it is conceived as able to assimilate all new material, to welcome and give place to all new knowledge.¹ In a word, a new philosophy, and, as a consequence, a new theology, has penetrated the Anglican system, and, though old terms and positions survive, the philosophy has just to be allowed to do its work, and the new will not be as the old.

II.

Now, my purpose is to attempt a criticism of this new Anglo-Catholicism from both the philosophical and historical sides, that is, to essay to examine it in the light both of its own fundamental idea and the new knowledge it has endeavoured to assimilate. This criticism proceeds from no lack of sympathy with the men who would bring the Christian faith into happy and efficient relation to the life and thought of to-day; indeed, its one purpose is to be a contribution to this aim. In order to such a relation, two things are necessary—equal and adequate justice must be done, on the one hand, to the Faith, and, on the other, to the mind and needs of the age. The system that does justice to neither does injury to both.

1. This determines the starting point of our criticism: the age must be looked at in relation to the Church, as well as the Church to the age. To the being of the age the Church has contributed; has therefore its own share of responsibility for what the age is. In the age it lives with this as its clear duty—to turn for living men the idealities of religion into the realities of being. Hence the problem of the age to the Church may be stated thus:—How can the Christian Faith be made to the living reason most credible and to the living conscience most authoritative? How can it be made so to pervade the atmosphere we breathe and impregnate the soil on which we grow as to be, as if by a natural process, incorporated into our being, or as to become the determinative factor of our personal characters, ideals, ends, and of our collective customs, institutions, laws? To have the problem so stated is to feel rebuked and humbled. We are in the nineteenth century of the Christian era; for almost all these centuries Christianity has lived on our soil, for the greater part of them we have been formally and ostensibly Christian. Yet we are faced by problems which imply that there are whole provinces of our national

¹ "Lux Mundi," Preface, p. ix.

and social life where Christianity as a religion has little place and less force, and a multitude of minds for whom it has as a Faith no reality, no credibility, and no authority. At such a moment to profess pessimism were to confess to defeat; but to cultivate optimism were to prepare for extinction. No man who believes in the Christian religion can despair of its success; no man who loves his people can be satisfied with their state, or persuade himself that it proves the sufficiency of the church or churches which have been charged with the realisation of the religion. Class interests, passions, prejudices, still reign untempered by love; they have grown more bitter and dangerous since they have come to contend hand to hand, foot to foot, for the seat of sovereignty. The rebellion arms can quell may be easily ended; but the slow revolution worked by inexorable law mocks at arms or dynastic forces, and can be changed into a beneficent process only by the gracious energies of religion. Such a revolution is even now in process; but has religion so penetrated the people by whom it is being accomplished that the Church can watch its completion with a light heart and an easy conscience? Our political problems are grave, but our economical are graver, and still more grave are our social. Towards the solution of the economical many natural factors are co-operating; the intellects and energies engaged in the industries are, by combinations, councils, arbitrations, and enlarged education, contributing, by securing the more equal and equitable distribution of wealth, to the creation of happier conditions. But in the solution of our social problems the supreme factor is the religious, the factor that fashions upright, honourable, beneficent men, that substitutes the reign of ordering love for Rousseau's social contract or the iron hand of Hobbes' Strong Man. Of all States, a democratic most needs in its governors and guides, virtue, integrity, disinterestedness of motive, sanity of intellect, and inflexibility of moral will; but while we cultivate politics with passion, do we not leave the creation of the politician to chance? Have our people been constrained to conceive that the office of the statesman is not less sacred than the office of the churchman, and demands, because of its greater perils and more manifold temptations, a more enlightened conscience and a larger endowment of grace? Few things are more disastrous to a society than the substitution of conventional for moral standards of judgment, and is it too much to say that the society most purely ecclesiastical is also the most thoroughly conventional? Immoralities live as they have never lived before in the public eye, and the scandals of the West End do more to debauch the national conscience than all the sordid vice and gaunt poverty of the East. We seem to have reached a state where evil has more solidarity than good: rich and poor meet together, and understand each other more in their vices than in their religion, which ought to have destroyed their vices, root

and branch. But within the community there lives this difference : the rich have the gift of oblivion in a higher degree than the poor. The easy conscience of society sweetly forgives the man who has sown his wild oats, but the retentive memory of the people does not so readily forget the ruin he may have worked in the process. These and things like these formulate grave problems for the Church. How have they come to be? How is their being to be ended? The higher the theory of the Church the deeper ought to be the notion of its responsibility ; the greater our idea of its power and its function the more sternly must we judge its failure. Wisdom is justified by her works, but if the works are not there, or there in an altogether inadequate degree, what becomes of the justification?

2. But deeper than all others are the problems that concern belief. The living intellect and the historical faith have somehow drifted, if not asunder, yet out of relation, and where truth does not live to the reason it can have no authority for the conscience. The characteristic of the age is here not so much unbelief as a want of belief, so extensively and uniformly diffused as to represent a common tendency rather than specific causes. It is distributed through all classes, and is peculiar to none, though it receives in each characteristic expression. Among the less skilled labourers it is simply indifference ; poverty shows no mercy to ideals, thinking that what brings no amelioration is entitled to no reverence. The man who with hungry mouths to feed struggles with failing strength to feed them, will not long continue to find comfort in contemplating the beauty and sufficiency of abstract truth. The response of the poor to a religion which has no concern or cure for poverty, is neglect of the religion. Again, the hard-headed artisan has difficulties of another and more varied order, and they grow with his rather moody and defiant independence. He is proud, sensitive to small things, especially if touched with affront or condescension or disdain, and conscious of a manhood too honourable to brook those class and caste distinctions that are often only the more emphasised by the circumstances and conventions of common worship. Or he brings a vigorous intellect, all the severer in its logic for being without formal culture, to bear on formulæ that have survived their occasion or lost their original sense, and yet have in his mind continued to be identified with the essence of religion, and he forthwith resolves the formulæ and the religion into a series of fantastic absurdities, which only folly or knavery or the blindest self-interest can tempt men to believe. The parson or preacher he regards with lofty scorn as the mercenary impersonation of all the superstitions he most despises, and his most effective and offensive weapons of assault he draws from the Old Testament Scriptures conceived as so inspired that every word, character, and event is due to the direct action of the Almighty. In the

educated classes similar types of unbelief, often in still cruder forms, are represented, only here fashion and current tendencies account for more. The fleshly materialism of our gilded youth, too gross to care for any intellectual justification, is an utterly vile thing; while noble purposes may live within and speak through the reason and conscience of the secularist artisan. The doubt that is too indolent to reason or to be reasoned with, or that is indulged as a private intellectual luxury, or that is used to give point and flavour to an otherwise vacuous cynicism, the agnosticism that speaks the language of one set, and the pessimism that repeats the formulæ of another, the cultivated indifference that treats as bad form every allusion to religion, the culture that believes in translating dogma into the language of the club or the coterie, the scientific temper that despises religion, or benevolently deals with it as if it were a thing for weak or dishonest intellects, because it does not follow the processes or attain the results of some science misdescribed as exact—these and many similar phases of floating opinion may be found in society and in literature. They are easily over-estimated, easily under-estimated, and still more easily misconceived. Singly they may be insignificant, but collectively their significance is immense. They mean that the unsettlement of belief is general; that men cannot think, or speak, in the society of the thoughtful, without feeling it; that in religious matters it is true courtesy to assume difference, and avoid speech; and that it is only reasonable to suppose that every new science will be in conflict with the old faith. But the fateful agitation is not the superficial; it is rather the deeper movement of thought that throws up and throws out the bubbles and eddies of the surface. The old conception of nature and man, of the universe and its history, is breaking up; a new conception is making its way into the collective consciousness, and becoming the regulative principle of all its thinking, with the inevitable result that religious beliefs, if they are to live, must undergo a correspondent transformation. Our most real and radical scientific inquiries raise questions as to creation, the Creator and His mode of working, as to man and his origin, the being of sin, the birth of religion, the reality of progress; our most rigorous and fruitful historical inquiries deal with the genesis of social and religious institutions, the evolution of thought, the formation and growth, now of mythologies, now of theologies; the place and composition of religious books, the appearance and action of religious personalities; and these in the most inexorable way compel men, if they would be reasonable while religious, to ask how the new methods affect their own beliefs. The scientific temper of to-day may be described as a passion to explore and explain origins, and to find out the reason and method of a thing's becoming; and it is so universal that no belief or institution can escape the inquiry, how, when, and why it came to

be. This means that the ultimate problem of a Church is not to explain the faith it has authoritatively defined, but to vindicate the process by which it became possessed of the authority to define it, the competence to enforce what it has defined. Hence the final word of our age to Anglo-Catholicism, and all modes of theology and religion by authoritative institutions is this: What claims to authenticate our most fundamental beliefs must have nothing dubious about its own title deeds.

These paragraphs have not been all digression; they have made one thing evident: the religion has not been so interpreted by the societies or Churches whose mission it is to realise it as to have penetrated, possessed and commanded the English people. We are still far from the kingdom of heaven; and of all evidences of truth, alike as regards a man and a society, the most infallible is the ancient canon, "By their fruits ye shall know them." This is not to be construed as a word of reproach against the English Church as a Church. The writer feels that there is nothing less noble or more despicable than the mutual reproaches of religious men and societies, or the memory too mindful of past faults, and too forgetful of present duties, especially those of charity and truth; but what he means is, that those who claim that a given Church is the one and exclusive divinely created and guided Church of Christ for the English people, are not dealt with seriously unless their Church be required to have lived up to its character, and have proved it through its works. There is no tribute to a man or institution like the demand that he or it be no less or no worse than his or its claims. Now, it is not too much to say, in the face of what has been said, that the Church has not made its supernatural character obvious by its works; and for an institution that must be supernatural to be anything at all, this is certainly a serious circumstance. If its character and claims are things that have still, after all these centuries of opportunity and endeavour, to be proved by an argumentative and evidential process, then the process must be cogent indeed, sufficient at least to satisfy a reason both scientific and reverent. An age which deeply reveres good things well done, but is dubious and slow of conviction as to high abstract claims, is a trying age for a system or a society whose claims are mainly abstract, and whose evidences are not very apparent in the realm of the real.

III.

Our first concern must be with the most radical matter—the doctrine of the Church. We have already seen something of the claims made by the Anglo-Catholics on its behalf. It is Christ's Spirit-bearing body, "the special and covenanted sphere of His

regular and uniform operations."¹ The Church has a finality which belongs to its very essence, "expressed in the once for all delivered faith, in the fulness of the once for all given grace, in the Visible Society once for all instituted," "and in a once for all empowered and commissioned ministry."² By virtue of the first it is the custodian and interpreter of the truth; by virtue of the second it possesses the Sacraments, which are instruments for the communication of grace; because of the third the Church is a political unity into which man must be incorporated to be truly and effectually saved; in the fourth "the instrument of unity" is supplied, "and no man can share her (the Church's) fellowship except in acceptance of the offices of her ministry."³ Now, of these the last is the greatest and most essential; though it may be argued, all are alike necessary and distinction between necessities cannot be drawn; yet here this distinction exists, the apostolic ministry is the condition through which the other things are; it is primary, they are secondary and sequent; without it there can be no unity, no sacramental grace, no authoritative transmission and definition of truth; with it these things cannot but be.

1. Now, what does this doctrine mean? Is it a theory of the ministry or of the community, of the political system or of the people who live under it, and for whose good it exists; of the forms under which communion is decreed to be possible, or of the saints who hold communion? The question as to the relation between the various factors constitutive of the State—the Sovereign and the Citizens, the Magistracy and the People, the polity and the community—is as old as the study of politics, and it is as much native and as necessary in the ecclesiastical as in the civil sphere. In both there are the same types of political theory, involving questions identical in principle and substance, though somewhat different in form, as to the origin, basis, limits, conditions, and ends of authority. The types may, after Aristotle, be distinguished into three, each capable of existing in two forms, a legitimate and an illegitimate, the monarchical, the aristocratic or oligarchical, and the constitutional or democratic.⁴ If monarchical, the monarchy may be either absolute or limited; if absolute, it will be in the civil sphere an Autocracy, in the ecclesiastical a Papacy—its attribute in the realm of civil law being supremacy, but in the ecclesiastical, as the realm of opinion, infallibility. If it be a limited monarchy, the limitation must come either from the law, which stands above the king and makes him a responsible ruler, or from a co-ordinate authority which stands over against and qualifies his. In the ecclesiastical sphere the former is represented by the Gallican theory, the latter by what we may call the Frankish and the older Teutonic theories or customs, which governed the relations between Church and State before

¹ "Lux Mundi," pp. 321-322.

² "The Church and the Ministry," pp. 64-65.

³ *Ibid.* p. 86.

⁴ "Politics," iii. 7.

the days of Hildebrand and the Hohenstaufen. If the political type be oligarchical, it becomes in the civil system an aristocracy, in the ecclesiastical either a hierocracy or an episcopacy. Its distinctive note is that it must be self-perpetuating; *i.e.*, the means of continuing and propagating the order must be within the order, and cannot be delegated to any one or anything without. This is secured in the aristocratic and in certain hierocratic systems by a rigid law of hereditary inheritance, but in the episcopal by an equally rigid law of official succession, ordination or consecration of bishops by bishops; in other words, accession to office by act and sanction of those who already hold it. Of course, each of these systems has a theory of origin corresponding to its own peculiar form and needs. Where the law of hereditary inheritance reigns, the theory is, in the civil sphere, either supernatural, an ordination of God, or natural, due to the superior strength or wisdom of some ancestor, or to some imaginary contract; but in the ecclesiastical sphere, it is the creation or election by God of some special family or tribe; while where the law of official succession reigns, it as naturally seeks its warrant or justification in a doctrine of divine institution and transmitted authority. If, again, the political type be democratic, it may either be indirect and representative, where the authority is delegated to certain persons, either of a special order, or simply as citizens of good repute; or it may be direct and collective, where the enfranchised, or simply the citizens, act together and as a whole. The former has its counterpart in the civil realm, though only in a very partial degree, in ancient Rome; in a fuller degree in our modern Republics; but in the ecclesiastical it takes shape as Presbytery. The latter may be seen, on the one hand, in the ancient Greek cities, on the other, in the Independent or Congregational Churches.

But one thing marks all these political types—they are politics, methods and forms of government, of immense significance as such, but as no more. Taken at their very utmost valuation, they represent the framework of the State, do not describe its essence, they affect and condition, but do not constitute its life. A Greek city might change from a tyranny to an oligarchy, or to a democracy, but it remained Greek still. Rome did not cease to be when the Republic became the Empire; France has tried many politics, but still remains France. The State is the people; the polity is the system under which they are organised, and which may be changed without any change of the people. Salmasius said, "It is absurd to argue that kingdoms were before kings, for it is through kings that kingdoms are; did no king reign there could be no kingdom." But Milton replied, "Kingdoms, indeed, were not before kings, but peoples were, and it is for and through peoples that both kings and kingdoms exist." And it is the same in the ecclesiastical as in the civil realm; it is neither

the bishops nor the clergy that constitute the Church, but the Church that constitutes the clergy. The Church was before they were; they are by it, and through it, and for it; they owe their being and succession to it; it does not depend for its unity upon them, but upon its Head and its relation to Him. The people are His; without His people no polity can be. With His people, some polity must be, but of what sort it is not for any special order to determine.

Now, the cardinal vice of this Anglo-Catholicism is that it makes the secondary element primary, the primary secondary, and turns a mere ecclesiastical polity, which has lost touch of the concrete and the real, into a substantive doctrine of the Church. It makes the polity, instead of the people, the constituent factor or authority. It affirms the apostolic descent of the clergy, but forgets the apostolic descent of the Church. It argues concerning the ministry as men in the seventeenth century used to argue concerning the king; the divine rights once claimed for him are still claimed for priests, and proved in similar methods by the help of similar assumptions. And the similarity does not end with Filmer. It represents too deep a tendency in human nature to be without analogies, as every student of comparative religion knows only too well, in wider and more distant fields. But one thing is clear: no theory of either the Church or its polity can be adequate which does not do justice to the facts, that is, to the collective Christian people, and the creative Source of all their life. The best polity for a State is the polity that secures the greatest possible good to the whole, doing completest justice alike to the obscurest citizen and the most illustrious, but the polity that shuts outside the Church as immense a body of holy men as are to be found within it, is a polity that does no justice to the ways of God or the actual condition of man. In all questions of this sort there are two points of view: Men may reason downwards from the polity to the people, and say, "The Maker of the world, the Founder of the society, made this polity which we embody and administer, and you cannot be His people unless you live under His polity; on it, and our administration of it, His grace so depends that without us and our instruments it will not be communicated to you." Or men may reason upwards from the people to the polity, and say: "God made the people, His Spirit renewed them, inhabits them. The polity must express and represent the Spirit of God in the people; articulate, organise, and direct their energies. They are first, it is second; proceeds, indeed, from God, but comes through them, and only what is their creation has His sanction." Of these two points of view, the former may be termed the high clerical, the latter the high Church. What begins and ends with the ministry may exalt the clergy; what exalts the Church must never lose hold of the people, the saints called and approved of God.

2. Enough has been said as to this distinction, but its theological and historical significance may be illustrated by a phrase elaborately despised and misunderstood by Anglo-Catholics—"The Invisible Church." The date of its origin is a small matter. New conditions so combine or affect old ideas as to demand new names. If theology used no terms, or allowed no ideas save those found in the Fathers, its life would soon cease, and nowhere sooner than in Anglo-Catholicism. One thing is certain, the phrase represents elements and ideas the Reformers owed to Augustine. His doctrine of the Church was confronted with two great difficulties, one real or social, the other ideal or theological. The real was the presence within it of the unworthy, the impure, or the hypocritical—men who did not belong to the Society of the Saved. Hence he had to distinguish between the ideal and the actual or the real and counterfeit Church.¹ The Reformers had to face this contradiction in a far more aggravated form, and they said, "Since these impure, hypocritical men, though they are visibly within are really without the Church, let us cease to use false words, and say—of the Church as God knows it, They are no members. Our actual is not identical with God's ideal." But the theological difficulty was more serious; Augustine's Church, as sacerdotal, was conditional—by acts and sacraments men could be incorporated into it; but his theology was unconditional—grace was absolute, and men were saved by the will of God.² If the decree is absolute in the theology, the ecclesiology cannot be allowed to make salvation conditional; yet a conditional salvation is of the very essence of a Church that saves or communicates grace by the sacraments. Hence, Augustine might have argued that men were predestinated to baptism, but he could not consistently argue that men were regenerated through baptism. And as in face of the facts he could not maintain, as his two doctrines required, that there were only the elect within the Church and only the reprobate without, and as he had to admit that there were elect as well as reprobates without, and reprobates as well as elect within, he had to allow the two positions to remain as unreconciled antitheses, or rather as radical contradictions. The elect were the real members of the Church, the non-elect, though in

¹ "De Doctr. Christ." iii. 32. Non enim revera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in æternum: sed dicendum fuit, De Domini corpore vero atque permixto, aut, vero atque simulato, vel quid aliud; quia non solum in æternum, verum etiam nunc hypocritæ non cum illo esse dicendi sunt, quamvis in ejus esse videantur Ecclesia. Unde poterat ista regula et sic appellari, ut diceretur de permixta (instead of *bipartita*) Ecclesia. Cf. "Unit. Eccl." c. 23. Multi sunt in sacramentorum communione cum ecclesia et tamen jam non sunt in ecclesia. "Cont. Litt. Petil. ii. 10, 24. Dico ad semen Abrahæ, quod est in omnibus gentibus, non pertinere, si quid non recte vobis factum est, fortasse a palea dominicæ segetis." This division was so sharp in Augustine, that he, like the Reformers, was charged with believing in the existence of duas Ecclesias, "Brevic. Coll. cum Donat." iii. 10. The criticism was just as valid in the one case as in the other, and no more!

² Cf. with above, Augus., "In Joh. Evang." xlv. 12. "Secundum istam ergo præscientiam Dei et prædestinationem, quam multæ oves foris, quam multi lupi intus; et quam multæ oves intus, et quam multi lupi foris!"

its communion, were but semblances. The reformed theologians developed Augustine's position into logical consistency by conceiving the Church through its ultimate constitutive factor, the will of God. So construed, it became the society of the elect, or company of the predestinated, or, simply, the Church invisible, while the visible was the mixed body who lived in outward profession. But this only showed that the inheritance of Augustine was divided; the Catholics succeeded to his polity, the Reformers to his theology. The anti-Donatist was the Father of the visible Church, but the anti-Pelagian, the Father of the invisible.

But this leaves us with the question, What did the Reformers mean by the phrase "Invisible Church"? We can easily see what they did not mean. They did not intend to reduce, but rather to enhance the reality, necessity, and importance of the visible Church¹ within which the invisible lived and without which it could not be.² Nor did they mean to deny the unity and continuity of the Church; but rather to affirm both, though in a form that aimed at being just to all the facts, and the whole truth as to the redeeming activity of God.³ Nor did they use the phrases, as Bellarmine with the skilful misunderstanding of controversial genius maintained, to denote two Churches, but rather to express two ideas that were related as the body and soul of man.⁴ The "Invisible Church" was no "*Civitas Platonica*," nor was the visible an organised accident, or series of expediences. Each was necessary to the other, and both to the complete expression of so rich and complex an idea as the Church of Christ. In the first place, that could not be an "*ecclesia sensibilis*," for did not the Creed say, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church?" But the things of faith are invisible; God who loves, Christ who saves, the Spirit which renews the soul, are unseen; unseen, too, is the soul they love, and save, and renew; and unseen the society constituted of God out of this and all other souls He has saved. In the next place, the body that claims to be the one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church does not possess any one of its attributes; it is not one, for it is divided into many sects, and has been the fruitful mother of divisions; it is not holy, for within and over it are many evil men; and to its working, evil forces have contributed as powerfully as good; it is not Catholic, for it is Roman; nor is it Apostolic, for it has exchanged the ministry of service for the functions of empire. Over against and

¹ Of it John Calvin said:—"Discamus vel uno matris elogio quam utilis sit nobis ejus cognitio, imo necessaria; quando non alius est in vitam ingressus nisi nos ipse concipiat in utero, nisi pariat, nisi nos alat suis uberibus, denique sub custodia et gubernatione sua nos tueatur, donec exuti carne mortali similes erimus angelis." "Inst. Rel. Christ." iv. 1, 4. Cf. Catechis. Major, ii. 3, 42.

² Hence the formula: "*Ecclesia invisibilis non extra visibilem est quaerenda, sed illa huic est inclusa.*"

³ "Apol. Confes. Augus." art. iv. p. 146.

⁴ Luther, *Werke*, xviii. p. 12-15 (ed. Walch). Cf. Hollazius, p. 1283. And Gerhard, "*Loci*," xi. 81, 82, and "*Confes. Cath.*" p. 207 (ed. 1679).

within this political and juridical body stands the Society of the saints of God, enjoying a communion, which, though informal or unconscious, is real in proportion as it is rooted in the Divine. Again, the saving of man is an act and work of grace; all its terms are spiritual and free; its very nature would be changed were it bound to institutions of man's making and ordering. Justification by an institution is the very negation of justification by faith; the more it is magnified the more is the sole ability to justify of the spiritual Person who impersonates the saving energies of God limited and lowered, and His claim to achieve through faith the saving change in man, qualified and conditioned. Then, as it is persons God saves, it is a people He constitutes; and as He loves them, and they love Him, they must be able to enjoy His fellowship in spite of anything any juridical society on earth has done or can do. Under this aspect, there is a double idea to express, the idea that all who love God form a society with, and before, and under the God they love, and the idea that this society, as bound to no terms of man's making, is realised in the realm of the transcendental and eternal. Now, what term can better express this double idea than "Invisible Church?" It lifts us at once into the region where all the realities are transcendental and all are spiritual, where God is all in all to man and man lives in conscious fellowship with God, and loving obedience to Him.

3. We have been concerned, not with the truth or falsity of the idea, simply with the meaning and import of the phrase; but this much may be said: it has more of the historical and Catholic spirit than the phrase in whose interest it has been so proudly despised. It was an attempt to find an idea of the Church as large and deep as the activity of God, yet as varied and free as the spirit of man. It endeavoured to rescue the people of God from bondage to a juridical letter, and restore them to their rightful place in His spiritual order. There was nothing Luther more loved to say and to emphasise than this—Church meant people, saintly, Catholic, Christian, daily being sanctified and made into a holy Christendom. And in so speaking he agreed with the Catholicity of the Early Ages. As Justin counted all truth to be of Christ, as Clement found prophecy in Hellenic philosophy as well as in the Hebrew Law, as Augustine believed that there had been a Christianity before Christ, so Luther held, translating the Patristic abstract into his own brave concrete, that wherever the holy soul is, whether under the Papacy or amid the Turks, there is the Church. And simply because so transcendental and divine, it must have a phenomenal form. The finite persons who compose it are men; its Founder was an historical Person, and defined the elements necessary to the visible being of His society. These are two, the Word and the Sacraments, or the Gospel by which men are saved, and the

symbols which at once express their relation to a common Head and bind them into a common Brotherhood. Where these are there is a Church; more than these need not be. Forms of polity are matters to be determined by saved people, not by consecrated priests. The people are primary, the polity is secondary, and the polity which best articulates the religion for the people and best organises the people for the purposes of the religion, is for the time and place the best polity. Particular churches with their specific polities do not break the unity of the Catholic Church visible, while their faith and love constitute the unity of the invisible. It is only where accidents are made of the essence of the Church that schisms are created, for schism is but an ordinance of man turned into an imperative law of God, and as such forced upon His free people. The phrase "visible and invisible Church" may be open to manifold criticisms, for the idea was large, and human speech is limited, and the ability to read the mind within it more limited still; but surely we may say that in all the elements of sublimity and Catholicity, official Catholicism, especially in its Anglican form, is alongside this belief of "the new sectaries of the sixteenth century" only as "moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine."

IV.

But to return; our contention hitherto has been that the Anglo-Catholic is no theory of the Church, but only of a specific polity, or, in other words, it is the doctrine that certain officials or an oligarchy of a given kind is necessary to the existence of the ecclesia. This, however, is too abstract a contention to stand alone, and may be answered thus: "We are not dealing with a natural society, but with a society at once supernatural and historical. What its constitution is, is a question of revelation and history. Our Church is the Church Christ founded; its constitution is of His making, not of ours; His laws we are free to obey, but not to change." The question now becomes one of historical criticism and exegesis; as such it is too large to be dealt with here; all that is possible is to discuss a cardinal point here and there.

The appeal is, in the first instance, to the New Testament. What sort of society did the Founder of Christianity institute? Was it constituted on the lines of this Catholicism, emphasising an oligarchical and sacerdotal polity as the *sine qua non* of the Church? What this system conceives to be the Church, is, as it conceives it, not simply the most vital thing in the Christian religion, but is the religion; on it everything depends, Scriptures, doctrine, acceptable worship, faith, and life. Without is "the sphere of the uncovenanted mercies" of God; within are the known and recognised operations of His grace. Now, it is evident that a matter not simply fundamental,

but through and through essential to the being of the religion, ought to be of all things the clearest and most indubitable in the religion, especially to all those who have no wish but to know it in its purest and believe it in its truest form. Is it so? Has the Founder, or have His apostles, made the main lines or elements in this Catholicism so explicit that we must hold it as the only and veritable and imperative law of His society? This is our present question.

1. Now, the first thing to be noted is this—a curious contrast between the language of Jesus and our modern Catholics. Their phrase is “the Church;” His is “the kingdom of Heaven” or “of God,” or simply “My kingdom.” The mere figures are significant: the term “kingdom” is used in the Gospels to denote His society 112 times, and almost always by Himself; but “Church” only twice. In a recent Anglican essay on the Church, the phrase “kingdom of heaven” occurs but twice; in a book of 424 pages on “the Church and the Ministry,” which has much to say about the “Ministry,” but almost nothing about the “Church,” only three pages are devoted to a perfunctory discussion of the relation between the Church and the kingdom. Now, the names are either synonymous or they are not. If they are synonymous, it must be possible to translate the Church into the terms of the kingdom, and the kingdom into the terms of the Church. If they are not, then the kingdom as Christ’s most used, most emphasised, and most descriptive name for His society, must contain His determinative idea; *i.e.*, the Church must be construed through the kingdom, not the kingdom through the Church. If the first position be chosen, then the Anglicans who have so forgotten the kingdom have failed to interpret the Church; if the second, then there is behind and beneath the Church another, as it were, aboriginal idea of the Christian society to which they have given no adequate recognition, and for which they have found no fit place. In the one case, their idea of the Church is not adequate; in the other, their Church is not the ultimate normal polity or social ideal of Jesus.

The idea of the kingdom, then, is primary. He comes to found or create it. His instrument is preaching or teaching; ¹ His message is the gospel of the kingdom.² He is the Sower who casts the seed, which is the Word, into the hearts of men.³ He defines it by various terms; it is “of heaven”⁴ in contradistinction to the “kingdoms of the world,” *i.e.*, it has none of the violence, the policies, the evils of the earth; it is “of God”⁵ in distinction from “the kingdom of Satan,” *i.e.*, it is the realm of healing, harmony, love, and beneficence.

¹ Matt. iv. 17, 23.

² Matt. ix. 35; Mark i. 14; Lu. viii. 1.

³ Matt. xiii. 3, 19, 23, *cf.* xxiv. 7, and John xviii. 36.

⁴ Matt. v. 19; xviii. 4; xix. 12. ⁵ Matt. xii. 28, *cf.* 26; Lu. xi. 20, *cf.* 17, 18.

It is a kingdom of the truth, *i.e.*,¹ He is a King by virtue of His being and bearing witness to the truth, and His citizens are the men who, being of the truth, hear His voice. It is present,² men may enter it,³ are even within it,⁴ the terms of entrance are obedience to the Word,⁵ or the child-like spirit.⁶ It comes without observation,⁷ spreads quietly like leaven,⁸ grows like seed.⁹ It is ethical in character; to seek it is to seek the righteousness of God,¹⁰ to pray for its coming is to ask that the will of God may be done on earth as in heaven.¹¹ The men it honours and rewards are the poor in spirit, the persecuted for righteousness' sake, those who do the will of God, confess Christ before men, cultivate His spirit, live His life of ministry and grace.¹² The signs of the kingdom are all spiritual and ethical, relate to gracious helpfulness and service, never to officers or acts of ceremonial.¹³ It is universal, open to all without respect to place or race.¹⁴

Now, two remarkable things are suggested by these characteristics: (1) the essential notes of the kingdom are not those of the Catholic Church or, conversely, the essential notes of the Church are not to be discovered in the language of Christ as to the kingdom; (2) The emphasis in His speech falls not upon the officials, if officials there be, or on Sacramental acts, if such acts there are, but upon the people, upon persons, their personal qualities, conduct, character, their state and living before God, their behaviour and ministry among men. He, indeed, calls disciples and commissions apostles, but He deals with them as men who must be of a given spirit if they would enter the kingdom; their eminence in it depends, not on office, but on spiritual qualities; and their rewards, not on dignities possessed, but on range and kind of service—none being sacerdotal, all spiritual and human.

And this is made more significant by two things, His example and His instructions. He is their type, they are to be as He is and has been—one who heals, helps, saves, a Minister to all the needy.¹⁵ He is a Teacher, a Preacher, whose word has power. He makes no sacerdotal claim, does no sacerdotal act. His ministry is more in Galilee than in Judea, in the synagogue than in the temple; He is the Rabbi, is never to any man, least of all to Himself, the priest. If the ministry is to be received through Him, and He is to remain the ideal all who enter ought to seek to realise, then it must be a ministry that neither renders, nor cultivates, nor practises sacerdotal sanctities, but is inspired by the enthusiasm for service, by the love of man, by fear of evil, by the passion to heal and to save, by the gentle hand, the generous heart, the gracious presence, the tongue eloquent to persuade the wicked to become the good. And as was His example,

¹ John xviii. 37.² Lu. xvii. 21; Matt. v. 3, xii. 28; Mark x. 14.³ Matt. xxi. 31.⁴ Matt. xi. 11; Lu. vii. 28.⁵ Matt. xii. 19, 52.⁶ Matt. xxiii. 3; xix. 14.⁷ Luke xvii. 20.⁸ Matt. xiii. 33.⁹ Matt. xiii. 31, 32.¹⁰ Matt. vi. 33.¹¹ Matt. vi. 10.¹² Matt. v. 3, 10; vii. 21; xxv. 1, 34.¹³ Matt. xi. 2-12; Lu. iv. 18-19.¹⁴ Matt. viii. 11.¹⁵ Matt. xviii. 1-4; xxv. 34-40.

such were His instructions.¹ He sent His disciples out to preach, to heal, to live as He lived, to suffer as He suffered, to seek His ends, to surrender, as He surrendered, all to God; to be prophets, as He was a prophet; to represent Him, as He represented God. Yet nowhere is there a phrase or term that so much as hints at any sacerdotal office, or act, or any official accessories. The only text that may seem to touch on peculiar official functions or powers is the saying to Peter: "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."² But the verse must be read in its connection. Peter had made his confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God"; on this rock, this truth confessed, His Church was to be built; and the confessor, the man who stood by this truth, preached it, obeyed it, was, as such, to have the keys. It was not an absolute promise to an official, or to a man who holds an office, made because he held it, and to his successors, for of succession or successors there is no word; but it is a promise to a person who has made a confession, because of the confession he has made. And this is made apparent by the next paragraph, where Peter, because he rebukes Jesus for prophesying of His death, receives the awful rebuke: "Get thee behind me, Satan!"³ Each saying is appropriate to the moment, neither is absolute, nor significant of a permanent character, or inalienable office, or indefeasible function, but is through and through conditional, and relevant to the context. Peter, so far forth as he would dissuade Christ from His supreme act of sacrifice, is Satan, an enemy and tempter; so far forth as he confesses the highest truth as to Christ, Christ has committed to him the "keys of the kingdom." Both must be conditional, or both absolute; but it were hardly reasonable to conceive Peter as through all time filling the incompatible offices of Satan and the keeper of the keys. And so this instance but emphasises the truth. Here is a kingdom without any political framework, without any machinery of chartered officials, or spheres of "covenanted mercies," or "recognised channels," or "authorised instruments of grace," but composed of holy men, distinguished by their love and ministry, extended by the preaching of the Word, or the persuasive influence of spiritual character. It represents a unity which no type of polity can create or express, and which varied and even dissimilar polities need not break up or dissolve. It is visible, yet invisible; all its springs, motives, ends, the souls in which it lives, the God who reigns through the conscience, and the conscience in which God reigns, are all unseen; but all its evidences and fruits, the evils it cures, the good it does, the beneficences it works, are seen. Paul defined it through its distinctive elements once for all: "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."⁴ If we seek its nearest analogy we

¹ Matt. x. 5 ff.² Matt. xvi. 19.³ Matt. xvi. 21-23.⁴ Rom. xiv. 17.

shall find it in the visible invisible Church of the Reformers; if we seek its deepest contrast, where is it likelier to be found than in the canonised offices of recrudescant Catholicism?

2. We come now to the more familiar and distinctively apostolic name for the Society of Christ, the Church. It occurs in the Acts and the Epistles, including the Apocalypse, exactly the same number of times as kingdom in the Gospels, 112; while kingdom appears in only 29 cases. Our first concern is with its meaning, which will also help us to see the reason of its later extensive use. In the LXX. *ἐκκλησία* had translated the Hebrew *Kahal*, the congregation or assembly of the people; in Greek it was the assembly of the enfranchised or qualified citizens met to transact the affairs of the city or state. Into the New Testament usage both Hebrew and Greek elements entered, but, owing to associations and experience, the Greek were much more potent than the Hebrew. It has a double application, a local or particular, and an illocal or universal, but in both cases the emphasis falls on the community—the people—the constituents, as it were, of the society, rather than the constituted agencies. The local use admits of the plural, but the illocal of the singular only; and in our interpretation of the term it will be easiest to proceed from the concrete and definite to the larger and more comprehensive sense.

i. The local *ἐκκλησίαι* were essentially societies of the enfranchised or saved. Paul addressed his Epistles, so far as they were not directly personal, to the collective body or Church, which is described, now as “all the beloved of God,” now as “those sanctified in Christ Jesus,” now as “saints,” and again, as “the faithful brethren.”¹ The ministers are only once specified,² and not as intermediaries or a necessity to the being of the Church. The very purpose of his great Epistles is to instruct or persuade free and autonomous societies. Each body is a unit, but its unity is not secured by any office; it is rather because it is a body that it has many members with varied ministries.³ The lists of these are significant; they represent preaching, teaching, and various beneficences, but nothing sacerdotal, no sanctity peculiar to the office. The argument in First Corinthians is specially striking. God has set in His Church apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts; but there is something more excellent than these, without which these are but vacant things—the love that never faileth. Each Church was a brotherhood, for all were sons of God,⁴ yet each was a legislative and judicial body. The judgment of a majority was efficient to punish,⁵ and “a spirit of meekness” was held necessary to true discipline.⁶ In an aggravated case Paul seeks to have his judgment executed, not independently of the Church, but through it.⁷ Commendatory

¹ Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 1; Ephes. i. 1; Col. i. 1.

² Phil. i. 1.

³ Rom. xii. 4-8; 1 Cor. xii. 12-28.

⁴ Gal. iii. 26-28.

⁵ 2 Cor. ii. 6.

⁶ Gal. vi. 1.

⁷ 1 Cor. v. 3-7.

epistles were given by the Church;¹ charities and gifts were its common act.² If the Church had a representative it was by election, *χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*.³ And in these respects the Church is in Acts as it is in the Pauline Epistles. The election of Matthias to the place of Judas was by the brethren.⁴ The seven deacons were chosen by the whole multitude.⁵ It was the Church in Jerusalem which sent forth Barnabas as far as Antioch.⁶ It was before the same Church collectively (*πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος*) that Barnabas and Paul declared what God had done through them, and it was "the Apostles and Elders, with the whole Church" (*σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*) which selected delegates to bear their message to Antioch.⁷ The Church was thus "the multitude of those who believed," or "all who believed," or "the multitude of disciples,"⁸ constituting its officers, not constituted by them. Power, authority was in the society, not in its ministers. And here we may understand one of the two cases where Jesus speaks of the Church.⁹ The address is to the disciples on offences between brethren. First, He says, the sufferer is to reprove the sinner alone; if the sinner will not listen, two witnesses are to be taken; if he still refuses to hear, the Church is to be told; if he refuse to hear the Church, he is to be treated as a "heathen man and a publican." Now, Church is here used in its strict local sense; it is a single society, and authority is said to reside in it, not in any office or officers. And it is of the Church in this sense that Christ uses the words: "Whatsoever things you shall bind on the earth will be bound in heaven; and whatsoever things you shall loose on the earth will be loosed in heaven." And it is to a similar body, the Church he had built on the foundation, "which is Jesus Christ," that Paul said, "Ye are God's temple," "the Spirit of God dwells in you."¹⁰ The most gracious sanctities, the severest authorities, the highest dignities belonged to the Church, not through any official priesthood—for there was none—but through the personal relation to Christ of the men who formed it, and His presence in their midst.

ii. The ideal of the local is realised in the illocal Church, and we must understand it before we can really measure the dream of the new-born faith with the proud creations of the historical religion. Within the New Testament thought is not stationary, and the great example of progressive enrichment is the idea of the Church. In the earlier Pauline Epistles the actual Christians fill the foreground; but the later may be said to live, and move, and have their being in the Church, ideal and illocal. The development begins with an individual Church, but ends with a universal; thought, conditioned by experience, starts with a unit, but works towards a unity. At first we have what

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 1. ² Phil. iv. 15-20; 2 Cor. viii. 1-8; ix. 1, 6-14. ³ 2 Cor. viii. 19.

⁴ Acts i. 15-26. ⁵ vi. 5. ⁶ xi. 22. ⁷ xv. 12, 22. ⁸ ii. 44; iv. 32; vi. 2; xix. 18.

⁹ Matt. xviii. 15-20.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. iii. 16.

may be termed a *mia-ecclesia*, but at last a *monê-ecclesia*, and these are at once sequents and opposites. The Church of Jerusalem is both one and the whole;¹ the Church of the Ephesian and Colossian Epistles is also one and the whole;² but the former is single and individual, while the latter is collective and universal. The one is a unit, which difference may break and dissolve; the other a unity, which variety will only help to realise. If the one had attempted to become the only Church, no Church universal would have been possible; it was through the manifold of experience that the higher unity was gained.

It is by Paul that the notion of the *monê*-, as distinguished from the *mia-Ecclesia* is expressed and explicated; it is doubtful if apart from him it have any representative in Apostolic literature.³ He appears as the very spirit of difference and independence, but he is the Apostle of comprehension and unity. While his controversy with the Judaic party is most intense, his relations to the Jewish Church are most brotherly. He recognises a distinction of Christians, both as regards race and place,⁴ but he recognises no distinction in brotherhood, and only the more serves where he is the less loved.⁵ In experience the *κοινωνία* was larger than the local *ἐκκλησίαι*, and harmonised their differences,⁶ but in thought the multitude were so combined as to constitute a richer whole. The point where we can best study the relation of the real and ideal, the local and illocal, in the notion of the Church, is where Paul first elaborates the image of the body of Christ.⁷ He had first used it of the local Church, as he had before used the images of the tilled field and the temple;⁸ the local was a microcosm, the image and mirror of the universal. The fellowship of the body of Christ suggested the figure of the Church as His body; union in the act of remembrance involved the unity of the united. The unity was, therefore, one of persons; what all received made all who received it one. But did this ideal agree with the reality? In the Corinthian Church there were manifold differences and even divisions; parties were formed, each with a name as a symbol.⁹ There had been grave sins, involving serious discipline;¹⁰ disorder had reigned in the assembly, even on the most solemn occasions;¹¹ violent strife had raged as to the *χαρίσματα*.¹² The real condition suggested the ideal, and he presented the one as a rebuke and warning to the other. He called upon this much divided society to conceive itself through its ideal. It was a unity, an organism, a body, the body of Christ.¹³ Its life was one, its parts were many, and the meanest part was as necessary as the noblest, and neither could dispense with

¹ Acts v. 11; viii. 1, 3. Cf. Gal. i. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 9.

² Eph. i. 22; iii. 10, 21; Col. i. 18, 24.

³ In Acts the only verse which has it is Pauline, xx. 28. Of course the idea may be found elsewhere, but not under the form of the Church.

⁴ 1 Thess. ii. 14; Gal. i. 22; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Rom. xvi. 4.

⁵ 1 Cor. x. 32; xvi. 1-4; 2 Cor. ix. 1 ff. ⁶ Gal. ii. 9. ⁷ 1 Cor. x. 17.

⁸ 1 Cor. iii. 9. ⁹ i. 12; iii. 4. ¹⁰ v. 1 ff. ¹¹ xi. 17 ff. ¹² xiv. 26. ¹³ xii. 12-xiii. 13.

the other; the dignity of the whole dignified the least noble part. The essential idea is that Christ is so in all, so needs all, so works through all that He is the life of the body, and the body the realisation of His life. Each is necessary to Him, but He to all. Then Paul looks at the question of difference through the action of God. He has set in the Church apostles, prophets, teachers, and bestowed on it certain *χαρίσματα*. He has created the differences, but why? With a view to the common good, to the creation of things more excellent than themselves—the love that never faileth, the spirit that induces men to live as if the God who is love were incarnate in the men. The next use of the figure is similar.¹ The many are one body in Christ and severally members one of another, and the difference of gifts is traced to God, each being given in order to the efficiency and unity of the whole. The significant things in both cases are these:—As regards offices the two lists are not identical. Apostles come first in the one list, but do not appear at all in the other; whence it follows that no fixed system of orders was necessary to the body or known to the Church. Further, no member or person appears as possessed of any sacerdotal office or function, either with respect to the body or its activities. Again, the discussion introduces passages that in the enthusiasm of humanity surpass all others in the Pauline writings. The Christ that inhabits the body is the Christ of the Beatitudes and the Beneficences of the Gospels. Sacramental grace is not here, nor the orders that are its channels, nor the organism which defines the sphere of “the covenanted mercies.” What we have here is the grace and truth which dwelt in Him become active and efficient in the men who at His call and through love to Him have gathered into Societies, that they may the better, as His incarnated and organised spirit, continue His work among men.

3. In the later Epistles this idea is expanded into a sublime universalism, which transcends time as much as space. The thought of the Apostle has risen above its old antitheses, and now contemplates all things through the ideal Christ. In Him, through Him, and for Him were all things created, in Him they are so constituted as to be an order, a system.² As He made, He redeems; His coming is no accident, or after-thought, but as He ever was with the Father, man has for the Father ever been in Him. It is through this new standpoint, and its vaster and more synthetic outlook that the notion of the mystical Church first emerges. It is conceived more as an ideal, yet without ceasing to be real, and is personified in an altogether new way. The Church, personal, yet universal, stands over against the personal yet universal Christ; He is the Husband, it is the wife, He is the Head, it is the body; He exercises authority, it lives in subjection and obedience; He loves the Church, gives Himself for it,

¹ Rom. xii. 4 ff.

² Col. i. 16-17.

sanctifies it, exalts it, makes it beautiful, holy, blameless.¹ These attributes, the affections exercised and received, the ideal identity and adequacy to each other of the personal Christ and the personalised Church,² are new, though it may be only in the sense of being more explicitly developed, elements in the Pauline theology. With the emergence of the new, certain old elements have either retreated into the background or been so qualified as to appear in changed proportions. Christ is not come as the second Adam or new Head of the race, but as the Husband and Head of the Church; He does not die for all, but gives Himself up for the Church, or becomes an offering and a sacrifice to God for us.³ Less emphasis falls on the mind and acts of man, more on the will and election of God; instead of the justification by faith and the reconciliation with God of the polemical Epistles, we have the creation of a justified and reconciled humanity, a happy, harmonious, and holy society made after the mind of God, constituted by Christ, filled, guided, united by His Spirit. Unless these new elements and points of view be borne in mind, the Church of the later Epistles cannot be construed. It stands as the symbol of the completed work of Christ, of all that God through it had meant to accomplish; by it was unfolded the mystery of His will; in it was manifested, not simply to earth, but to "principalities and powers in heavenly places," His "manifold wisdom." The attributes and achievements of this Church, then, are so vast that no single institution, or any number of institutions, or even the whole field of human history can exhaust its contents, or be the arena of its full unfolding. It represents the summing up, or bringing to a unity in Christ all things in heaven and upon earth; and is presented under a series of images that strive, as it were, to break the bonds of place and sense and reach immensity. But this "*Gloriosissima Civitas Dei*" struggles towards eternity through time; the men addressed are members of it; yet, as if to show how the Apostle was possessed with the universalism and the idealisms of the Church, he never once in Ephesians uses the term in its local or realistic sense. Its members are "the called," *i.e.*, they are conceived, not in their temporal, but in their eternal relations; and the notes that ought to distinguish them are "lowliness," "meekness," "forbearance," "long suffering," "love," "unity," "peace,"⁴ social virtues all, not sacerdotal or ecclesiastical. In their collective being they ought to be an ideal society, for they are "one body and one spirit," have one hope, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all, and in all." The unities are all, as it were, universals, as broad as the sovereignty of God, as penetrative as His ubiquity, as all distributed as His immanence. And in this society every member owes his place and his grace to the gift of Christ, who filleth all in all.

¹ Eph. v. 28-27.² Eph. v. 28-33.³ Eph. v. 2, 25.⁴ Eph. iv. 1 ff.

And, with reference to the perfecting of His saints, in order to the edifying of His body, He has created agencies—apostles, prophets, pastors, and teachers; but these are persons, not offices; men created of God, not orders instituted of men. And the edification of the body is a growth in love, so towards Christ that the nearer it comes to Him the more He possesses it. Within this Epistle, then, the Church is so conceived that the notes of what is called Catholicism are all absent; the Church, in the degree that it is mystical, knows no special polity, consents to no institutional forms, is distinguished by no offices, and has no single note that can with any veracity of speech be termed sacerdotal. The Church is constituted by God in Christ, and is composed of “the called,” “the saints,” the men of love and peace. To it no priest is necessary, or his “instruments of grace”; grace is the direct gift of Christ, what fills the body is His Spirit, what moves, unites, and enlarges it is His love.

If we have rightly construed the Church in its later Pauline or mystical sense, we ought to be able to understand its relation to the kingdom. The kingdom is the Church viewed from above; the Church is the kingdom seen from below. In the kingdom the society is conceived through its creative and informing will; in the Church the will is conceived through the created and informed society. In the kingdom the king is emphasised; in the Church the citizens; in the one case we see man as he ought to be before God—poor in spirit, seeking His righteousness, doing His will, humble, teachable, without conventional goodness, good only in spirit and in truth; in the other case we see man as he ought to be for God in society—possessed of social virtues, exercising all the beneficences and charities that redeem and adorn life as man lives it with man. Hence, Jesus preaches the kingdom, *i.e.*, as King declares Himself, proclaims the kingdom constituted by the presence of the King; but the Apostles, by founding Churches edify the Church, call men to become saints, and to enter into the society of the saved. Hence, too, come the very different images under which the two are presented; the kingdom of heaven is as a sower who goeth forth to sow, or like treasure hid in a field, or like a merchantman seeking goodly pearls, or like a net cast into the sea, or like a seed, or like leaven; but the Church is a house, or a temple, or a body, *i.e.*, the kingdom represents the idea of a creative will, and man's relation to it as one of search, or its action in man as one of growth; but the Church represents a structure, the association of once unrelated parts, the organisation or combination of once dead atoms into a living whole. The coincidence of the two ideas is seen here: the plan after which the Church is built is the will of God, or the ideal of the kingdom, while the means by which the kingdom is realised is the Church and the Churches. But this involves the correlation of the two ideas: the kingdom is the immanent Church, and the Church

is the explicated kingdom, and nothing alien to either can be in the other. The kingdom is the Church expressed in the terms and mind and person of its Founder; the Church is the kingdom done into living souls and the society they constitute.

This idea of the Church, as essentially the new humanity, created and penetrated by Christ, as little dependent for its being on specific forms of polity as was the old humanity, might be proved and illustrated from many sides. For example, this idea of the ideal universal Church is exclusively Pauline. In Hebrews, *ἐκκλησία* is used only as in the LXX.;¹ in Peter not at all; in James and John and the Apocalypse only in its local sense. But in its place Hebrews, Peter, and the Apocalypse have the idea of the people; they conceive the new through the old society; the new is a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's people with His law written in their hearts, and all the fleshly sacrifices, official priesthoods, and outer ceremonies of the old abolished by being translated into the spiritual realities they typified. The emphasis, again, falls upon the people; they are a whole before God, needing no officials to constitute their unity, or communicate grace by special instruments of the ancient kind. These writers know nothing of the notion that the Church depends for its being on a special polity; to them such a notion would have seemed like an attempt to change the new law into the old. They would have found all the elements essential to it, all the ideas that most distinguish it—its orders, its authorised channels, its covenanted and uncovenanted mercies, its priestly claims, and its ceremonial sanctities—in the law they had escaped from, whose burdens they and their fathers had been unable to bear. And they would have added, the Church is the people of God; wherever they are He is, and the Church through Him in them; and as God's are a free people, He allows them to organise their own polities, the best polities always being those most deeply rooted in love, and so most creative of the spiritual and redeeming graces.

V.

So much has been said as to the New Testament idea of the Church that we can give but little space to the questions, quite distinct yet related, connected with the organisation and administration of the Churches. Only two points of essential importance to the Anglican theory need be noted—the one concerns the Apostles and the Apostolic Succession, the other the character and function of the Ministry as such. The question connected with the first is this: Did the Apostles constitute and consecrate successors with a view to the transmission of Apostolic authority or powers along given lines to given orders, and to these only? The question connected with the second point is this:

¹ Heb. ii. 12; xii. 23. In the latter case the use is figurative but clearly based on O.T.

Is the New Testament Ministry a priesthood? As to these we cannot so much attempt a discussion as simply state conclusions.

1. There is no doubt that Christ appointed twelve Apostles, that the number twelve bore an ideal significance, and that they had certain specific and defined functions. But that they were to create or did create a special order of successors; that they were empowered to transmit, or did as a matter of fact either profess or endeavour to transmit apostolical authority—are positions, to say the least, quite incapable of historical proof, and to be not proven is, in claims of this sort, to be found not true. The Apostles were preachers of the Kingdom of Heaven, messengers of Christ, witnesses of His resurrection, but ordination is never described either as their special function, or as their peculiar and exclusive practice. The hands laid on Paul were not those of Apostles, but first those of Ananias,¹ a man otherwise absolutely unknown, then those of the prophets and teachers at Antioch,² and he throughout strenuously maintained that he was made an Apostle neither from men nor through man.³ Barnabas was sent forth, not by the Apostles, but by the Church.⁴ But, indeed, what does the term "Apostles" mean? No corporate body, no college of ordaining officers, no exclusive Order, but simply certain persons whose special function was the Ministry of the Word.⁵ Of the men Jesus appointed, James, Peter, and John are the only three ever named outside the Gospels,⁶ and for the history of the Church and its organisation, only the two latter are of real significance, and even their significance is personal rather than official. James, the Brother of the Lord, appears as an Apostle, though he was not one of the twelve. Paul seems to associate with himself in the Apostleship, Apollos,⁷ Timothy, and Silvanus,⁸ and to apply the name to Andronicus and Junia.⁹ The Apostles were therefore no fixed Order, and had no special governmental functions, others laid on hands as well as they; they were simply messengers and representatives of Christ. He preached, so did they; by preaching He established His kingdom, and they planted Churches; by the Word they worked their wonders and did their work. But as to transmission of authority there is no word and no evidence of the existence of any body either authorised or able to do it.

2. But the other point is more fundamental. The New Testament ministry is not a priesthood; in no single feature, aspect, or office has it a sacerdotal character. It is a small question what apostle, prophet, teacher, bishop, pastor, presbyter, deacon mean, or how some perished and others survived, and how in the process of survival they were changed; but it is a profounder question, full of vaster issues,

¹ Acts ix. 10, 17. ² Acts xiii. 1-3. ³ Gal. i. 1. ⁴ Acts xi. 22. ⁵ Acts vi. 2, 4.

⁶ Of course, Acts i. 1-14 is here regarded as a piece of the Gospel History; it is simply the introduction to the Acts of the Apostles, which really begins with the 15th verse. But cf. vi. 2.

⁷ 1 Cor. iv. 6, 9.

⁸ 1 Thess. ii. 6, 9.

⁹ Rom. xvi. 7.

how into those that survived the sacerdotal idea penetrated, and by changing them changed the character of the religion through and through. What we have to see is the exact correspondence between the ministerial office and the nature of the religion, or the offices of the Church, and its essential character. Sacerdotalism means that an office is conceived to be so sacrosanct, and so necessary to man's worship of God, and God's access to man, that without it there can be no perfect worship on the one side, and no adequate or regular communication of life on the other. It means that the priest, as a priest, and not as a person, and his instruments as his, or as used by him, are the only authorised and divinely constituted media through which God reaches man and man God, or through which the recognised and approved intercourse of the creature with the Creator can proceed. Now, in the New Testament no such ideas are associated with the ministry, or with any person appointed to it. No man bears the priest's name, or professes his functions; the studious avoidance of the name by men who were steeped in the associations of sacerdotal worship, is most significant; and so is the care with which they translate sacerdotal customs and ideas into their spiritual antitypes. The priesthood ceases to be official by being made universal. The Christian society is a priesthood,¹ and the sacrifices it offers are spiritual,² the living man,³ the gifts and beneficences which are acceptable to God,⁴ and the praise which He loves.⁵ The temple is no longer the building where the priest officiates, conducts his processions, and indulges in his ceremonial, but it is the 'Man' and the Society.⁷ The virtues enjoined are not of the old sacerdotal sort, but ethical, inner, human—faith, hope, love, the obedience that is so pleasing to God because so helpful to man. The life of the communities is not bound by any priestly rules or observances,⁸ but by the new laws of love. The Church and its ministry, therefore, correspond throughout; the ministry is one of persuasion, that seeks to move the will through the conscience, and both through the reason and heart; that cares in the new and gracious way of brotherhood for the poor, the sick, the ignorant, the suffering, the sinful, and attempts to help, to love, to win by sweet reasonableness; while the Church is a society which seeks to realise the beautiful ideal of a family of God, or a household of faith, or a brotherhood of man. There is no place for the priest or his office; his sensuous sanctities are unknown, and, instead, there is the kingdom of God, and the endeavour to do His will. The rise of the sacerdotal Orders is a question for later history; it marks a long descent from the Apostolic age, but is certainly no thing of Apostolic descent.

¹ Apoc. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6. ² 1 Peter ii. 5. ³ Rom. xii. 1; Phil. ii. 17.

⁴ Phil. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 16. ⁵ Heb. xiii. 15. ⁶ 1 Cor. vi. 19. ⁷ 1 Cor. iii. 16-17.

⁸ Gal. iv. 9-10; Col. ii. 16-23.

Many questions remain which we dare not here and now attempt to touch. The Church lives, and moves, and has its being in Christ; but the Churches have as conditions of their being what used to be called the pure word of God and the Sacraments. The sentence, "it is impossible to believe in the Bible without believing in the Church," cannot be explicated without becoming either insignificant, irrelevant, or false. But we are strictly within the lines of historical truth when we say that without the Word no Church can come into being, and without it none can continue. Every Apostolic Church was created by the preaching of the word, and lived only as the creative became the preservative agency. As to the Sacraments, we shall only say, once they became the acts and instruments of a priest they lost their original sense, and were changed from the possessions and seals and symbols of the community into the appendices and articles of an office. Enough has been said to indicate how little the Anglo-Catholic polity represents the New Testament Church. Of that Church it is, according to its own claims, either the direct and legitimate descendant, or it is nothing. Compared with its putative source, the contrasts and even contradictions are much more striking than the resemblances, and in the respects and degree in which it differs it does equal injustice to the Christianity of Christ and of His people. The most inveterate schismatic is the person or the party that draws round himself or itself a circle, and says, "within this is the sphere of God's 'covenanted mercies'; all without is the region of the uncovenanted. We are the Catholic Church; all beyond is the province of the Sectaries and the Sects." There is nothing in all history so intensely schismatic as this pseudo-Catholicism; it is the vanity of the Sectary in its worst possible form. And those who believe that the Church of God is as broad and as free as the Mercy of God may well be forgiven if they speak plainly and frankly about any and every attempt to bind it to a provincial polity, and make it seem less large and less gracious than the action of God in history has proved it to be.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

PERSIAN CIVILISATION.*

THE first question that strikes us in Asia is this, when we compare Asiatics and Europeans, Why is it that European people have made such wonderful progress, while the Asiatic races, who were the first promoters of civilisation, have lagged so far behind? I have asked learned people this question here and abroad, but I have never yet received a satisfactory answer.

It has been sometimes said that it is due to inferiority of race. I have had in my life many opportunities of studying that question, and I have arrived at the conclusion that, though there are great differences between different races, yet comparing the Persians (Aryans) with Europeans, I cannot discover any sign of mental inferiority. I have watched our pupils in European schools, and I have had many opportunities of examining them at Constantinople and elsewhere, where they mix with European boys; and I have found no reason for believing that our race is inferior to others. It is true that in civilisation Asia can at present bear no comparison with Europe; but individually our people are as highly gifted as Europeans. They study more easily, and, if there were any difference, it would perhaps be in their favour. Why then, during so many centuries, have we not been able to approach your civilisation?

Some tell us that the obstacle comes from the Mahomedan religion. That also is a question I have studied. Well, the Mahomedan religion is not opposed to civilisation. I do not find such a difference in the principles of morality, or even in social and political organisation, professed in common by Christians and Mahomedans, as will explain why we are so much behind you.

* An Address by Prince Malcom Khan, late Persian Minister at the Court of St. James's, delivered in English at Queen's House, Chelsea (the residence of the Rev. H. R. Haweis).

Islamism is not known in Europe. You read the Khoran, and you think you know Islamism. That is a great mistake. The Khoran is, as you know, a sort of revised Bible, and there is nothing in it which is directly opposed to Christian principles; but it is not the whole of Islamism. Islam is not a religion; it is a vast system which embraces the whole of society—the man from his birth to his death. There is nothing that is beyond its scope. Besides the Khoran, there are traditions which are as powerful and even more respected than the Khoran itself. It is difficult for a European to know these traditions. The whole science of Asia, everything which is good or useful, has been attributed to Islam. Islam is the accumulated wisdom of the East. It is an ocean where you can find everything which is good to be known, and it offers all kinds of facilities, not in the Khoran alone, but in the traditions, for the progress of the people. If now the religion of the people is not opposed to progress, and if our race is not inferior to yours, how shall we explain the actual inferiority of Persian to European civilisation? Where is the obstacle to our progress? This is the most important question for us Asiatics; and if your learned Europeans would devote their time and their special study to at least discussing it, they might perhaps arrive at some satisfactory solution which might lead to the remedy. But until then I do not see any possibility of our progressing in the same proportion as you have done; but we must both face certain facts. For centuries we have been in contact with Europe, still we do not see the possibility of approaching Europe in regard to civilisation. For centuries Europe has been making overtures to us, but she has made no headway.

Now for many reasons I prefer to ask of Europe the reason of her failure than to fully expose my own ideas upon this subject. But certain facts are self-evident. Without security of life and property, no progress—without justice, no freedom—without freedom, no national prosperity, no individual contentment and peace. Europeans have somehow fought for and won in varying degrees justice, freedom, and representative government. I know your politicians and easy-going men of the world are in the habit of saying that we Easterns are well content with our government, our despotism, our oppression, our corruption; well, it is not so—increasingly it is not so; but the masses are resigned to darkest Persia because they do not see any way out of it. Every now and then there is a blind movement in the crowd and a sort of Mahdi will arise—deliverance is spoken of, but it never comes to reform; we do not combine or organise our aspirations, or range them under any sort of constitutional banner; each reform movement ends in revolution, each revolution ends in blood; and after the storm the waters subside into the same sluggish calm, and there is just as little security of life and property, as little justice and

freedom as before. It is to the honour of the present Shah that he has felt and recognised the situation. He has done what he could to guarantee security of life and property to his subjects, by inviting the signature of all the great Powers to a liberal proclamation to that effect. Henceforth, although it may not be over-rigidly carried out throughout Persia, it is known that this liberal proclamation is more than a windy, wordy document, such as the father of his people from time immemorial has been in the habit of issuing from time to time—that it is a serious attempt to improve the condition of the crushed and oppressed masses—to stop the peculation and robbery by officials, and even to curtail his Majesty's own imperial powers. The following anecdote illustrates what I mean. The Shah had been listening to an old courtier, who was assuring him that his gracious promise needed no guarantees, and that his was the best of all governments; when the Shah stepped up to him and plucked him by the shawl: “You have a handsome scarf; I want that scarf, I can take it—can you show me any law or guarantee which makes it *impossible* for me to take it? Very well, now you understand what I want for my people.”

The recent communication of the Shah's edict to all the Powers is accepted throughout Persia as the guarantee of the Shah's promise—it will have the force of law. Practically, we know very well that you cannot change the corruptions of ages by an edict, nor cause a whole nation to pass from slavery to freedom in a moment. In spite of your Sir Drummond Wolff and the edict and the Shah's goodwill and the approval of the Powers, corruption and injustice will continue—that we know; but we also know that such an edict could never have been forthcoming *under the guarantee of the Powers* had we been *satisfied* with things as they were. It is a sign of the times—there is a movement throughout Persia. The people know what they want—they don't know how to get it; and that brings me to my second inquiry. It is this: Why have Mahomedan people not been able at least to *copy* Europe—if they really want what Europe has got? If they have not been able to progress by themselves and to improve their own civilisation, there must, no doubt, be some reason for it—connected, probably, with their inability to combine, tyranny and absence of justice and freedom; but there is the other question also: Why have they not been able to imitate your civilisation, to like it, to approach it? For centuries Europeans have had relations with Turkey, with Mahomedan people, and I can assure them that the hostility, the opposition, is almost as strong as ever. How can that be explained? Why do not our people covet the marvels which they come over here to see? I think I can answer this question.

The Mahomedan people have but one single principle—that is, their Religion. Islamism is not a religion like Christianity, which divides

the temporal society and the spiritual, the civil life and the religious. In Islam, there is but one single principle—Religion. All society is conducted by that one idea of Religion; and that Religion has one dogma which Europe, so it appears to us, has not been able to seize as firmly as it has been held by Mahomedans. The one Mahomedan dogma is the UNITY OF GOD. For the Musselman there is nothing but GOD. The whole creation is governed by GOD. The Musselman is born with a mission to worship GOD, and to do nothing but what is ordered by GOD. What is the object of creation by GOD? Only to be worshipped by the faithful believer. And what is the mission of the believer? To fight those who seem to him to have abandoned the worship of the one GOD. Such are the only ambitions of a Musselman, to worship GOD and to offer relentless opposition to those who have associated GOD, or seem to them to have associated Him, with some other object of worship. The ambition and the aspiration of the Musselman people are not to have railways and telegraphs, or great empires, although not averse to these things in themselves; their chief object is only to serve GOD, to worship GOD, and to fight against those who do not worship Him exclusively, and to die and go to Paradise. That is the only principle that governs all Mahomedan people.

Now, this great dogma of the unity and simplicity of God seems to them almost in direct contradiction with your dogma of the Trinity and with your dogma of the Divinity of Jesus; and for that reason Mahomedans have a great repugnance to anything which comes from Europe. When your civilisation presents itself to the Mahomedan people, it presents itself under the protection of Christianity; but to a Mahomedan people nothing is worth having when it emanates from a hostile religion. You go to Afghanistan, or to Persia, or Africa, and you say, "We come to teach you how to make railways, how to spread your trade, how to bring prosperity to your country;" but those people know that you come as *Christians*, and they believe that your object is simply to spread your religion, and not merely your civilisation. How should they think otherwise? Their own highest idea is to spread their faith, and they believe, wrongly perhaps, that the Christians have the same object, and that their desire in anything they do is really to fight Islam in order to propagate Christianity. They are convinced of that, and unfortunately your policy and your whole history give some colour to that belief. They know that your Sovereign is the Defender of the Faith, and that the Emperor of Russia is the head of the Church. And, besides that, the whole history of Asia Minor has been one long fight with Christianity. They know well the history of the Crusades, and they think that your present policy still is a crusade, but only in a more civilised form—a crusade of science. It is still the Christian religion which attacks Islamism, but instead of attacking it as in past times by arms, it attacks it by

science, by policy, by trade, and by financial power. But the situation is just the same. Under these circumstances anything coming from Europe is opposed, and must be opposed.

Your ambassador, Sir Drummond Wolff, or anybody else, goes to see our Minister or Sovereign, and what does he advise? Make railways, establish new treaties, have more trade; enter into new relations with Europe, new bonds, make telegraphs, send your children to our country. Your ambassador or your politician is quite sincere in what he says; but our people are not convinced of his sincerity. They say, "No, you are a Christian, and you come to destroy our religion; you are an enemy. What is the use of railways or of financial power? Our mission in this world is to worship God, and to fight you." Your ambassadors, your politicians, and your writers have lost so much time, and written so many despatches, always saying to these people, "Why do you not call the capitalists of Europe to develop the resources of your country? Why do you not send your children to our schools?" Well, they laugh at all these proposals, because they are always convinced that it is a hostile religion which comes to destroy them under cover of civilisation. *Vous voulez nous manger!*

Then what is to be done in this difficulty? We cannot make progress for ourselves, for reasons that I have hinted at, and that I do not care to speak further of now. On the other hand, we do not want to *imitate you*; we do not care to approach you; we will not accept you. It is true that the Japanese have copied Europe. There is no such obstacle there as in our case, for their religion is not so strong. But we are prevented from following their example. For two hundred years you have spent your powers and your means, you have helped our people, and given them the best advice; but very little has been done, and the whole Mahomedan people are against you. Then how would you benefit this people, and bring them to adopt the benefits of modern civilisation, which they really want as much as you do?

That question has been studied by some of our people who have been educated in Europe, and we have arrived at this conclusion. I will venture to explain it here. In the Khoran there is no obstacle, there is nothing in contradiction to your Christian principles, except, perhaps, one thing—polygamy, which is the greatest misfortune of the East. But even that does not belong to essential Islam; pure Islam is against polygamy. Westerns do not understand the attitude of the Prophet and his most enlightened followers to polygamy. You must remember that polygamy is one of the most ancient and *constant* laws of Asia. Islamism has *restrained* the practice as much as was possible, and even has tried to render it *theoretically* impossible by the restrictive conditions attached to it. Most of our superior classes and men of elevated minds attack the practice openly as one which disorganises the family, and no doubt

in time, perhaps even before very long, polygamy will be abandoned by Musselmans, as it has been by the European Israelites; but—there is the point—if you said to a Musselman, “Renounce polygamy—imitate the Christians,” the mere mention of Christian example would retard the progress of this salutary social reform. No; if you wish to abolish polygamy, you must do it on the ground that it is repugnant to the spirit of Islamism, and that would be very easy to show. May I, without offence, say that whilst intelligent Asiatics do deplore polygamy, it is difficult for them to understand why this legalised system of restricted intercourse between the sexes is so abhorrent in the eyes of Christian people who openly tolerate the absolutely unrestricted, though frequently protected, system of promiscuous intercourse now current in every civilised capital of Europe.

Well, except that one thing of polygamy, there is not a single point in which Islam is really in contradiction with your civilising principles. As then Islam, as I have said, is an ocean in which are accumulated all the sciences of the past times of Asia—(there is a wonderfully helpful though negative peculiarity in Islam, there being no established church, especially in Persia, every learned doctor having the power to examine for himself, as the traditions are an ocean)—then for any new law or new principle you wish to promulgate, you can find in that ocean many precepts and maxims which support and confirm what you want to introduce. As to the principles which are found in Europe, which constitute the root of your civilisation, we must get hold of them somehow, no doubt; but instead of taking them from London or Paris, instead of saying this comes from such an ambassador, or that it is advised by such a Government (which will never be accepted), it would be very easy to take the same principle, and to say that it comes from *Islam*, and that this can be soon proved. We have had some experience in this direction. We found that ideas which were by no means accepted when coming from your agents in Europe, were accepted at once with the greatest delight when it was proved that they were latent in Islam. I can assure you that the little progress which we see in Persia and Turkey, especially in Persia, is due to this fact, that some people have taken your European principles, and instead of saying that they came from Europe, from England, France or Germany, have said: “We have nothing to do with Europeans; these are the true principles of our own religion (and, indeed, that is quite true) which have been *taken by Europeans!*” That has had a marvellous effect at once. And having had some such experience, I think, for the benefit of these millions of people, the right way for your politicians, who have spent so much time and resources and money and talent without any effect, would be, if possible, to change their method, and, in bringing their foreign principles, to try and convince these people that they are their

own principles. In that way, I think, an ambassador would do more to enlighten the country and bring in civilisation in one year than has been done by all the efforts of the last century. Take, for instance, Afghanistan (I do not speak of Turkey): notwithstanding all the sacrifices you have made, all the money you have spent, all the lives that have been lost there, the hostility is still as great as ever. Of course, there is better intercourse materially, and there is more trade; but the popular mind is still in the same state of hostility, because when an Afghan sees an English ambassador, or an English priest, or an English officer, he regards him at once as a destroyer of his religion, and, unfortunately, you have done little to convince him to the contrary.

It would be a great piece of good fortune for us if some of your learned people who are interested in our Eastern questions and our Eastern progress would change their old system, and present European civilisation independent of Christian dogma. I do not speak only of your missionaries, but also of your politicians. Any ambassador who can convince our countrymen or our Government that he comes quite independently of religious interests, and that he has nothing to say against our established religion, will do more good even for your politics and your interests than all your armies and navies and railways and banks have hitherto accomplished.

MALCOM.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

THE life of Lord John Russell illustrates in a peculiar degree the difficulties inherent in writing biography as distinguished from history. The historian aims at such proportion and distribution among the persons and events depicted in his pages as shall award to each his due prominence in a general survey of the whole: the biographer, on the other hand, must endeavour to bring out some one figure in strong relief against the crowd, and this without artificially dwarfing the surroundings, or materially offending a just sense of unity in the spectator. The former may be fitly compared with the painter of events and throngs; the latter concentrates his efforts upon an individual and an attitude. History is but the biography of the social aggregate; in biography we trace the functions of the individual in history. In a political biography, such as that recently published by Mr. Walpole, this is eminently the case, and the utmost delicacy of judgment is called into play in tracing the course of the single thread through the chequered texture of events to which it imparts brilliancy or gloom. Occasionally, indeed, the figure of a great man entirely dominates a period and apparently merges the history of his country in that of his own personality. The political history of England from 1756 to 1762 is practically the life of the elder Pitt. At the commencement of the nineteenth century the history of France seems absorbed in that of Napoleon. But these are rare and splendid instances of the effect of exceptional genius—doubly exceptional in countries regulated by the limited powers of a Constitutional Ministry. To this class of men Lord John Russell, though he more than once occupied the highest position under the Crown, did not belong. Of all the events of the first half of the century he might have said *Quorum pars magna fui*, but he never dominated

them as the elder or the younger Pitt dominated those of the preceding period.

Throughout the whole of his long career he is seen under the adverse spell of a physical constitution, tough but not strong, which constantly recalls the favourite speculation of Macaulay as to what the career of William III. might not have been if he had had accorded to him a degree of physical vigour corresponding to his other splendid gifts. He was educated at a bad private school at Sunbury, and afterwards at Westminster. English school life, especially considering what English school life then was, could have had but few attractions for a nature like his. One anecdote illustrating the sort of discipline which reigned in the former institution he would recount with delight, in after years, to any youngster of a later generation who in his presence might chance to complain of hard fare and the other misfortunes of school life. An enlightened law ordained that, whatever food might be placed upon any scholar's plate at dinner, that food should in the course of the meal be entirely consumed by the said scholar, including all fat. Now, the particular boy in question had a strong, and not singular, repugnance to mutton fat, and with an ingenuity, stimulated, no doubt, by the dictates of a delicate constitution, he succeeded for some time in evading the vigilance of his masters by dropping his portion of the obnoxious viand on the brick floor under the table. All went well, till one unlucky day when he was caught in the act by his tyrant, who actually compelled him to sweep up the cold fat from the floor and eat it, mingled with brick-dust and dirt, in the presence of the assembled school. "Now, you young people," Lord John was wont to conclude, "never at least had to do *that*!"*

Westminster at that time, and, indeed, long after, down to the days of the Public School Commission, bore an unenviable reputation in regard to such matters as fagging and bullying; so that while an improvement, no doubt, on Sunbury, it could yet hardly appear a terrestrial Paradise to small boys of a delicate constitution. Nor was the teaching of such a character as to compensate by superior intellectual advantages for the material discomforts of the *régime*. At that period, in English public schools everything was sacrificed to the attempt at combining the art of Latin verse with a smattering of Greek Testament, the result being that, with few exceptions, the scholars, while acquiring neither proficiency in classical versification nor real knowledge of Testament Greek, were yet effectually prevented from learning anything else, so that even boys with strong literary instincts, like Lord John Russell, preferred to take refuge in the enjoyment afforded by such spectacles as a prize fight, finding more profit therein than in the regular school curriculum. Lord John in a memorandum dictated no less than thirty years later to Lady Russell, put it on record how "the

* This anecdote was related to me by Lord John Russell.

hard life of a fag—for in those days it was a hard life—and the unwholesome food disagreed with me so much that (in the summer of 1804) my stepmother, the Duchess of Bedford, insisted with my father that I should be taken away and sent to a private tutor.* Ill-treatment tends to produce in a boy one of two very distinct results, determined in great part by physical causes. With those of a robust type it not unfrequently turns the victim of to-day into the tyrant of to-morrow. But in a weakly frame it generally sows the seed of a hatred of oppression which lasts through life, and it may be counted fortunate if it does not, as with Shelley, utterly jaundice the mind and distort the imagination. From any such dangers Lord John Russell was preserved by a sensible and healthy home life, and by the strong mind contained in his puny frame; but there was certainly not the slightest danger of his losing, either at Sunbury or at Westminster, that love of personal liberty which befitted one brought up in the traditions of Woburn, and in the shadow of the great figures of the Russell family.

In a letter to his father from Spain, written in 1809, Lord John expressed a strong dislike to the idea of "an endeavour to acquire Scotch knowledge in a Scotch town!"† Yet to a mind so constituted, the training he received from 1809 to 1812, at Edinburgh, was more beneficial than a sojourn at either of the English Universities, where the atmosphere was at that time heavy with idleness and sycophancy. To Edinburgh he was sent, following the example of Palmerston, Henry Petty, Francis Horner, and others of that generation of Whigs. He was received into the house of Professor Playfair, who, without personally taking part in his instruction, directed and superintended the course of his education at the university. Lord Tavistock had been sent to Cambridge, and it is interesting to compare the results of the respective educations of the two brothers. While Lord Tavistock—we are told on his father's authority—received a "pretended education" only, Lord John, in the evening of life, declared that "he had his studies directed and his character developed by one of the best and the noblest, the most upright, the most benevolent, and the most liberal of all philosophers."‡

In the "Speculative Society," an association founded originally in 1864 by six young members of the university, for the purposes of debate and discussion, he found an opportunity to anticipate the Parliamentary successes of his after years, and his maiden essay, mysteriously headed "Whig Register No. 3," and marked by his own hand as probably written in 1810, deals at some length with the very subject with which his name was soon to become indissolubly connected—Parliamentary Reform.

* Walpole, "Life of Lord John Russell," vol. i. p. 18.

† *Ibid.* p. 43.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 44.

The last of three Spanish journeys was to have been followed by a more extended tour, comprising Sicily, Greece, Egypt, and Syria. But, in the spring of 1813, an event occurred which made his presence necessary in England. The death of General Fitzpatrick, the friend of Fox, one of the last of the old band of Whig statesmen whose names are familiar to students of the great Parliamentary struggle of 1782-3, the author of many brilliant squibs and *vers-de-société*, which, with the events and the ladies they celebrated, have faded into the dim and distant past, left vacant the Parliamentary seat for the borough of Tavistock, and Lord John Russell, although not yet of age, was returned by the good-natured electors, ever ready to oblige their friend and patron, the Duke of Bedford. This early entry into Parliament did not, however, interrupt his love of study, which, from an early age, had been specially devoted to the history of constitutional liberty in England, and of the many movements, social and religious, which at various times affected it. These studies, which he continued throughout his long career, soon tempted him into frequent authorship. But with the single exception of the concluding chapter in his now forgotten work on "The European Politics of the Eighteenth Century," his writings lacked (in all probability owing to want of sufficient leisure) that *limæ labor* which is essential to true literary success. They contain, however, much valuable information for the historian, and many striking passages dictated by the author's long experience of affairs. The chapter just mentioned deals with the history of religious movements under the two first Georges. Lord Russell's own views, like those of so many of the Whig statesmen of the last century, leant in the direction of Unitarianism; and for such a mind the teachings of the Broad Church divines of the Georgian period had a natural attraction. His opinions might, perhaps, have been aptly expressed in the words of the apothegm which Landor places in the mouth of Sir Samuel Romilly, "Christianity lies not in belief, but in action." Yet he also fully realised, as will appear on reference to the passage just cited, that the cold theology of Broad Church divines, or even of the Unitarian Nonconformists of the eighteenth century, however suited to educated minds, failed—as they ever must fail—to win popular affection; and that the Wesleyan movement, in all its complicated developments, amongst a people still seeking vainly in the Establishment for something to supply the place of the spiritual discipline and thrilling ceremonial of the Roman Church, was as natural a reaction against the frigid observance and scholarly doctrine of the day, as the movement of St. Francis against the crabbed theology and worldly apathy of mediæval Italy. That his intimate knowledge of the inner life of religious England was a great source of strength to him as a politician, there can be no doubt.

Apart from the social activity of the great religious denominations, and beyond the limits of the political struggles raging round the rival claims of Church and sect, which filled a great part of the period between 1832 and 1866, the current of religious thought has always run strong and deep in England, and has largely determined the course adopted by the masses of the people on the questions of the day, especially when moral issues are, or seem to be, at stake. Lord John Russell understood this better than most of his contemporaries. He was a consistent advocate of the perfect civil and political equality of the Roman Catholics with their Protestant fellow countrymen; yet in denouncing him as the most dangerous enemy of his Church, in educational and kindred questions, O'Connell was not far wrong. Nor was it otherwise than natural that the zealots of a paler ritualism within the precincts of the Anglican Church should have adopted a similar attitude to that of the great Irish Catholic orator. Since the Revolution of 1688 Liberalism in politics has, for the most part, been associated with breadth in religion. This was eminently the case with Lord John Russell. He knew that, by its very constitution and discipline, the Roman Church is essentially hostile to freedom. Were it otherwise, it would, by the very fact, be untrue to itself. That able and downright expositor of Roman Catholic claims, M. Louis Veuillot, once said: "When there is a Protestant majority we claim religious liberty, because such is their principle; when we are in a majority we refuse it, because such is ours." In the writer of these words Lord John Russell would have recognised his natural enemy. But such outspoken antagonists as M. Veuillot and his school he would most undoubtedly have preferred to the insinuating advocates of that very *Fata Morgana* of doctrines, the marriage of Liberty with the Vatican.

Lord John Russell, as we have seen, made his entrance into public life in the year 1813. The moment might have seemed singularly unpropitious to a professor of Whig principles; and if the chance of gaining office and power were to be the measure of success, the outlook was disheartening enough. But standing on the very threshold of a widening sphere of activity, and combining a rare degree of native enthusiasm with early training in Liberal principles, he saw circumstances enough to relieve the superficial gloom of the political prospect. The period immediately following the Battle of Waterloo was one clearly calling for a reassertion of the views of the Whig party. The very core of their strength consisted in the belief in what has been called "the cause of civil and religious liberty." By this may be understood the belief that, generally speaking, the people will be better able by themselves to manage their own affairs than by any form of outside interference. This, like every other political doctrine, is subject to limitations, determined by the circumstances of time and place. Any

person will probably be a more or less zealous Whig, according as his opinions tend to widen or restrict the field of these limitations. But in the first years of Lord John Russell's Parliamentary life, there was evident danger of their so far encroaching upon the principle as to threaten to swallow it up altogether.

It was accordingly to the assertion of the doctrines of civil and religious liberty that the life of Lord John was devoted; and the extent of his contribution may be realised by the simple enumeration of the Parliamentary measures of which, during his long career, he was the direct and responsible sponsor; as well as of those which he initiated, although, in several cases, it fell to the lot of others to pass them into law. Parliamentary Reform—scarcely in the future to be mentioned without a thought of his name—the Removal of Religious Disabilities, Popular Education, the Abolition of Church Rates, the Better Administration of Ireland, the Reform of Municipal Government, the New Poor Law—these are but a few of the great measures with which his memory is identified. The mere mention of them tells a tale of Parliamentary labour and perseverance remarkable enough in itself; how much more so when we reflect on the delicate health which never ceased to hamper their author throughout the whole of his long career. This circumstance will, no doubt, serve to account for an apparent failure, in many instances, to force his own conclusions on unwilling colleagues, as well as for doubts and hesitations which, especially during the period between 1851 and 1859, impaired his reputation in Parliament and diminished his popularity with the country. At the same time, it cannot fail to excite increased admiration for the courage which alone enabled him to triumph over physical impediments serious enough to have daunted another and a less resolute mind. Courage, bordering, we may say, on rashness, was indeed the key-note to his whole career. Sydney Smith declared him "ignorant of moral fear," and "that he did not know what it was," and—expressing the same idea in a more popular form—he declared that "Lord John, if called upon, would be ready to take command of the Channel Fleet, or perform an operation for the stone." The comic illustrations of the day invariably seize upon this trait in his character. A knight, small of stature, he throws down the gauntlet before the giant Russia, for he believes "God will defend the right;" or, in the same spirit, he is seen attacking the hydra-headed monster of Corruption; again, we find him as the small boy who chalks up "No Popery," and then runs off; or, as the lad who quarrels with his fellow-servants, but cannot quite manage to get his own way from having asked too much.

Of all the exploits of his political life the passage of the first Reform Bill through the House of Commons is without a doubt that with which his name is most strongly associated in the public

mind. Yet, great as were his achievements with regard to this famous Bill, it may be doubted whether even the struggle of 1830-2 forms Lord John Russell's most solid title to fame. His biographer justly claims that the judgment of posterity should be based rather on the performance of the more active period in a man's career than on that of his declining vigour, or of his occasionally energetic old age. A general consensus of opinion, to which Mr. Gladstone has recently added the weight of his authority, has settled upon the period of Lord John's leadership of the House of Commons during the Government of Lord Melbourne, as fulfilling the above conditions even more than that of his first Premiership, which may indeed be considered as a rather pale continuation of the Melbourne Ministry; certainly far more than his second and short-lived Administration.

It was not only that his authority in the House and in the country was then at its height, but also that this authority was maintained in the face of a Parliamentary Opposition of unrivalled ability, united by a closer political agreement than frequently exists on a front Opposition bench, by personal ties which cemented the political alliance, and by the consciousness that they were slowly but steadily gaining ground, and were in fact playing a winning game. Of all Lord John's own colleagues, the ablest sat in the House of Lords, and his colleagues in the Lower House were but of scant assistance to him. Thus, nearly the whole burden and heat of the day fell upon him alone. "He is a marvellous little man," wrote Charles Greville, "always equal to the occasion; afraid of nobody; fixed in his principles; clear in his ideas; collected in his manner, and bold and straightforward in his disposition. He invariably speaks well, when a good speech is required from him, and this is upon every important occasion, for he gets no assistance from any of his colleagues, except now and then from Howick."* In the House of Lords, again, which at that time was still able in its collective capacity to influence the fate of Ministries, the Whig Ministry, though well represented, were still, in the face of a formidable Opposition, enjoying all the weight of the great authority of the Duke of Wellington, and, what was perhaps even more efficacious, the benefit of the unscrupulous leadership of Lord Lyndhurst; while on their flank hung Lord Brougham, a remorseless foe, still smarting under the sting of those letters only recently given to the world, in which Lord Melbourne conveyed to his former colleague the decree of perpetual banishment from the woolsack and from office.

Ireland was the principal difficulty of the Melbourne Government, and Lord John Russell's first Administration coincided in point of time with the great famine. The conduct of Lord John

* Charles Greville's *Memoirs*, i. 294.

in first turning out Sir Robert Peel's Government on the Coercion Bill of 1846, and subsequently himself introducing a Coercion Bill without even going through the form of resignation, will always remain one of the most doubtful passages of his long career, especially as this change of front was all the more conspicuous, owing to Sir Robert Peel having resigned at the time when he had executed his own famous *volte face* in regard to the Corn Laws; asking the Queen to send for Lord John, and only consenting to resume office upon the failure of the Whig leader to form a Ministry. Whig apologists have pointed out, and with a certain degree of truth, that the two Coercion Bills differed in some important particulars; but the reader will probably be of opinion that the real difference lay more in the altered character of the political situation than in any distinction of detail between the clauses of the two proposals. When Sir Robert Peel altered his views on the Corn Laws, there was a compact party in opposition, led by responsible leaders, who presumably would be able to conduct the Queen's Government. A resignation was consequently no idle form. But when the Whig party altered their views as to the necessity of coercion, not only had the necessity of it become clearer, but there was no party in opposition capable of forming a Government. A resignation would consequently have been merely a useless form of wasting time, and might have proved highly injurious to public interests.

For Lord John Russell himself, it must be said that he was evidently far more opposed to coercive measures than any of his colleagues. His faith in liberty, and that "fund of genuine indignation against wrong," that "inexhaustible sympathy with human suffering," which Mr. Gladstone has told us he possessed, made him perhaps the most perfect representative of the hopes of those who held that a steady perseverance in the cause of reform would have the same results in Ireland as it met with in the Highlands of Scotland after 1845. For coercion he had more than once to assume the responsibility. It was however evidently to him "a hateful alternative." He declared at Stroud in 1837 that "a Tory Ministry had indeed effected a Union with Ireland, but not a union of the interests, of the feelings, or of the affections of the people of England and Ireland; but a union bought with money." To this policy Lord John traced the *virus* of the political situation in Ireland.

It was once stated by the late Mr. Isaac Butt, that some communications passed between the members of the Cabinet, at the time of the formation of the first Russell Administration, in regard to a plan of Home Rule. No positive evidence of this has yet been adduced; but it is clear that Lord Mulgrave, afterwards Lord Normanby, the Lord Lieutenant during the greater portion of Lord Melbourne's Administration, had strong inclinations in that direction, and in

consequence of this the story probably originated. A letter written by him a few years after, when Ambassador at Paris, to Lord John, will be read with interest, as showing how, even at that period, the condition of public business in the House of Commons was beginning to excite the apprehensions of public men, and indicating the direction in which some statesmen were already looking for the remedy :

" PARIS, April 3, 1848.

" MY DEAR JOHN,—In reading your speech the other day upon the state of business in the House, I was more than ever struck with what I have felt for many years is the hopeless inefficiency of the legislative machine to work the accumulated business of the country. The period must arise when the doctrine as to the division of labour must be applied to legislation, as it has been to everything else, and laws must be prepared beforehand for the finishing hand of the whole House, instead of, as now, going through so many stages there. It would be very desirable if one could, at the same time, secure the preparation by the House, and in the manner in which most knowledge of details could be procured ; if, for instance, the Irish members met in Dublin two months before the regular Session for the discussion of purely Irish measures ; and that laws so prepared should be subject to only one decision, affirmative or negative, in the whole House. Some proposal having some such basis would satisfy all that was legitimate in the desire for home legislation in Ireland, but would preserve the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

" Ever yours,

" NORMANBY." *

At the time, however, to which we are now alluding, it was to reforms, political and social, especially in regard to the tenure of land, that Lord John looked for a permanent remedy.

Writing in regard to the stringent measures proposed in 1851, he said that " the new suppression of the violent symptoms of a disease which had continued from 1760 to the present time was an aggravation rather than a cure of the organic disorder. It satisfied the landlord class, and they were thereby encouraged to worse atrocities than before." . . . " Whence," he continued, " this enmity ? [of the people of Ireland]. From the mischievous custom of growing potatoes and paupers on the soil, and from the violent means taken by the landlords to extirpate this evil." As a remedy for this condition of affairs, Lord John proposed a plan, the principal feature of which anticipated the legislation of 1870 and 1881. " It is clear to me," he wrote to Lord Clarendon, " that you do not meet the evil by the best law possible, giving tenants compensation for improvements. Lord Lansdowne says very truly that in the greater number of cases of small tenants, no improvement has been made. In fact, you might as well propose that a landlord should compensate the rabbits for the burrows they have made on his land. It must embrace all who have occupied

* Walpole, ii. 96.

the land for a certain number of years (say five), and must give them something like the tenant right of Ulster. This, I know, is transfer of property, but it is founded on a right acknowledged in the North, the most peaceful and orderly province of Ireland. It has therefore a foundation of custom, which is a great advantage.”* “It is quite true,” he wrote a few days after, “that landlords in England would not like to be shot like hares and partridges by miscreants banded for murderous purposes. But neither does any landlord in England turn out fifty persons at once, and burn their houses over their heads, giving them no provision for the future. The murders are atrocious, so are the ejectments. The truth is that a civil war between landlords and tenants has been raging for eighty years, marked by barbarity on both sides.”† The violence of the extreme Tory faction, which had hitherto dominated Ireland, was trying in the extreme; almost equally so was the scurrility of O’Connell and his followers. “But can we wonder at such things?” said Lord John, when reproached in Parliament with the faults of tone and temper of the Irish leaders; “your oppression taught them to hate—your concessions to brave you; you exhibited to them how scanty was the stream of your bounty, and how full the tribute of your fear.”‡ Sometimes he almost despaired. “In England,” he once said, “I hope it may be true that there is no wrong without a remedy; in Ireland all is wrong and nothing a remedy.”§ These, however, were but passing moments of despondency, and with the determination characteristic of the man, he returned, with an undaunted if heavy heart, to his labours in the cause of Irish reform.

He was, in fact, a great believer in perseverance and pluck, and in respect of these qualities no Parliamentary leader of modern times has surpassed him. He also possessed a natural power of epigram and repartee of great value in debate, which his literary training strengthened and polished. In one of his earliest productions—a letter on Parliamentary corruption addressed to Lord Althorp—the following passage occurs: “A gentleman from London goes down to a borough of which he scarcely before knew the existence. The electors do not ask his political opinions; they do not inquire into his private character; *they only require to be satisfied of the impurity of his intentions.*”|| “I cannot see any reason,” he writes in regard to the condition of Public School education prior to recent reforms, “why our boys should not, while they have the advantage of their schools, at the same time be taught to do a rule-of-three sum, and make themselves masters of the fact that James I. was not *the son of Queen Elizabeth.*”¶ “There is no wonder,” he said in 1848, “Brougham thinks he knows

* Walpole, i. 463.

† *Ibid.*, p. 465.‡ *Ibid.*, p. 276.§ *Ibid.*, p. 185.|| *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¶ “English Government and Constitution,” p. 149.

something of the Navigation Laws, as he has been *fishing for seals* so long."* "England," he declared in Parliament during the Crimean war, "it has been said, cannot make a little war. However this may be, I am sure she ought not to make a large war on a little scale."† "There is nothing so conservative as progress;" "Rest and be thankful;" even our old friend "Peace with honour" are found to have Lord Russell's mint mark upon them. Sir Francis Burdett having deserted the creed of his earlier days, and been returned for North Wilts as a Tory, and thought fit to attack his old leader for talking "the cant" of patriotism, brought down on himself a crushing rejoinder, which has been pronounced by high authorities to rank amongst the most brilliant pieces of Parliamentary debating of the century. "I quite agree with the honourable baronet," Lord John replied, "that the *cant* of patriotism is a bad thing. But I can tell him a worse—the *recant* of patriotism, which I will gladly go along with him in reprobating whenever he shows me an example of it."‡ Mr. Walpole establishes his claim to the authorship of that celebrated definition of a proverb, "One man's wit and all men's wisdom."§ Once he saved his seat for the City of London by a happy witticism, when in great danger, owing to the unpopularity of his conduct in opposing Lord Palmerston's Chinese policy in 1857. Mr. Raikes Currie, who had formerly sat for Northampton, and enjoyed a wide personal popularity, had been brought forward by the Liberal Committee to oppose him, apparently with every prospect of success. Lord John summoned a meeting of the Liberal electors as a counterpoise to the action of the Liberal Committee. "If a gentleman," he said to them, "were disposed to part with his butler, his coachman, or his gamekeeper, or if a merchant were disposed to part with an old servant, a warehouseman, or a clerk, or even a porter, he would say to him: 'John [here the audience began to laugh], I think your faculties are somewhat decayed, you are growing old, you have made several mistakes; and I think of putting a young man from Northampton [his auditors laughed still more] in your place.' I think a gentleman would behave in that way to his servant, and thereby give John an opportunity of answering. That opportunity was not given to me. The question was decided in my absence; and I come now to ask you and the citizens of London to reverse that decision." This witty retort turned the tables on his assailants, and he sat down amid a roar of honest enthusiasm which proved the herald of victory.||

His letter to the remonstrating bishops in regard to Dr. Hampden's appointment to the See of Hereford, in which he unanswerably shows

* "English Government and Constitution," ii. 99.

† Walpole, ii. 216.

‡ See Hayward's "Essays," where the story is given as printed above (Essay on English Oratory).

§ See the note at p. 465 of vol. ii. of Mr. Walpole's book.

|| Walpole, ii. 290.

that the representatives of a University who prided themselves on their loyalty to the Crown above all things, had by their protest against the appointment, unconsciously claimed as their own the hitherto undisputed prerogatives of the Crown, and that several of the remonstrants against Dr. Hampden's heresy had, since signing the memorial, themselves deserted the Church and joined the Communion of Rome, is a masterpiece of irony. His reply to the Duke of Westminster, who had suggested that the Whig Government were actuated by less pure motives than their opponents in the distribution of the Peerages, is another model of terse and vigorous writing.* These productions cannot fail to suggest the idea that had Lord John been able to give time to authorship, he could not have failed to excel, as the faults which most disfigure his published works are in these cases absent.†

It was once pointed out to Lord Russell by a colleague that a foreign royalty, who at the moment was indicated by public opinion as the best occupant of a vacant throne, had "a very stupid head." Lord Russell tersely replied: "A very good shape of head for a Constitutional Sovereign." As already related in the pages of this REVIEW, an illustrious personage once asked him: "Is it true, Lord John, that you hold that a subject is justified under certain circumstances in disobeying his Sovereign?" "Well," replied Lord John, "in speaking to a Sovereign of the House of Hanover, I can only say that I suppose it is."‡ It is curious that the Minister credited with this reply, the representative of a party which owes its very being to resistance to Royal prerogative, should, in the great struggle with the Crown regarding the conduct of foreign affairs, which occupied so large a space in the middle period of his career, have appeared as the champion of the rights of the Crown; while Lord Palmerston, originally reared in the traditions of the opposite party, asserted the Whig doctrine. The history of this struggle is to be found in the first chapter of Mr. Walpole's second volume. With the fairness of the narrative little fault can be found. It is based, however, upon an historical assumption which Mr. Walpole, like the biographer of the Prince Consort, fails to perceive begs the whole of the very question at issue. Sir Theodore Martin speaks of the existence as an unquestioned fact of a "constitutional rule, that the ultimate control of the Foreign Office rested with the Premier, and that the despatches submitted for the Queen's approval must therefore pass through the hands of the Premier, who, if he should think they required material change, should accompany them with a statement of his reasons."|| Now, as a matter of fact, the character of the relations between the Sovereign and his Ministers in regard to the transaction of certain classes of public business, has

* Walpole, i. 478.

† *Ibid.*, p. 457.

‡ This anecdote appears in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for Dec. 1869.

|| Life of the Prince Consort, ii. 53.

varied considerably at different periods of English history, the personal control of the Sovereign tending to become more and more limited, and in many departments of public business having become gradually lost altogether. Theoretically, the rights of the Crown are precisely the same in regard to all the administrative services of the country. In this respect there is no difference or distinction. The Army, the Navy, the Civil and the Diplomatic Services, are the Army, the Navy, and the Civil and the Diplomatic Services of the Crown. But notwithstanding the growth of the Whig doctrines, which ever since the Revolution of 1688 tended more and more to limit the interference of the Sovereign, two great departments of affairs long escaped Ministerial control in a greater degree than others. Relics may still be traced in the reports of officers of ancient date, of a belief, widely prevalent at the period to which we refer, that the Army is to be regarded as the "Army of the Queen," in some peculiar sense in which the Navy is not the "Queen's Navy." To this order of ideas the mismanagement of the Crimean war was destined to deal a mortal blow. In the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service also there remained a field in which, for obvious reasons and often with good results, the personality of the Sovereign was able, more than elsewhere, to make itself felt. But the evil results of George III.'s interference in the American war, so long as he was able to interfere, followed by the period of the Regency and by the reigns of George IV. and William IV., when the Crown was in the hands of Sovereigns little able to bring the weight of either knowledge or experience to the discussion of public affairs, while the Foreign Office was entrusted to men of great energy and ability, had tended, by the time the Queen ascended the throne, to weaken the personal hold of the Sovereign on the course of diplomacy. Lord Palmerston evidently desired to weaken it still further. The Prince Consort, on the other hand, anxious to reassert, whenever opportunity offered, the dormant rights of the Crown, and in any case determined to avoid their still further limitation, possessing, moreover, an able and congenial adviser in Baron Stockmar, soon found himself in collision with Lord Palmerston, and being himself in knowledge of foreign affairs almost his match, a struggle naturally ensued. Strict rule and theory were perhaps on the side of the Crown, though even here something may be said to qualify the historical accuracy of the exact claims of the Crown as interpreted, at the time to which we allude, by the Prince and Baron Stockmar. These claims were that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was in reality the subordinate of the Prime Minister, and consequently that all despatches should not only be sent to the Sovereign before transmission abroad, but should be sent to her through the Prime Minister. Now, in answer to this view, it would be easy to show that it is a rule of the

Constitution that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, both in virtue of his office and also as a Privy Councillor, has the right of direct personal access to the Sovereign; that theoretically the very existence of a Prime Minister is unknown to the Constitution, and that no rule such as that claimed to exist by the Prince and Baron Stockmar was known. But, to borrow the words of no less a person than Lord Palmerston himself (in a letter written shortly after these events, in regard to the general position of Cabinet Ministers *inter se* and their relation to the Prime Minister), the case was precisely one of those, so common in our constitutional history, where established practice has modified abstract principle, while the exact degree of modification which has taken place is difficult to define. The Sovereign could fairly urge that in practice there is such a person as the Prime Minister, and that as the other Ministers are appointed by the Crown on his recommendation, he is entitled, in all matters of the first importance, to communicate his own views on a footing of equality with those of even the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In regard to the degree of interference which the Sovereign can personally exercise, and in regard to the preliminary question as to where the line is to be drawn between the despatches on which the Sovereign is to be consulted, and those which can be transmitted abroad without such consultation, it was obvious that no exact answer could be given, and that these were matters to be settled by practice rather than by strict rules of procedure. This Lord Palmerston recognised, and his plea throughout the dispute was practical. He represented that if the views of the Prince Consort prevailed—who, indeed, at one moment had asked that not only the draft despatches should be communicated to the Sovereign and communicated through the Prime Minister, but also the notes of the interviews between the Secretary of State and the Ambassadors—it would be difficult, if not impossible, to carry on public business any longer without an endless waste of time. “His conferences,” he pointed out, “took some four hours a day, and it would require as much time again to make a report of them; but then he would have no time left for any part of the business of his office at the House of Commons.” The restrictions desired by the Prince Consort, “even if conformable to the Constitution, were hardly compatible with the prompt and practical despatch of public business, which frequently required, for a successful issue, the transmission of an immediate reply.”* These words were spoken at a time when 28,000 represented the whole annual number of despatches received or sent out of the Foreign Office. It has, we believe, in our own day grown to a figure nearer 80,000. In addition to this, a whole system of

* See, for Lord Palmerston's statement of his own case, the Hon. Evelyn Ashley's *Life of that statesman*, vol. iv. ch. 7.

diplomacy has sprung up based on the telegraph, besides an enormous increase in the departmental labour of Foreign Office representation in Parliament, owing to the tendency of the latter more and more to interfere in Foreign Affairs. The extreme demand of the Prince Consort for the communication to the Crown of the notes of conferences as well as of the draft despatches, does not appear to have been pressed. But the successful assertion of his more modified view in regard to the transmission of despatches, supported as it was by Lord Russell in opposition to Lord Palmerston, has undoubtedly, acting in addition to the other causes just enumerated, made it, with the rarest exceptions, impossible, since the days of Lord Palmerston, for a statesman to hold the Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs while still a member of the House of Commons, and has recently made it convenient to combine the Premiership with the tenure of the seals of the Foreign Office.

It does not come within the scope of this article to discuss in detail the various issues raised during the long career of Lord John, but to note the personal characteristics of the man as evidenced by his public career. An almost boundless pugnacity, remarkable in so feeble a frame, was one of the most striking of these, coupled with an ardent and sometimes rather indiscriminating love for whatever he believed to be the cause of liberty and justice. These characteristics, if the cause of some of his greatest successes, were also the origin of his greatest mistakes, especially in the field of foreign affairs.

Never afraid of "swimming in troubled waters" (indeed Lord William Russell told his brother he believed that "the more they were troubled the more he delighted to swim in them"), he hesitated as little as Canning, or even Palmerston himself, in shooting from the Foreign Office or from his seat in Parliament, winged words and pointed phrases, which caused a constant flutter in the dovecots of orthodox diplomacy. Conspicuous illustrations are to be found in his speech in Parliament in 1860 against the annexation of Savoy and Nice by France, and in his despatch of the 27th of October of the same year, on the Italian question, which a French critic has described as "*le monument le plus curieux d'une littérature diplomatique tout à fait nouvelle.*" In the latter document he ventured squarely to tell the Powers that the real question in Italy was: "Did the people of Naples and of the Roman States take up arms against their Government with good reason?" and after practically answering this question in the affirmative, he proceeded to decline joining the Courts of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia in the severe censure with which they had visited the action of the King of Sardinia. Of this despatch, Baron Brunnow is reported to have said, "*Ce n'est pas de la diplomatie, c'est de la polissonnerie;*" while Count Vitzthum declared it to be "*unique among the annals of diplomacy.*" Yet it

not only evoked in its day expressions of the warmest gratitude from Cavour; but won for England the lasting gratitude of the Italian people at the very time when the third Napoleon was engaged in wiping out the memories of Magenta and Solferino by those underground processes only fully revealed to the world in the recent work of M. de Thouvenel, "*Le Secret de l'Empereur*." This publication, if it raises even higher than before the reputation of the author's father, who occupied the French Foreign Office at the time, can only convince the reader that the so-called "Secret" never really existed, except as a convenient name for the unfortunate series of shifts and devices by which the Emperor, himself the friend of Italian aspirations, sought to parry the interference of his consort. It would be difficult to say whether Lord Russell or Lord Palmerston was at this time most disliked by the continental statesmen of the old school. "*Je fais des vœux*," so wrote the Duc de Grammont, French Ambassador at Rome—"je fais des vœux pour que l'Empereur laisse ces hommes d'état vieilles, s'user tout seuls sans jamais sacrifier à leurs sympathies douteuses et changeantes, le plus petit des intérêts de sa couronne."* But the two "ancient masters," as a clever society lady is reported to have called them, attached little importance to the opinion of the Duc de Grammont or of any foreign crowned head. "My noble friend," Lord Palmerston had said long before, amid tumultuous applause, in the Don Pacifico debate, "will act, not as the Minister of Austria, or as the Minister of Russia, or of France, or of any other country; but as the Minister of England." The observation was trite, but the side hit at Lord Aberdeen, who was believed to be too regardful of the views of despotic Governments, especially of that of Russia, turned a truism into an effective sarcasm. And in this connection it is interesting to note that those passages in Lord Russell's subsequent career which were at the time most difficult to explain, began when, in an evil hour for his own reputation, he took office under Lord Aberdeen, actuated by too great a desire to enable the Queen's Government to be carried on; but without sufficiently considering that he might not be able either to carry out his own views, or to resign without appearing to desert his colleagues in the hour of difficulty.

The recently published "*Memoirs of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg*" throw an interesting light on the position of the two Ministers on the Italian question. In November 1859 we find the Prince Consort writing to his brother:

"Our time is principally taken up with a very unpleasant war of correspondence with Palmerston and the Foreign Secretary, who are joining their forces to revive the war of liberation in Italy, to make France break her word with Austria, and to stir up all kinds of quarrels. Their contrivances

* "*Secret de l'Empereur*," i. 124, 125.

for doing things in an underhand manner, which they dare not do openly, are endless, and if you seize one of them the other slips through your fingers. This causes me great anxiety for Germany, for both of them have the same feelings and methods of action as in 1848-50, freedom and nationality for Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Greece—none for Holstein or Germany; Austria to be stronger in Germany by being entirely turned out of Italy; intimacy with Louis Napoleon; maintenance of the despotism of France."

Distrust of the intentions and policy of Napoleon III. was a fixed idea with the Prince Consort. When the plan of the annexation of Savoy and Nice began to be put forward he wrote:

"Every honourable man must feel morally injured at the obvious triumph of rascality. France again draws all possible advantage from the friendship of Palmerston, and the sentimental hope of his little colleague to throw a new lustre on the name of Russell by defending in 1860 the principles of 1688, it not occurring to him that the first thing needful is that there should be an analogy between the two sets of circumstances. The material which the Emperor possesses is vast indeed. It consists in his unlimited power, his sympathy with the *Carbonari* views, his popular origin, his Napoleonic name; in the knowledge of the weakness of his people, in his enormous army, in his inexhaustible supplies of money, in his elastic conscience, and in the fact that he can employ the whole of the French press for his purposes."

Lord John, as we have already seen, viewed the annexation of Savoy and Nice with the same dislike as the Prince Consort: but he was able to see what escaped the Prince Consort; that to constitute a strong and united Italy was a better bulwark against the ambition of France than an obstinate maintenance of the existing territorial distribution of the Peninsula, and that the recognition of the doctrine of nationalities in Italy was certain to further the same cause in Germany.

His strong love of liberty, his belief that, as a rule, people do not rebel unless they have some real grievance, naturally made Lord Russell a strong supporter of the cause of the Oriental Christians, and at a far earlier date than most of his colleagues he recognised that the task of reforming the Turkish Empire was hopeless, and that the political salvation of the East must be sought by different methods. But this same predisposition for rebellious causes led him to sympathise with the Confederate States, and almost to plunge his country into an unnecessary war. The recent death of Mr. Jefferson Davis has reminded the public of the bitter controversies which divided England during, and indeed long after, the American Civil War. Those who supported the South, from the belief that it represented Conservative ideas, were joined by a considerable number of persons whose sympathies either inclined them to side generally with rebellion, or who doubted if slavery were so much the actual point at issue as a constitutional question of State as against Federal rights. They were also much impressed by the

magnitude of a struggle, of which they feared the indefinite prolongation, unless a speedy termination could at once be arrived at. To this view Lord Russell leaned, and leaned so strongly, that this country was only saved from a most disastrous interference in the struggle by the hesitation of Lord Palmerston and the open opposition of Lord Granville, who, having himself held the seals of the Foreign Office in 1852, and been called upon by the Queen in 1859 to form a Ministry, was able to speak on such a subject with authority.

This same pugnacity nearly led Lord Russell into an equally great mistake in the Danish question. He discerned clearly enough that the settlement of the Elbe Duchies was only to be obtained by freeing the Danes from German interference, and leaving the Germans to German rule; and that the whole accumulation of almost incomprehensible learning, which went to make up the Schleswig-Holstein "question" was merely a screen to the struggle between two rival nationalities. He also recognised the incredible folly and obstinacy with which the Danish people, clinging to the traditions of '48, and the warlike memories of Idstedt and Fredericia, almost courted a struggle with their powerful and grasping neighbour. "We cannot," he wrote to Sir Augustus Paget, "give active support to a Government which puts itself so manifestly in the wrong. We must remain with our pockets buttoned and our arms piled, till Germany puts herself still more in the wrong than Denmark." It was not until that moment arrived, that the course he pursued became the object of general attack. He then appeared to the country to be ready without sufficient reason to lose sight of the original causes of the quarrel, in his anxiety to protect the weak against the strong, and to run the risk of engaging in war when no British interest was seriously involved. In 1863, the Danish Parliament had deliberately sanctioned a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, thereby treating the incorporation of the latter with the Monarchy as a *fait accompli*. On January 16, 1864, the two great German Powers issued an ultimatum, demanding the withdrawal of the constitution within two days, although the Danish Rigsraad was not then sitting. Refusing to listen to any plea for delay, the German armies then crossed the frontier. Lord Russell was at the time prepared, as was Lord Palmerston, to go to war with the German Powers, if France would have joined an alliance for that purpose. The feeling uppermost in the minds of both statesmen was, that Schleswig being mainly Danish, the Austro-German attack was as much a violation of the rights of a free people as the previous attacks of Denmark on the spiritual ministrations of German clergymen and the teaching of German schoolmasters in the southern districts of the Duchy. Lord Russell was even more eager than the Prime Minister. How England was saved from what, judging indeed after the event, it can be seen

would have been a gigantic blunder, is matter of history. The dislike of the nation to a war which was not clearly necessary; the divisions in the Cabinet; the unwillingness of France to co-operate, except in such a manner as would have indefinitely extended the area of European complication; and the opposition of the Court, which was German in its sympathies, notwithstanding the recent marriage of the Prince of Wales with a Danish Princess; all combined together at the last moment to enforce abstention from interference, and peace was secured.

It has just been stated that among the causes which averted the naval and military interference on behalf of Denmark, advocated by Lord Russell, was the opposition offered to this course by the German sympathies of the Court. Slender too were the sympathies of the Court with Lord Russell's Italian policy. When crowned heads are running for their lives, it is scarcely in human nature for their fellow crowned heads to withhold sympathy, even should the aggressor, as in the case of the King of Sardinia, be one of their own number. In the Italian question the Crown showed less wisdom than the Ministers; in the Danish question the Ministers showed less wisdom than the Crown. The Queen was probably better acquainted than either Lord Palmerston or Lord Russell with the growing strength of the German armies, and knew that the Danish question was only the opening up of far wider issues. Military opinion at home (famous in those days for being invariably misinformed) was convinced that an Anglo-French campaign against Prussia was certain to be an easy success—a military repetition on the part of Napoleon III. of that of Napoleon I. in 1806—in which a second Jena and a second Auerstaedt were to witness the destruction of the armies of King William; while the British fleet, mistress of the Baltic, was to assist in the capture of the Austro-Prussian army of occupation in Schleswig and Jutland. Denmark's success in the war of 1848 tended to confirm these illusions, a success which had been due to the political circumstances of the day rather than to the prowess of the Danish armies alone.

Foreign affairs at one moment nearly proved altogether fatal to Lord John. After his return from the Vienna Conference, it seemed as if his political career might come to an abrupt termination, and his sun never prevail over the dense cloud of obloquy raised by his resignation of the lead of the House of Commons and his place in the Aberdeen Government, immediately before the vote of censure, moved by Mr. Roebuck, upon the Ministry for their misconduct of the war—a gathering cloud, deepened by the imputations to which he immediately afterwards exposed himself, when, after accepting the mission to Vienna, he appeared to have supported at the Conference a policy the reverse of that which on his return he advocated in Parliament.

The error that he made in the first instance was not that of resigning, but of resigning either too soon or too late. The whole history of the Aberdeen Cabinet casts a melancholy doubt on the practical value of Cabinets of "all the talents." Hardly any Government can be free from dangerous bickerings; but it would appear as if the species of Ministry most exposed to bickerings of a really injurious character is one in which a great number of able men, possessing both experience and a strong will, sit together under the presidency of one whom, like Lord Aberdeen, they regard as at the most only their equal. It furthermore happened that the politics of the day had arrived at the point best calculated to bring this inherent fault of the Aberdeen Government into glaring relief. Hardly had there elapsed two months of its existence when the difficulties of the Eastern question assumed a critical character. Lord Clarendon actually held the seals of the Foreign Office; but there were no less than four members of the Ministry who had occupied the same post on previous occasions, and had each an equal claim to be heard on the subject—Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Granville.

In the case of the Vienna mission, the false position in which Lord John Russell was placed was mainly owing to the difficulty of following the sinuosities of the policy of the Emperor Napoleon, and the intrigues of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Intrigues of this description were precisely the sort of thing which Lord John by character and temperament was unfitted to cope with. The principal point at issue may be easily stated. A proposal had been made by Count Buol, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and had been approved by M. Drouyn de l'Huys, the French Plenipotentiary, to prevent the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea by a particular set of arrangements, the exact details of which are now of merely historical interest. These proposals Lord John approved and supported, but on reference to Paris, the Emperor, at the instigation of Count Walewski, declined to support his own plenipotentiary. The Conference thereupon ended and the war commenced afresh, as the British Government considered themselves bound to their ally. Lord John returned to England, and, in his place in Parliament, supported the continuance of the war. Almost simultaneously Count Buol issued a circular despatch to the Austrian representatives at foreign Courts, giving an account of what had passed at the Conference. From this circular it was apparent that, in Lord John's opinion, there had been a reasonable possibility of ending the war in an honourable manner. The question immediately arose: Ought Lord John on the rejection of his views on so important a matter to have resigned; or was he right in thinking that considerations of loyalty to his own colleagues, and of the Government of England to that of its ally, France, should prevail? The question involves a determination of the exact point at

which a colleague should prefer his own opinion to that of his colleagues, and the answer will very much depend in each case on the idiosyncrasies of individuals. At the moment the public decided against Lord John, and for the time he disappeared from office.

A similar condition of things arose in 1864 in regard to Denmark. It was true, as Lord Russell said in the House of Lords on the 24th of June of that year, that at no time had any clear pledge been given on the part of Great Britain, or of Her Majesty's Government, to render material assistance to Denmark; but it was also true that the language both of Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston had pointed in that direction, and the bent of their minds, which the correspondence since published has fully revealed, was tolerably well known both at home and abroad. "In February 1864," as Mr. Walpole puts it, "Lord Russell had hesitated to embark single-handed in a contest with the two Great Powers of Central Europe. In July 1864 he refused the help which he could then have procured at the price at which alone he could have obtained it." M. Rouher had made it clear to Lord Cowley, that if France joined successfully in the war against Germany, a general rearrangement of the map of Europe would be the result. From such an issue the British Foreign Office shrunk back, true to the doctrine that the limitation of the area of disturbance is the best method of maintaining the peace of Europe; but it was impossible to state fully in Parliament the character of the confidential communications which had passed between M. Rouher and Lord Cowley. Lord Russell therefore appeared to have retreated in alarm from his own policy, without any adequate motive for such a change of attitude; or, in any case, not to have realised that the support of France ought never to have been asked, because the price of the support of the Emperor might have been easily anticipated by the Minister, whose best excuse for rejecting, a few months before, the French proposals for a European Conference, was that they were only the cloak to some ambitious design.

In the debate on Lord Grosvenor's amendment, shortly before the defeat of Lord Russell's second Administration on the Reform Bill of 1866, Mr. Gladstone paid a remarkable tribute to the achievements of Lord Russell. Replying to the charge made by some of his own followers of having adopted a dictatorial attitude to the Liberal party and to the House, Mr. Gladstone said: "If, Sir, I had been the man who at the very outset of his career, well-nigh half a century ago, had with an almost prophetic foresight fastened upon two great groups of questions, those great historic questions of the age, I mean the questions relating to the removal of civil disabilities for religious opinions and to Parliamentary Reform,—if I had been the man, who having thus in his early youth, in the very first stage of his political career, fixed upon those questions and made them his own, then went

on to prosecute them with sure and unflagging instinct, until the triumph in each had been achieved; if I had been the man, whose name has been associated for forty years, and often in the very first place of eminence, with every element of beneficent legislation—in other words had I been Earl Russell—there might have been some temptation to pass into excess in the exercise of authority, and some excuse for the endeavour to apply to this House a pressure in itself unjustifiable. But, sir, I am not Earl Russell.” It is interesting to note in this connection that amongst the new matter which Mr. Walpole gives to his readers, is the correspondence relating to the retirement of Lord Russell immediately after these events from the lead of the Liberal party, under the weight of increasing years. This correspondence removes the impression which existed, that in the arrangements made immediately after the fall of Mr. Disraeli’s first Government in 1868, but scant courtesy was shown to the last Liberal Premier. The Queen then sent for Mr. Gladstone, not for Lord Russell. But it appears that not only had Lord Russell made it perfectly clear several months before, both to Mr. Gladstone and to Lord Granville, that he had determined to retire from the lead, but that when the Liberal Administration was in process of formation, Mr. Gladstone pressed on his former chief the acceptance of a seat in the Cabinet without office, which Lord Russell declined. It would perhaps be difficult to decide which was most creditable, the grace of the offer or the wisdom of the refusal, which was no unfit termination to the life of a statesman, as to many passages in whose career his countrymen will no doubt continue to differ, and whose conduct will be often severely criticised, but whose name must always occupy a large place in the history of England, as perhaps the last, but certainly not the least, of the succession of Whig statesmen of the school of Lord Somers, to which he above all things claimed to belong, and to whose ideas he gave an undivided allegiance.

EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

THE REALITIES OF CHRISTIANITY.

WHAT Professor J. Agar Beet was good enough to say about my article on "Illusion in Religion" I should like, as far as possible, to reciprocate about his on "The Certainties of Christianity." With part of it—at all events, with the most important part, the emphatic assertion of the divinity of Christ—"I heartily agree." But one or two of his remarks seem likely to be seriously misunderstood. Probably I, too, have laid myself open to misunderstanding. Sometimes it seems to me that the Professor himself has misunderstood me so far as to think that I reckoned among "illusions" both the belief in the Divinity of Christ, and also the belief in His Resurrection. On the contrary, I regard these as the most real of realities, except in the minds of those who have hardly any conception of the meaning of "divine," and who think that "rising again" means simply walking and talking after death. Perhaps the Professor and I look at the same things from a different point of view; he regarding them as "certainties," I as "realities." Perhaps, as the Professor seems to have misunderstood me, I may have misunderstood some of his expressions; but if I have, others may too, so that he will be no less pleased that I should "supplement him" than I am that he should have "supplemented" me. I shall touch on only two points—first, his remarks on the resurrection of Christ; and, secondly, but very briefly indeed, on his statement concerning the identity of the present text of the New Testament with the original.

First, then, Professor Beet's words appear to commit him to the statement that, unless the ordinary view is taken of Christ's resurrection—even though men may believe that He really, but spiritually, rose from the dead, and really appeared after death to His disciples—they "will not" (and the words imply they "cannot") admit

Christ's claims to be divine (p. 135): "The resurrection of Christ, and the superhuman dignity claimed for Him, must stand or fall together. *None will admit these claims*, whether they suppose them to have been made by Christ or only by His deluded followers, *unless they believe that the body laid dead in the grave was raised to life*. And none who believe that He trampled under foot the king of terrors, before whom all distinctions fade, will deny Him to be greater than the greatest of men. Practically, we have only one alternative.—Either Christ rose from the dead, and is divine, or He did not rise, and is only human."

Now, believing, as I most firmly do, in the Divine Nature and Eternal Sonship of our Lord, I fully admit that His resurrection in some real and objective shape (at least if that is "objective" which is eternally foreordained, and in accordance with the deepest spiritual laws and productive of everlasting results) is essential to any satisfying conception of Christ. And some manifestation of the risen Saviour must, as it seems to me, be accepted by any one who intelligently studies the Epistles of St. Paul, the New Testament as a whole, and the history of the Christian Church. But the statement above quoted goes much further than this. First, it requires us to believe that "Christ's body, laid in the grave, was raised to life." Next, it assumes that, if we believe His body to have been thus raised, we must believe Him to have "trampled under foot the king of terrors." Then it tells us the results of belief and of disbelief, saying in effect: "If you believe that His dead body was raised to life, then you must believe that He conquered death, and then you cannot deny that He was the greatest of men"; and, on the other hand, "If you disbelieve that the body laid dead in the grave was raised to life, then you cannot believe that He conquered death, and therefore—whatever else you may believe Christ to have said, done, and suffered, and whatever marvellous and real manifestations of Him you may believe to have been made to His disciples after His death—you will not admit Him to be divine."

These propositions may commend themselves to the popular view. But if they do, the popular view is false; for I know at least one person who disbelieves in the materialistic resurrection, and yet admits Christ to be divine; and though it may be said that the exception—or exceptions, for I have reason to think there are others—proves the rule, yet I can hardly think that Professor Beet intended to lay down the rule in this fashion. And yet I must confess that he might be inferred to have this intention from another passage, which, as it stands, appears to state that St. Paul accepted Jesus as divine simply and solely because he believed that the body of Jesus had been raised from death to life. Here is the passage (pp. 134-5): "How came the carpenter of Nazareth to make on the pupil of Gamaliel the

profound impression so conspicuous on every page of his Epistles? *What had Jesus done, so much above all that Paul could do, to lead captive in willing bondage the author of the wonderful Epistle to the Romans?* The answer is ready. *Paul accepted Jesus as infinitely greater than all men, because he believed that He had risen from the dead*"; and it goes on to say, "That he refers to a *bodily resurrection*, is made certain by the analogy, in the same chapter, of the bodily resurrection."

I must here digress for a moment to suggest a different wording of the last sentence, which—except that I should prefer "almost certain" or "probable" both here and in other passages where the Professor shows a predilection for "certain"—I would word thus: "That he refers *not* to a 'bodily' resurrection in the ordinary sense, but to what we should call a 'spiritual' resurrection, is made almost certain by the analogy in the same chapter of the human resurrection, which he describes as being that of a 'spiritual body'—no more like the material body than the flower is like the seed."

But this is a digression. The point is that Professor Beet's language might easily lead his readers to suppose that, if they are asked, "Why did St. Paul accept Jesus as divine," they must reply, "Because he believed Jesus to have had His dead body restored to life." Now, I should not have uttered a word of objection if it had been stated that in accepting Jesus as divine, St. Paul was *greatly influenced by his belief in Christ's resurrection*. I should never dream of disputing that those never-forgotten words, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" coming into his soul with an imperious and overwhelming force which we can conceive but shrink from attempting to describe—converted floating doubts and suppressed misgivings that he might not be right in his thoughts about Jesus, into certainties that he was wrong, and prepared him for that fuller acceptance of the Gospel which would enable him to receive Christ into his heart as the Eternal Son. But that concession does not satisfy the demands made upon us. If we are asked, "What superhuman act did Jesus perform, so much above all that Paul could do, to lead captive &c. &c. . . ."—we are not allowed to reply, "He did many such acts. Besides His signs of healing and His manifestations to His disciples after death, He also revealed the Father to men in His own life; He introduced into the world a new power of forgiving sins, and imparted it to His disciples; He introduced into the world an altogether new life of the soul and imparted it to His disciples; He bore the sins and carried the iniquities of men, and helped His disciples to do the same; He offered up the one real sacrifice for all mankind." All this is not to the point; the one great superhuman act was, that Jesus had His "body, laid dead in the grave, restored to life!"

Do not the words, thus understood—or, as I prefer to put it, misunderstood—commit us to taking somewhat of a liberty with the Apostle? Is it fair to him to suppose that, even in his persecuting days, he was so absolutely callous to what he saw and heard among those whom he was dragging to prison and death that he received no impression at all from the Spirit of Christ breathing and working in them? Is it irrational, or even heterodox, to suppose that, from the time when St. Stephen looked up and saw the Lord Jesus in heaven and died in the act of praying Him to forgive those who were stoning him, from that moment “the goads” began to sting his heart, and to sting all the more because he “kicked” against them; so that, in truth, the blood of the first martyr was the seed of the conversion of the Thirteenth Apostle? And, on the other hand, is it fair to “the pupil of Gamaliel” and “the author of the wonderful Epistle to the Romans,” to suppose that he could have allowed himself to be “led captive in willing bondage” by any man about whom he knew simply this, that his dead body had been restored to life?

Professor Beet (as I infer from his opinions, soon to be mentioned, concerning the present text of the Scriptures) accepts as in all respects historical the account in St. Matthew’s Gospel (xxvii. 51–3) which tells us that, when Jesus died, “the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake; and the rocks were rent; and the tombs were opened; and *many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised: and coming forth out of the tombs after His resurrection they entered into the Holy City and appeared unto many.*” Suppose, then, that one or more of these “bodies” had appeared to Saul and bidden him to desist from his cruel persecution, and had claimed to be divine; are we seriously to suppose that “the pupil of Gamaliel” would reply, “You have done so much above all that I can do, that I must accept your claim?”

I hope I have convinced my readers that I am not imputing to Professor Beet’s words a meaning that might not be imputed to them by a tolerably careful reader; and as it seems to me that in this materialistic age many may believe, not only that he means this, but also that it is true, I must briefly dispute both of the propositions above implied. I deny, first, that any one is to be admitted to be divine simply because his body is raised from the dead; and secondly, that the claims of Jesus to be divine are to be rejected, even though it should be hereafter proved that His material body was not raised from the dead.

To Christians who take the popular view (which I must honestly say I do not myself take) of Biblical miracles, the mere fact of having one’s body raised from the dead ought surely not to appear

a test of divinity. If it were, we should have to attribute a divine nature not only to those saints above mentioned, whose "bodies" are said to have been raised from the dead in Jerusalem, but also to Lazarus; possibly, too, to the son of the Widow at Nain; and certainly to the dead man who is said to have been cast into Elisha's grave and to have been restored to life. I pass over other cases where it is not so expressly asserted that death had taken place. Now, supposing all or any of these were to claim to be divine, ought we to admit their claims? No one, upon reflection, will say so—not even those who may have for a time misunderstood Professor Beet, as though he asserted that it could be so.

But it may be urged that there is something unique in the resurrection of Christ. True; but what is the uniqueness? "Others were raised from the dead by Christ, or by the hand of God direct; but Christ raised Himself"—does this seem to constitute the unique difference? No such suggestion finds any support in the New Testament. Nowhere in the Epistles of St. Paul, or anywhere else, will you find that Christ "raised *Himself* from the dead." Only once (so far as concerning the Epistles of St. Paul) is it even asserted that He "*rose* from the dead;" the Epistles generally reserve that phrase for the resurrection of ordinary men. The regular phrase in St. Paul's Epistles to describe the resurrection of Jesus is to say that He "*was* raised;" and if you ask, "By whom?" the answer in them is always, "By God." In the first Epistle of St. Peter, Christ is said, according to the Old Version (iii. 18), to have been "quickened *by* the Spirit;" but the New Version has, "put to death in the flesh, but quickened *in* the Spirit," thus suggesting a resurrection that affected rather the spiritual than the fleshly element, but still an act performed by God. The resurrection, then, of Jesus Christ is to be regarded as the work of God; and we seem to do it most honour when we regard it as necessary, because according to law in the highest sense, necessary in accordance with the immutable laws of the spiritual world. He who was one with the Father from the beginning must needs triumph over death; not indeed physically, but spiritually; and His Spirit could not be kept by the grave from continuing and multiplying His work among His followers.

Thus, then, the resurrection of Jesus Christ was something very far above the mere reanimation, or even the spiritual transmutation, of the body. If either of these events had happened, and had been attested by far more cogent evidence than has been handed down—even by dispassionate, even by hostile, witnesses, and these also agreeing, and not differing, in their testimony—still this would have been no "trampling under foot the king of terrors" unless the Spirit of Jesus, Jesus Himself, as distinct from the mere fleshly body—Jesus, as the Epistle says, "put to death in the flesh, but quickened

in the spirit"—had risen with a spiritual resurrection, and beaten down the fear of death in the hearts of His disciples by taking up His abode in them, and by communicating to them a share in His triumph.

By what means the faith in this His objective resurrection was imparted to His disciples some have doubted; and great difficulties attend any hypothesis that descends to detail. The great majority of those who believe in the Divinity of Christ believe that His material body, His flesh, was reanimated, being spiritualised in some way difficult to define; and this belief is necessary for all those who accept the verbal inspiration, and even the exact historical accuracy, of our Gospels in their present shape; it is also enforced by one of the Thirty-nine Articles, so that no one could reject this belief and continue to officiate in the Church of England unless his divergence were supposed to be covered and allowed by the latitude of interpretation extended some thirty years ago. I understand that Bishop Westcott believes the risen body to have had flesh and bones, but no blood, blood being, for Jews, "the symbol and seat of corruptible life" ("Gospel of Resurrection," p. 162). To me, this seems to increase, rather than diminish, the difficulty. Again, the non-recognition of the risen Saviour at first by some of His disciples may seem to some to be explained by the Bishop's suggestion that the body of Jesus, as seen by the disciples, was no less "subjective" than the clothes which He appeared to be wearing, but which no one would maintain to have in any sense accompanied Him from the grave, nor to have had in them any spiritualised atoms derived from previous material garments. This at least is the meaning I should put upon the passage (*Ibid.* p. 48): "The special and outward forms in which the Lord was pleased to make Himself sensibly recognisable by His disciples were no more necessarily connected with His glorified person than the robes which He wore;" and with this I should agree, though I should express it differently.

The accounts of Christ's resurrection given in the Gospels present considerable difficulties far too abstruse and serious to touch on here. But as to St. Paul's evidence, which is earlier than that of any Gospel, it seems probable—and, indeed, here I am almost tempted to use the professorial "certain"—that he placed the manifestation of the risen Saviour to Himself on the same footing with the manifestations to the other Apostles, and that he spoke of them all as "appearances" (*ᾤφθη*); and the manifestation to St. Paul appears to have been of a kind that would now be described as "a vision," although, of course, with an objective reality behind it. I take it also that St. Paul would have attributed to Christ a "spiritual body"; but what precisely that may mean I do not know, and I know that no one knows or can know. The advantage of the term is that it affords expression to the belief (which we ought to hold fast) that the life after death preserves

identity and the mutual recognition of affection—or, if not these things, then some things corresponding to them, as much better as God is better than man.

Life being so short, and the art of well-doing so long and hard, why should those who have one of the greatest helps to well-doing—I mean the belief in Christ's resurrection—say to others who also have it, "You cannot possibly have it, unless you believe it after our fashion," and "Unless you believe it after our fashion, you *will not admit* that Christ is divine"? In the first place, that is not true; for, as I have said above, some people disbelieve the former, yet believe the latter. In the next place, it is not spiritual; for spiritually it is quite possible that one may disbelieve the former yet believe the latter. In the third place, it is not wise; for if to-morrow should demonstrate, beyond possibility of doubt, that the manifestations of Christ to the other Apostles were of the same kind as the manifestation to the thirteenth, and that the resurrection of Jesus was not material, but simply spiritual, what should we say then of the champion of Christianity who had committed us to the statement that henceforth "*none will admit* the claims of Christ to be divine"?

On my second point—Professor Beet's statement as to the practical identity between our present text and the original text of the books of the New Testament—I can be far more brief. For by his remark (p. 131): "That the Epistles of Paul and the Gospels, as we now have them, *are practically the same as when they left the hand of their writers is placed beyond doubt* by the great number and the marvellous agreement of the manuscripts in various languages which have come down to us, some of them from the fourth century," and by his illustration of the question from the manuscripts of Sophocles, I am forced to infer that he takes no account of the greater likelihood that the Gospels, in their earliest forms, would be at first amplified and re-edited, and that the latest edition would supersede the earlier; and to ignore this likelihood appears to me to preclude any one from dealing critically with even the surface of this subject.

But Professor Beet—and that is more serious—quotes in support of his view the following passage from Westcott and Hort's "New Testament in Greek" (vol. i. p. 561): "If comparative trivialities, such as changes of order, &c. . . . are set aside, the words, in our opinion still subject to doubt, can hardly amount to more than a thousandth part of the whole New Testament." Now, "subject to doubt" means here, subject to the doubt whether they belong to a "fundamental, single, and identical text," mentioned a few lines above by Westcott and Hort, behind which the editors do not attempt to penetrate. But, as I understand the sentence, it does not commit the editors to any statement whatever about the oral or written changes and amplifications through which, for example, the first and second of

the Synoptic Gospels may have passed, or through which the materials used by the author of the third Gospel may have passed, *before they reached that fundamentally single and identical text*" from which all our texts are derived.

I do not, therefore, understand that this extract pledges the editors of the "New Testament in Greek" to the statement that every narrative in the first two Gospels is substantially and with the exceptions of trivial variations, "practically the same" as when the Gospel in its original shape left the hand, or the lips, of its originator. I shall best testify my profound respect for Dr. Hort's learning and judgment if I venture to say that I shall not believe that he regards any such assertion as "placed beyond a doubt," until I hear or read his own distinct avowal that he does so. I shall best testify my respect for those faculties and appliances by which in these days any patient, fearless, and unprejudiced student may arrive, within certain limits, at conclusions as to what we know and what we do not know on this subject, by adding that, even if so eminent a critic were to commit himself to so sweeping a statement as this, I should be compelled to believe that Dr. Hort, for once, had said more than he was justified in saying.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

ARISTOTLE AS A NATURALIST.

HAVING had occasion of late years to make myself acquainted with the observations and ideas of ancient writers upon matters connected with Natural History, and having been thus more than ever impressed by the unique position which in this respect is held by Aristotle, it appears to me that a short essay upon the subject may prove of interest to readers of various kinds. Therefore, as far as space permits, I will render the results of my own inquiries in this direction ; but as it is far from an easy task to estimate with justice the scientific claims of so pre-scientific a writer, I shall be greatly obliged to more professed students of Aristotle if they will indicate—either publicly or privately—any errors of fact or of judgment into which it may appear that I have fallen.

Aristotle died B.C. 322, in the sixty-third year of his age. As a personal friend and devoted pupil of Plato—who, in turn, was a friend and pupil of Socrates—his mind was at an early age brought under the immediate influence of the best thinking of antiquity. Nevertheless, although entertaining a profound veneration for his master, like a true devotee of truth he did not allow his mind to become unduly dominated even by the authority of so august a tutor ; and in after life he expressly broke away from the more mystical principles of Platonic method. While still a young man he was invested with the magnificent office of educating Alexander the Great. He held this position for a period of four years, and then the young Prince, at the age of eighteen, became Regent. It is interesting to note that the relations which subsisted between this greatest philosopher and this greatest general in the world's history were throughout relations of warmest friendship. Indeed, had it not been for the munificent aid

which was afterwards given by Alexander, it would have been impossible for Aristotle to have prosecuted the work which he accomplished.

Questions have been raised, not only as to the authenticity of this work, but also as to the originality of much that is undoubtedly authentic. Into these questions, however, I need not go. Whether or not Aristotle borrowed from other writers without acknowledgment, it is certain that in his writings alone are preserved the records of early biological thought and observation, which would otherwise have been lost; and the preservation of these records is of more importance for our present purpose than is the question to whom such thought and observation were in every case due.

Whether we look to its width or to its depth, we must alike conclude that the range of Aristotle's work is wholly without a parallel in the history of mankind. Indeed it may be said that there is scarcely any one department of intellectual activity where the mind of this intellectual giant has not exerted more or less influence—in some cases by way of creation, in others by way of direction. The following is a list of the subjects on which Aristotle wrote:—Physics, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoology, Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, and Psychology; Poetry, Ethics, Rhetoric, Logic, Politics, and Metaphysics. Of these subjects he was most successful in his treatment of the second series as I have arranged them—or of the more abstract and least rigidly scientific. In his Politics he gave the outlines of 225 constitutions, and although but a fragment of his whole work in this direction has come down to us, it is still regarded as one of the best treatises that has ever been written on the subject. His Ethics, Rhetoric, and Logic, also, still present much more than a merely historical interest; for he may be said to have correctly laid down the fundamental principles of these sciences—his analysis of the syllogism, in particular, having left but comparatively little for subsequent logicians to complete. And, lastly, his Metaphysics alone would have been sufficient to have placed him among the greatest thinkers of antiquity.

That his labours in the field of more exact science should not now present a comparable degree of value, is, of course, inevitable. At the time when he wrote the very methods of exact science were unknown; and I think it constitutes the strongest of all his many claims to our intellectual veneration that he was able to perceive so largely as he did the superior value of the objective over the subjective methods in matters pertaining to natural science. When we remember how inveterate and how universal is the bondage of all early thought to the subjective methods; when we remember that for the best part of twenty centuries after the birth of Aristotle, the intellect of Europe was still held fast in the chains of that bondage; and when we remember that even at the present time, with all the advantages of a long and painful experience, we find it so extremely

difficult to escape it; when we remember these things, we can only marvel at the scientific instinct of this man who, although nurtured in the school of Plato, was able to see—darkly, it may be, and, as it were, in the glass of future things, but still was able to see—that the true method of science is the method of observation and experiment. “Men who desire to learn,” he said, “must first learn to doubt; for science is only the solution of doubts;” and it is not possible more concisely to state the intellectual duty of scepticism, or the paramount necessity of proof, which thousands of years of wasted toil have now enabled all intelligent men more or less to realise.

Nevertheless, as I have said, the vision of scientific method which Aristotle had was a vision of that which is only seen in part: the image of the great truth which he perceived was largely distorted by passing through the medium of pre-existing thought. Consequently, of late years a great deal of discussion has taken place on the subject of Aristotle’s method. On the one hand, it is maintained that he is entitled to the place which is usually assigned to Bacon as the father of the inductive methods; while, on the other hand, it is maintained that in respect of method he did not make any considerable advance upon his predecessors. In my opinion a just estimate lies between these two extremes. Take, for example, the following passages from his writings:—

“We must not accept a general principle from logic only, but must prove its application to each fact, for it is in facts that we must seek general principles, and these must always accord with facts.”

“The reason why men do not sufficiently attend to the facts is their want of experience. Hence those accustomed to physical inquiry are more competent to lay down the principles which have an extensive application; whereas others who have been accustomed to many assumptions without the apposition of reality, easily lay down principles because they take few things into consideration. It is not difficult to distinguish between those who argue from facts, and those who argue from notions.”

Many similar passages to the same effect might be quoted, and it is evident that the true method of inductive research could not well have its leading principles more clearly enunciated. And to say this much is in itself enough to place Aristotle in the foremost rank among the scientific intellects of the world. But it would be unreasonable to expect that this great herald of scientific method should have been able, with any powers of intellect, to have entirely emancipated himself from the whole system of previous thought; or in the course of a single lifetime to have fully learnt the great lesson of method which has only been taught by the best experience of more than twenty centuries after his death. Accordingly we find that, although he clearly divined the true principles of research, he not unfrequently fell short in his application of those principles to practice. In particular, he had no adequate idea of the importance of verifying *each step*

of a research, or *each statement* of an exposition; and therefore it is painfully often that his own words just quoted admit of being turned against himself—"It is easy to distinguish between those who argue from facts and those who argue from notions." To give only a single example, he says that if a woman who has scarlet fever looks at herself in a mirror, the mirror will become suffused with a bloody mist, which, if the mirror be new, can only be rubbed off with difficulty. Now, instead of proceeding to verify this old wife's tale, he attempts to explain the alleged fact by a rambling assemblage of absurd "notions." And numerous other instances might be given to the same effect. Nevertheless, upon the whole, or as a general rule, in his thought and language, in his mode of conceiving and grappling with problems of a scientific kind, in the importance which he assigns to the smallest facts, and in the general cast of reasoning which he employs, Aristotle resembles, much more closely than any other philosopher of like antiquity, a scientific investigator of the present day.

Thus, in seeking to form a just estimate of Aristotle's work in Natural History, we must be careful on the one hand to avoid the extravagant praise which has been lavished upon him, even by such authorities as Cuvier, De Blainville, Isidore St. Hilaire, &c.; and, on the other hand, we must no less carefully avoid the unfairness of contrasting his working methods with those which have now become habitual.

In proceeding to consider the extraordinary labours of this extraordinary man, in so far as they were concerned with Natural History, I may begin by enumerating, but without waiting to name, the species of animals with which we know that he was acquainted. From his works on Natural History, then, we find that he mentions at least 70 species of mammals, 150 of birds, 20 of reptiles, 116 of fish, 84 of articulata, and about 40 of lower forms—making close upon 500 species in all. That he was accustomed from his earliest boyhood to the anatomical study of animal forms we may infer from the fact of his father having been a physician of eminence, and an Asclepiad; for, according to Galen, it was the custom of the Asclepiads to constitute dissection part of the education of their children. Therefore, as Aristotle's boyhood was passed upon the sea-coast, it is probable that from a very early age his studies were directed to the anatomy and physiology of marine animals. But, of course, it must not be concluded from this that the dissections then practised were comparable with what we understand by dissections at the present time. We find abundant evidence in the writings of Aristotle himself that the only kind of anatomy then studied was anatomy of the grosser kind, or such as might be prosecuted with a carving-knife as distinguished from a scalpel.

We generally hear it said that as a naturalist Aristotle was a

teleologist, or a believer in the doctrine of design as manifested in living things. Therefore I should like to begin by making it clear how far this statement is true; for, unquestionably, when such an intellect as that of Aristotle is at work upon this important question, it behoves us to consider exactly what it was that he concluded.

Now, I do not dispute—indeed it would be quite impossible to do so—that Aristotle was a teleologist, in the sense of being in every case antecedently convinced that organic structures are adapted to the performance of definite functions, and that the organism as a whole is adapted to the conditions of its existence. Thus, for example, he very clearly says: “As every instrument subserves some particular end, that is to say, some special function, so the whole body must be destined to minister to some plenary sphere of action. Just as the saw is made for sawing—this being its function—and not sawing for the saw.”

But in any other sense than this of recognising *adaptation* in Nature, I do not think there is evidence of Aristotle having been a teleologist. In his *Metaphysics* he asks the question whether the principle of order and excellence in Nature is a self-existing principle inherent from all eternity in Nature herself; or whether it is like the discipline of an army, apparently inherent, but really due to a general in the background. Aristotle, I say, asks this question; but he gives no answer. Similarly, in his *Natural History*, he simply takes the facts of order and adaptation as facts of observation; and, therefore, in biology I do not think that Aristotle can be justly credited with teleology in any other sense than a modern Darwinist can be so credited. That is to say, he is a believer in *adaptation*, or final *end*; but leaves in abeyance the question of *design*, or final *cause*. The only respect in which he differs from a modern Darwinist—although even here the school of Wallace and Weismann agree with him—is in holding that adaptation must be present in *all* cases, even where the adaptation is not apparent. In the case of rudimentary organs, he is puzzled to account for structures apparently aimless, and therefore he invents what we may term an imaginary aim by saying that Nature has supplied these structures as “tokens,” whereby to sustain her unity of plan. This idea was prominently revived in modern pre-Darwinian times; but in the present connection it is enough to observe that here, as elsewhere, Aristotle personifies Nature as a designing or contriving agency, having the attainment of order and harmony as the final end or aim of all her work. He appears, however, clearly to have recognised that, so far at least as science is concerned, such personification is, as it were, allegorical; for he expressly says that if he were asked whether Nature works out her designs with any such conscious deliberation, or intentional adjustment of means to ends, as is the case with a builder or a shipwright, he would not be able to answer. All,

therefore, that the teleology of Aristotle amounted to was this: he found that the hypothesis of purpose was a useful working hypothesis in his biological researches. There is nothing to show that he would have followed the natural theologians of modern times, who seek to rear upon this working hypothesis a constructive argument in favour of design. On the other hand, it is certain that he would have differed from these theologians in one important particular. For he everywhere regards the purposes of Nature as operating under limitations imposed by what he calls absolute necessity. Monsters, for example, he says are not the intentional work of Nature herself, but instances of the victory of matter over Nature; that is to say, they are instances where Nature has failed to satisfy those conditions of necessity under which she acts. Thus, even if there be a disposing mind which is the author of Nature, according to Aristotle it is not the mind of a creator, but rather that of an architect, who does the best he can with the materials supplied to him, and under the conditions imposed by necessity.

Turning now to the actual work which Aristotle accomplished in the domain of biology, I will first enumerate his more important discoveries upon matters of fact, and then proceed to mention his more important achievements in the way of generalisation.

He correctly viewed the blood as the medium of general nutrition, and knew that for this purpose it moved through the blood-vessels from the heart to all parts of the body, although he did not know that it returned again to the heart, and thus was ignorant of what we now call the circulation. But he was the first to find that the heart is related to the blood-vascular system; and this he did by proving, in the way of dissection, that its cavities are continuous with those of the large veins and arteries. Nor did he end here. He traced the course of these large veins and arteries, giving an accurate account of their branchings and distribution. He knew perfectly well that arteries contain blood; and this is a matter of some importance, because it has been the habit of historians of physiology to affirm that all the ancients supposed arteries to contain air. In speaking of the cavities of the heart, he appears to have fallen into the unaccountably foolish blunder of saying that no animal has more than three, and that some animals have as few as one. But, although this apparent error has been harped upon by his critics, it is clearly no error at all. Prof. Huxley has shown that what Aristotle here did was to regard the right auricle as a venous sinus, or as a part of the great vein, and not of the heart. The only mistake of any importance that he made in all his researches upon the anatomy of the heart and blood-vessels, was in supposing that the number of cavities of the heart is in some measure determined by the size of the animal. Here he undoubtedly

lays himself open to the charge of basing a general and erroneous statement on a preconceived idea, without taking the trouble to test it by observation. But we may forgive him this little exhibition of negligence when we find that it was committed by the same observer, who correctly informs us that the heart of the chick is first observable as a pulsating point on the third day of incubation, or who graphically tells us that just as irrigating trenches in gardens are constructed to distribute water from one single source through numerous channels, which divide and subdivide so as to convey it to all parts, and thus to nourish the garden plants which grow at the expense of the water; so the blood-vessels start from the heart in a ramifying system, in order to conduct the nutritive fluid to all regions of the body. Lastly, Aristotle experimented on coagulation of the blood, and obtained accurate results as to the comparative rates with which the process takes place in the blood of different animals. He also correctly described the phenomenon as due to the formation of a meshwork of fibres; but he appears to have erroneously supposed that these fibres exist in the blood before it is drawn from the body.

So much, then, for his views upon the heart, the blood, and the blood-vessels. He was less fortunate in his teaching about the bladder, kidneys, liver, spleen, and so forth, because he had no sufficient physiological data to go upon. Still, one would think he might have avoided the error of attributing the formation of urine to the bladder, seeing that he had gone so far as to perceive that the kidneys separate out the urine which, as he correctly says, then flows into the bladder. His chapters on the digestive tract display a surprisingly extensive and detailed investigation of the alimentary system of many animals; and the observations made are for the most part accurate. In particular, his descriptions of the teeth, œsophagus, epiglottis, and the mechanism of deglutition, display so surprising an amount of careful and detailed observation throughout the vertebrated series, that they read much like a modern treatise upon these branches of comparative anatomy. The same remark applies to his disquisition on horns. Where inaccurate, his mistakes here are mostly due to his ignorance of exotic forms.

Adipose tissue he correctly viewed as excess of nutritive matter extracted from the blood; and he noted that fatness is inimical to propagation. Marrow he likewise correctly regarded as having to do with the nutrition of bones; and observed that in the embryo it consists of a vascular pulp.

That Aristotle should have had no glimmering notion either of the nervous system, or of its functions, is, of course, not surprising; but to me it is surprising that so acute an observer should have failed to perceive the physiological meaning of muscles. Although he knew that they are attached to bones, that they occur in greatest bulk

where most strength of movement is required—such as in the arms and legs of man, the breasts of birds, and so forth,—and although he must have observed that the muscles swell and harden when the limbs move, yet it never occurred to him to connect muscles with the phenomena of movement. He regarded them only as padding, having also in some way to do with the phenomena of sensation. Thus we appear to have one of those curious instances of feeble observation with which, every now and then, he takes us by surprise. To give parenthetically a still more strange example of what I mean, one would think that there is nothing in the economy of a star-fish or an echinus more conspicuous, or more calculated to arrest attention, than the ambulacral system of tube feet. Yet Aristotle, while describing many other parts of those animals, is quite silent about this ambulacral system. I think this fact can only be explained by supposing that he confined his observations to dead specimens; but, as he was not an inland naturalist, even this explanation does not acquit him of a charge of negligence, which, when contrasted with his customary diligence, appears to me extraordinary.

His ignorance of the nervous system led him to a variety of speculative errors. In particular, he was induced to regard the heart as the seat of mind, and the brain as a bloodless organ, whose function it was to cool the heart, which he supposed to be not only the organ of mind, but also an apparatus for cooking the blood, and by it the food. The respiratory system was also conceived by him as a supplementary apparatus for the purpose of keeping the body cool—a curious illustration of early philosophical thought arriving at a conclusion which, to use his own terminology, was directly opposed to the truth. Nevertheless, the reasoning which landed him in this erroneous conclusion was not only perfectly sound, but also based upon a large induction from facts, the observation of which is highly creditable. The reason why he supposed the office of respiration to be that of cooling the body was because nearly all animals which respire by means of lungs exhibit a high temperature, and, imagining that temperature or “vital heat” was a property of the living soul, his inference was inevitable that the function of the lungs was that of keeping down the temperature of warm-blooded animals. Here, then, his error was due to deficiency of information, and the same has to be said of the great majority of his other errors. For instance, with regard to the one already mentioned about the heart being the seat of mind, this is usually said by commentators to have been due merely to the accident of the heart occupying a central position. And no doubt such was partly his reason, for he considered that position the noblest, and repeatedly argues that on this account it must be the seat of mind. But over and above this mystical, not to say childish reason, I think he must have had another. For seeing that the error

is a very general one in early philosophical thought—we find it running through the Psalms, and it is still conventionally retained by all poetic writers—I think we must look for some more evident reason than that of mere position to account for it. And this reason I take to be the perceptible influence on the heart-beat which is caused by emotions of various kinds. Furthermore, Aristotle expressly assigns the following as another of his reasons:—"In the embryo the heart appears in motion before all other parts, as if it were a living animal, and as if it were the beginning of all animals that have blood."

Turning now for a moment to Aristotle's still more detailed discoveries in Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, his most remarkable researches are, I think, those on the Cetacea, Crustacea, and Cephalopoda. Here the amount of minute and accurate observation which he displayed is truly astonishing; and in some cases his statements on important matters of fact have only been verified in our own century—such, for instance, as the peculiar mode of propagation which has now been re-discovered in some of the Cephalopoda.* He also knew the anomalous fact that in these animals the vitellus is joined to the mouth of the embryo; that in certain species of cartilaginous fish the embryo is attached to its parent by the intervention of a placenta-like structure; and, in short, detailed so many anatomical discoveries both as regards the vertebrata and invertebrata, that a separate article would be required to make them intelligible to a general reader. In this connection, therefore, I will only again insist upon the enormous difference between Aristotle and the great majority of his illustrious countrymen in respect of method. Unless it can be shown that an ancient writer has been led to anticipate the results of modern discovery by the legitimate use of inductive methods, he deserves no more credit for his guesses when they happen to have been right than he does when they happen to have been wrong. This, however, is a consideration which we are apt to neglect. When we find that an old philosopher has made a statement which Science has afterwards shown to be true, we are apt to regard the fact as proof of remarkable scientific insight, whereas, when we investigate the reasonings which led him to propound the statement, we usually find that they are of a puerile nature, and only happened to hit the truth, as it were, by accident. Among a number of guesses made at random and in ignorance, a certain percentage may well prove right; but under these circumstances the man who happens to make a correct guess deserves no more credit than he who happens to have made an erroneous one. Indeed, he may deserve even less credit. For instance, when the Pythagoreans, on a basis of various mystical and erroneous

* Lewes, however, denies that the evidence is sufficient to show that Aristotle knew this.

speculations, propounded a kind of dim adumbration of the heliocentric theory, far from deserving any credit for superior sagacity at the hands of modern Science, they merit condemnation for their extravagant theorising and unguarded belief. In their time, whatever evidence there was lay on the side of the then prevalent view that the sun moves round the earth. Therefore, when, without adducing any counter-evidence of a scientific kind, they affirmed that the earth moved round the sun, they were merely displaying the spirit of what the Yankees call "pure cussedness." That is to say, they were shutting their eyes to the only evidence which was available, and showing their own obstinacy by propounding a directly opposite view. The sound maxim in Science is, that he discovers who proves; and this is a maxim which many classical scholars would do well to remember when writing about the scientific speculations of the early Greeks.

Now I have made these remarks in order again to emphasise the almost unique position which Aristotle holds among his contemporaries in this respect. Instead of giving his fancy free rein upon "the high *priori* road," he patiently plods the way of detailed research; and, when he proceeds to generalise, he does so as far as possible upon the basis of his inductive experience.

Coming now to his generalisations, it was a true philosophical insight which enabled Aristotle to perceive in organic nature an ascending complexity of organisation from the vegetable kingdom up to man. Instead of the three kingdoms of Nature, which were afterwards formulated by the alchemists, and which in general parlance we still continue to preserve, namely, the mineral, vegetable, and animal—instead of these three kingdoms, Aristotle adopted the much more philosophical classification of Nature into two divisions, the organic and the inorganic, or the living and the not-living. Nevertheless, he fell into the error—which was, indeed, almost unavoidable in his time—of supposing that there is a natural and a daily passage of the one into the other. However, he again shows his philosophical insight where he points out the leading distinctions between plants and animals, the former manifesting life in the phenomena of nutrition alone, including germination, growth, repair, and reproduction; while the latter, besides these, exhibit also the phenomena of sensation, volition, and spontaneous movement. He was not so fortunate in his attempts at drawing the boundary-lines between plants and animals. For, while he correctly guessed, from erroneous observation, that sponges should be classified as animals, he decided in favour of placing the hydroid polyps among the plants; and he appears to have classified certain testaceous molluscs in the same category. Man, of course, he places at the head of the animal kingdom; and shows a profound penetration in drawing the true

psychological distinction between him and the lower animals, namely, that animals only know particular truths, never generalise, or form abstract ideas.

His conception of life was more in accordance with that of modern science than that of any of the other conceptions which have been formed of it either in ancient times or the Middle Ages. For he seems clearly to have perceived the error of regarding the "Vital Principle" otherwise than as an abstraction of our own making. Life and mind in his view were abstractions pertaining to organisms, just in the same way as weight and heat are abstractions pertaining to inanimate objects. For convenience of expression, or even for purposes of research, it may be desirable to speak of weight and heat as independent entities; but we know that they cannot exist apart from material objects—that they are what we term qualities, and not themselves objects. And so with Life and Mind; they are regarded by Aristotle as qualities—or, as we should now say, functions—of organisms. And here we must remember that the whole course of previous speculation on such matters proceeded on the assumption that the vital principle was an independent entity superadded to organisms, serving to animate them as long as it was united to them, leaving them to death and decay as soon as it was withdrawn from them; and even then being itself able to survive as a disembodied spirit, enjoying its conscious existence apart from all material conditions. Thus it was that the creations of early thought peopled the world with ghosts and spirits more numerous than Nature had supplied it with living organisms. Now Aristotle boldly broke away from this fundamental assumption of the vital principle as an independent and superadded entity. In the phenomena of life and mind he saw merely the functions of organism; he assigned to them both a physical basis, and clearly perceived that for any fruitful study of either we must have recourse to the methods of Physiology.

The scientific genius which could have enabled a man in those days thus to have anticipated the temper of modern thought, appears to me entitled to our highest veneration. Here, perhaps more than anywhere else, he showed his instinctive appreciation of the objective methods; and here it is that the longest time has been taken for mankind to awaken to the truth of his appreciation.

In subsequent centuries, when European thought drifted away from science into theology, the question was long and warmly debated whether or not Aristotle believed in the immortality of the soul. The truth of the matter is that his deliverances upon this question are more scarce than clear. The following brief passage, however, appears to show that he regarded the thinking principle, as distinguished from the animal soul, to be virtually independent of the corporeal organisation: "Only the intellect enters from without. It alone is

god-like. Its actuality has nothing in common with the corporeal actuality."

Aristotle appears to have been the first philosopher who at all appreciated the importance of heredity as a principle, not only in Natural History, but also in Psychology; for he distinctly affirms that the children of civilised communities are capable of a higher degree of intellectual cultivation than are children of savages.

Among his other more noteworthy enunciations of general truths, we may notice the following:—

"The advantage of physiological division of labour was first set forth," says Milne-Edwards, "by myself in 1827;" yet Aristotle had said repeatedly that it is preferable when possible to have a separate organ for a separate office; and that Nature never, if she can help it, makes one organ answer two purposes, as a cheap artist makes "spit and candlestick in one."

Again, that the complexity of life varies with the complexity of organisation; that the structural differences of the alimentary organs are correlated with differences of the animal's alimentation; that no animal without lungs has a voice, and that no animal is endowed with more than one adequate means of defence; that there is an inverse relation between the development of horns and of teeth, as also between growth and generation; that no dipterous insect has a sting; that the embryo is evolved by a succession of gradual changes from a homogeneous mass into a complete organism; that the development of an organism is a progress from a general to a special form; these and numerous others are instances of generalisation made by Aristotle, which have lasted, with but slight modifications of his terms, to the present day.*

Of these generalisations the most remarkable is the last which I have mentioned. For one of the greatest and most momentous controversies which the history of Science has afforded is that which took place nearly 2000 years after the time of Aristotle, with regard to so-called evolution *versus* epigenesis. The question was whether the germ or egg of any organism contained the future or young organism already formed in miniature, and only requiring to be expanded in order to appear as the perfect organism, or whether the process of development consisted in a progress from the indefinite to the definite, from the simple to the complex, from what we call undifferentiated protoplasm to the fully differentiated animal. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when this subject was most warmly debated, the balance of scientific opinion inclined to what is now known to be the erroneous view that the germ is merely the adult organism in miniature. It therefore speaks greatly in favour of

* Dr. W. Ogle, in his admirable work on Aristotle, has already alluded to these and some of the other points previously noticed.

Aristotle's sagacity that he clearly and repeatedly expressed the opinion which is now known to be right, viz., that the organism develops out of its germ by a series of differentiations. And not only with reference to this doctrine of epigenesis, but likewise throughout the whole course of his elaborate treatise on generation, he displays such wonderful powers both of patient observation and accurate scientific reasoning, that this treatise deserves to be regarded as the most remarkable of all his remarkable works pertaining to Biology. The subject-matter of it is not, however, suited to any detailed consideration within the limits imposed by an article; and therefore I will merely back the general opinion which I have just given by quoting that of the most severe and exacting of all Aristotle's critics from the side of science—severe and exacting, indeed, to a degree which is frequently unjust: I mean the late George Henry Lewes. This is what he says of the treatise on Generation:

"It is an extraordinary production. No ancient and few modern works equal it in comprehensiveness of detail and profound speculative insight. We there find some of the obscurest problems of Biology treated with a mastery which, when we consider the condition of Science at that day, is truly astonishing. . . . I know no better eulogy to pass on Aristotle than to compare his work with the 'Exercitations concerning Generation' of our immortal Harvey. The founder of modern physiology was a man of keen insight, of patient research, of eminently scientific mind. His work is superior to that of Aristotle in some few anatomical details; but it is so inferior to it in philosophy, that at the present day it is much more antiquated, much less accordant with our views."

I have now said enough to convey a general idea of the enormous range of Aristotle's work within the four corners of Biology; his amazing instincts of scientific method, and his immense power of grasping generalisations. While doing this I have selected instances of his accuracy rather than of his inaccuracy, not only because it is in the former that he stands in most conspicuous contrast with all preceding, and with most succeeding, philosophers of antiquity; but also because it is here that we may be most sure of according justice. Where we meet with statements of fact which are accurate, we may be satisfied that we are in immediate contact with the mind of Aristotle himself; but when we meet with inaccurate statements we must not be so sure of this. Not only is it probable that in the great majority of these cases he has been misled by erroneous information supplied to him by travellers, fishermen, and others; but there is good reason to suppose that in some places his MSS. may have been tampered with. These were hidden underground for the better part of two centuries, and when they were eventually brought to light, Apellicon, into whose hands they fell, "felt no scruples in correcting what had been worm-eaten, and supplying what was defective or illegible."*

* See Grote's "Aristotle," 1, 51.

Thus, to quote Dr. Ogle, who suggests the view here taken: "Is it possible to believe that the same eye that has distinguished the cetacea from the fishes, that had detected their hidden mammae, discovered their lungs, and recognised the distinct character of their bones, should have been so blind as to fancy that the mouth of these animals was on the under surface of the body?" And so on with other cases.

Inaccuracies of observation, however, there must have been; and there must have been inaccuracies of reasoning. Looking to the enormous range of his work in Biology alone; remembering that in this work he had had no predecessors; considering that at the same time he was thus a single-handed collector of facts, and a single-minded thinker upon their import; it becomes evident that Aristotle would have been something more than human, if either his observations or his reasonings could everywhere be justly compared with those of scientific genius when more favourably circumstanced. But it is the glory of Aristotle that both his observations and his reasonings can stand such comparison as well as they do. For when on the one hand we remember the immensity of his achievement, and on the other hand reflect that he was worse than destitute of any ancestral experience of method, born into a world of mysticism, nurtured in the school of Plato, therefore compelled himself to forge the intellectual instruments of research, himself to create the very conception of scientific inquiry,—when we thus remember and thus reflect, it appears to me there can be no question that Aristotle stands forth, not only as the greatest figure of antiquity, but as the greatest intellect that has ever appeared upon the face of this earth.

The overmastering power with which this intellect swayed the course of subsequent thought was in one respect highly beneficial to the interests of Science; but in another respect it was no less deleterious. It was beneficial in so far as it revealed to mankind the true method of Science as objective and not subjective. It was deleterious inasmuch as the very magnitude of its force reduced the intellect of Europe for centuries afterwards to a condition of abject slavery. Nothing is more deleterious to the interests of Science than undue regard to authority. Before all else the spirit of Science must be free; it must be unfettered by the chains of prejudice, whether these be forged by our own minds or manufactured for us by the minds of others. Her only allegiance is that which she owes to Nature; to Man she owes nothing, and here, as elsewhere, it is impossible to serve two masters. Therefore, the only use of authority in Science is to furnish men of less ability with suggestions which, as suggestions, may properly be considered more worthy of testing by the objective methods on account of their parentage in the mind of genius. But it is an evil day for Science when such parentage is taken as in itself a sufficient warrant for the truth of the ideas which have been

born of it; for then it is that authority is allowed to usurp the place of verification: instead of her true motto, "Prove all things," Science thus adopts its very opposite—"Only believe."

Now the whole history of Science has been more or less blotted by this baleful influence of authority, which even in our own days is far from having been wholly expunged. But in no part of her history has this influence been exerted in any degree at all comparable with that which was thrown over her, like a shadow, by Aristotle. Partly owing to the magnitude of his genius, but still more, I think, to the predominance of the spirit in the dark ages which regarded submission to authority as an intellectual virtue; through all these ages stood to Science the name of Aristotle in very much the same relation as stood to Religion the name of God. His writings on purely scientific subjects were regarded as well-nigh equivalent to a revelation; and, therefore, the study of Nature became a mere study of Aristotle. There was almost a total absence of any independent inquiry in any one department of Science, and even in cases where the utterances of Aristotle were obscure, the men of intellect who disputed over his meanings never thought of appealing to Nature herself for a solution. They could only view Nature through the glasses which had been given them by Aristotle; and, therefore, the only questions with which they troubled themselves were those as to the exact meaning of their oracle.

It is, of course, only fair to add that Aristotle himself was in no way responsible for this evil effect of his work. The spirit in which his work was thus received was quite alien to that in which it had been accomplished; and alike by precept and example he was himself the most noble opponent of the former that the world has ever produced. And therefore I doubt not that if Aristotle could have been brought back to life during the Middle Ages, he would have made short work of the Aristotelians, by himself becoming their bitterest foe. For listen to his voice, which upon this as upon so many other matters speaks with the spirit of truest philosophy—speaks, moreover, with the honesty of a great and beautiful nature; let us listen to what this master mind has told us of its own labours, and with a veneration more worthy than that of the Aristotelians let us bow before the man who said these words:

"I found no basis prepared; no models to copy. . . . Mine is the first step, and therefore a small one, though worked out with much thought and hard labour. It must be looked at as a first step, and judged with indulgence. You, my readers or hearers of my lectures, if you think I have done as much as can fairly be required for an initiatory start, as compared with more advanced departments of theory, will acknowledge what I have achieved, and pardon what I have left for others to accomplish."

GEORGE J. ROMANES.

ATHENS REVISITED.

BETWEEN Constantinople and Athens there is a greater difference of scene and ideas than between any two other capitals in Europe, either in the present or in the past. The one is typical of a race unprogressive and apparently incapable of improvement, and with no ideas or even hopes fitted to inspire the undoubted physical strength of its people to efforts sufficient to save them from their fate in Europe; the other typical of a race which from the earliest times has been, and still is, filled with ideas and ambitions far beyond the physical power of its people to realise. It is one of the strangest things in history, that such a people as the Greeks should for four hundred years have been subject to the debasing rule of the Turks; and it is the strongest testimony to the vitality of their race that it has survived this long servitude.

For a due estimate of the progress made by Greece since its emancipation from Turkish rule, it would be necessary to go back to the published accounts of those who visited it shortly before that time or immediately after, and before a settled Government was formed. My own personal measure of comparison dates no further back than 1857, when I spent some weeks in Greece after a visit to Constantinople.

The difference between then and now is very great, and the advance made, especially during the last few years, has been most striking. In 1857, and for some years later, the condition of the country was very far from satisfactory. The Greeks had, in many respects, grievously disappointed the expectations of those who had induced the intervention of the Great Powers for the resuscitation of their nationality. Philhellenism was completely out of fashion. There had been a curious and not very intelligible reaction in Western Europe in favour of the Turks, which had found its political expression

in the Crimean War. Few people were inclined to take the Greeks "au sérieux" or to appreciate the difficulties which they had experienced in consequence of the grave errors committed by the Great Powers when they started Greece on its new career.

I saw much when at Athens, in the year I refer to, of General Church, who had commanded in the Greek Army in the last years of the War of Independence, almost the last survivor of the Philhellenes, then an old but very vigorous and healthy man of eighty-two, residing always at Athens, loved and honoured by the people, but defrauded of his property by the Government. He often talked to me about the condition of Greece. He had been greatly disappointed by the little progress made in twenty-five years. He admitted its failure in many respects. He had not, however, lost faith in the future of the people. He still maintained that they had before them a brilliant future. They had been heavily handicapped by the Great Powers, in restricting so narrowly the boundaries of the new kingdom, in leaving outside of it so many purely Greek provinces and islands, and in giving them as king such a man as Otho of Bavaria, a narrow-minded prig, brought up by Jesuits in the worst traditions of a petty German Court, without any popular sympathies or any force of character such as were so necessary for a new State.*

General Church maintained that we should not judge the Greeks too hastily. We should recollect the condition in which they found themselves after the centuries of oppression under the Turks, and after the cruel sufferings and ravages of the War of Independence. There was everything to create and renew; there were no schools, no colleges, no civil service, no trade, no industries, no commerce, and but few men of education capable of leading public opinion. Athens itself was in ruins; scarcely a house remained, other than the consular residences. Something had already been done to repair these grave deficiencies, but not so much as many had hoped. There were still practically no roads in the country. Athens had since become a fairly habitable town of 40,000 people; a great palace had been erected for the king at a cost altogether out of proportion to the resources of the country; schools and colleges had been established, which were already beginning to have their effect; but in the rural districts there was little or no improvement; the people were much as they had been in past times, save that they were ardently patriotic and intensely political. The chief stigma which rested on Greece in the eyes of Western Europe was the prevalence of brigandage, which made it unsafe to travel in the interior, at all

* Lord Palmerston fully recognised the mistake which the Great Powers made in placing Otho on the throne of Greece. Writing to his brother he said: "As long as King Otho sits like an incubus on the Greek throne no great progress will be made in that career of improvement which the Greek nation is destined to run." . . . "Really such Sovereigns as rule over Naples and Greece are enough to make men Republicans" ("Life of Lord Palmerston," vol. i. p. 268).

events north of the Gulf of Corinth, without great precautions. This brigandage was in part the heritage of times when, together with piracy, it was rather in the nature of a guerilla war carried on against Turkish rule by the most independent of the natives living in the mountains, and partly also was due to the proximity of the frontier, across which, in the Greek provinces still subject to Turkey, it was the normal protest against misgovernment, as it is at the present time in Macedonia and Albania. The brigands found it convenient and easy to be sometimes on one side of the frontier and sometimes on the other, as they found an easy refuge from the Greek authorities by crossing into Turkey. They were also suspected of intimate relations with politicians at Athens, as will be found in M. About's amusing works on Greece. At times even the neighbourhood of Athens was unsafe from these gentry, and it was thought rather foolhardy on my part to ride down every evening to Phalerum Bay for a bathe in the sea. Its shores were then almost uninhabited, and it was difficult to find a fisherman to hold one's horse. The bay is now the fashionable summer resort of the Athenians, and is lined with villas.

Northern Greece was at the time I refer to somewhat safer than usual, owing to the fact that a conflict had recently taken place between the troops and the principal band of brigands, who had in part been slain, and in part driven across the frontier. I was able, therefore, to make an expedition on horseback into the interior with two Englishmen I met at Athens. We engaged as our dragoman a man whose reputation was none of the best, as he was suspected of being in communication with the brigands; but we told him before engaging him that on the appearance of any of his friends, he should be the first to suffer. The threat was not without effect and justification, for while we on our part were in no way molested throughout our journey, this same man a few years later acted as dragoman to Messrs. Vyner, Herbert, and Lloyd, and was believed to have betrayed them into the hands of brigands, by whom, as is well known, these unfortunate travellers were murdered. We took the precaution of going fully armed, and whenever we passed places where an ambush was possible, we rode at a distance of fifty yards apart. In this way we travelled in safety through the whole of Northern Greece. The most interesting point, that which has left an ineffaceable impression on my recollection, was Mount Parnassus. From the summit of this beautiful and isolated range there is a view which in point of interest, if not extent, is quite unequalled in any part of the world. The whole of the mainland of Greece, including every corner of the Morea, and many of the islands, lie in full view. The Gulf of Corinth at one's feet looks no more than a lake or fjord. To the northward one can see as far as Mount Olympus in Thessaly; to the right are the plains of Attica, Marathon and the island of Eubœa. To the north just below lies

Chæroneia, of such painful memories to Greece. From Parnassus alone there are visible the seas where four great naval battles were fought between East and West, in all of which the Western forces triumphed—Salamis, Actium, Lepanto, and Navarino. It cannot be by mere chance that the shock of naval battle between these two opposite civilisations has so often taken place in Greek waters. What was brought home to me by this view was the small extent of ancient Greece, the narrowness of the stage on which so many great events were crowded, and what miniature States were those, whose conflicts and jealousies have filled so many pages in history.

I did not revisit Greece till 1887, and again last autumn. I shall speak of these two later visits as one. I need scarcely allude to the important political events which have befallen Greece in the interval. It has had its full share in that unrest and change which have been the experience of almost every State in Europe except our own. The turning-point for Greece was the deposition in 1862 of Otho, of whom no trace or apparently even recollection now remains, except his barrack-looking palace, and a single street named after his Queen.

More important still have been the two consequent accessions of territory—that of the Ionian Islands ceded by England, one of the few disinterested actions of the kind which has ever been carried out by a great nation, and without even an equivalent, such as was alleged as a justification for the recent cession of Heligoland, and that of Thessaly and part of Epirus, also due in a measure to the representations of the British Government at the Congress of Berlin, in response to many demonstrations of public opinion in England. Of the advance made by Greece in the interval under its new King, and still more owing to its new Constitution and its full embrace of democracy, there cannot now be a question. Brigandage has long ago been stamped out, not without very severe repressive measures, including the removal to remote districts of entire villages where brigands were harboured. The country is now as safe to travellers as any part of Europe. It has also been opened up by numerous roads and railways. From Corinth alone three lines branch off to different parts of the Morea. From Athens a line is being made to the Turkish frontier, which, it is to be hoped, will before long open out direct communication with Vienna.

Athens itself has become a thoroughly modern city of the best type, of over 100,000 inhabitants, the residence of numerous families of Greeks, who have made their fortunes elsewhere. Its population is scarcely to be distinguished from that of any capital in Western Europe, save that there is no appearance of poverty and no slums. It is the centre of activity to the whole country in respect of its schools and university. Probably in no city in Europe is there so large a

number of booksellers' shops in proportion to the population, or so many newspapers of wide circulation.

Its public buildings, its University, its museums, are handsome buildings, due to the patriotic munificence of wealthy Greeks who have made their fortunes elsewhere. The Piræus has become a crowded port and a manufacturing town of some importance, sufficiently so to induce the Greek Assembly to impose protective duties on foreign manufactures.

By far the most important advance has been in the Museums, and in the care bestowed on the collection and preservation of works of art. The Museums of the Acropolis and the National Museum are already filled with statues and works recently discovered, of extraordinary interest and beauty, many of them archaic statues showing the gradual development of Greek art, of the greatest value to the student and sculptor. I was immensely struck with the progress made in this direction, and with the enthusiasm now shown for art. It is significant of the change of feeling in this respect that the people of Olympia will not submit to the removal to Athens of the exquisite Hermes and other statues found there a few years ago, and that it has been found necessary to erect a special museum for them on the spot.

It is impossible for any one who visits Athens not to imbibe something of its unique artistic inspiration of the beautiful; it is here alone the most perfect conception of the ideal is to be found; and that architecture and sculpture reveal forms of the beautiful which no convention can alter or amend. Yet, apart from the Greek sculptures recently collected in the museums here, and to be found in the museums of Rome, Naples, London, and Paris, how few are the relics of old Athens—the Acropolis, with its glorious Parthenon, Propylæa, and Erechtheum; the Temple of Theseus, the few columns of the Temple of Jupiter, and one or two other remains. It is only by degrees that one can realise their full significance and importance. I have now, at three intervals, made many visits to the Acropolis. I have found that on each occasion of a first visit I have gone through the same sensations—at first of disappointment, of inability to take measure of the size of the buildings, of bewilderment at the amount of *débris* of columns and stones lying about; of surprise in respect of the Parthenon, to find what a wreck it is, that it is almost cut into two separate fragments of ruin by the explosion of the powder magazine by Venetian shells in 1687, (till when the building had remained almost intact), of the difficulty of reconstructing in one's mind the outlines of the building as a whole. It is only by degrees that one finds it possible to fill up the gaps, to trace the connection between what exists and what is gone, and to reconstruct in one's imagination the temple as it must have been in form if not in colour. When this at last comes to the eye, one begins to appreciate the massive grace and exqui-

site beauty of detail and delicacy of tracing of the lines of this marvellous work; the oftener one goes there the more it grows upon one, the more the lines fill in, and the better able one is to understand it, and to pay it due reverence. There must be few, I think, who do not then feel disposed to join with Byron in cursing the Scotch Ambassador who so violently and negligently despoiled the ruin of so much of its glorious sculpture, and to agree with Mr. Frederic Harrison in the desire that England may yet be induced to return to the building works which have lost so terribly by being separated from it, and which would have a thousand times more value and interest on the Acropolis than in the murky clime of Bloomsbury.

If I were called on to name a single spot on earth where is concentrated in view more of interest than in any other, than possibly even of all others, of art, of history, of politics, of religion, I would unhesitatingly select the Pnyx, the tribune cut in the rock on the hill facing the Acropolis, still in the condition it was two thousand years ago, from whence Athenian orators were wont to address the people assembled in the agora below them.

I have many times stood on this spot waiting for those moments when, shortly after sunset, the shadows of night already spread over the surrounding country, and the Acropolis, for some unexplained reason, is suffused with an intense and beautiful glow, which brings it into a strong relief against the deep blue and grey of more distant hills. What a panorama was before the orator standing on this spot! How much to inspire him with elevated thoughts and to stimulate his eloquence! To his immediate right the Acropolis with its noble Propylæa and Parthenon in view. To the left Lycabettus and the Hall of the Nymphs. Below him the Temple of Theseus and the main parts of the old city. Beyond the plain of Attica, in a setting of hills and mountains made famous by history, Hymettus, Parnes, Pentelicus, and further still the ranges of Helicon and Parnassus. It was here that Demosthenes delivered his famous Philippics. It was from this tribune that tradition says St. Paul made his address to the philosophers of Athens.*

Standing now on the same spot, it is possible to appreciate the courage of the iconoclast who, in the face of the noblest fane ever erected to a pagan divinity, and of so many other testimonies of popular belief in the prevalent mythology, dared to suggest to the philosophers of Athens that they were too superstitious (or rather god-fearing, as the better translation would render the word), to preach to them of another and an unknown God who dwelt not in temples made by human hands, before whom all men were equal, and to tell them of a life beyond this world. Standing here,

* Many critics have doubted whether St. Paul visited Athens or delivered this address; but Ernest Renan has given his opinion in favour of the Scriptural record.

one can well imagine the ironical bearing of his audience, when some of them mocked him, and others said they would hear him again on these matters.

Not the least of the changes in Greece of late years have been those in its political Constitution. The country is now profoundly and essentially Democratic. There is but a single Chamber, elected by universal suffrage under a system of voting which gives a slight advantage to a minority. M. Tricoupis told me that he was opposed at the time to the abolition of the Senate, but he is now convinced it was a wise measure; the sense of responsibility of the single Chamber is increased, and the anticipated dangers from popular instability or caprice have not resulted. The king practically exercises little power. He is content with the position of a constitutional monarch. The Ministers who govern are responsible to the representatives of the people. There is no aristocracy, either of land or wealth; there is no distinction of class; the people are well educated and are intensely political. The peasants, as a rule, own their holdings and take as much interest in politics as the town people. They have, like other people, the defects of their qualities. There is an universal desire for employment under the State in clerical work, however humble or ill-paid, in preference to manual work; employments under the State are consequently unduly multiplied; the pay is very low; and there is not that reputation for official honesty which is desirable. It is complained that justice is too often the subject of bribes; and that even Ministers have sometimes been not above adding to their very meagre salaries by speculation or by *douceurs*. It is alleged that the people have not that love of truth which is the characteristic of some conquering races; that the officers of the Army are altogether out of proportion to their men; that the Army is little to be relied on, and would not stand man to man against the redoubtable Turkish infantry. The Navy bears a much higher reputation, and I can personally bear testimony to the good bearing and education of some of their officers, and to the discipline and good material of their seamen, having on two occasions had vessels of war put at my disposal to visit other parts of Greece. One must, however, in many such matters compare Greece and its Government not to those at the very highest standard of European perfection, but to the secondary States, with the recollection that even as compared with these Greece has been late in coming into the field, and but a few years ago was deficient in everything which constitutes civilisation.

The more I see of the modern Greeks, the more convinced I am, in spite of Fallmerayer and other German writers, whose views are now exploded, that not only are they of the same race and blood as the Greeks of old, but that they have all the same characteristics, the passion for equality, the instinct for liberty, the love of politics, the confidence

in their superiority to the rest of mankind ; the same bright intellect, cleverness and fitness for mental work; the same fickleness and intolerance of superiority in others, and jealousy of distinction. Ulysses rather than Achilles is still their model hero. The sea rather than the land is their sphere. One can believe that the immortal political song in honour of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, "who slew the tyrant and gave equality to the Athenians," is appropriate as ever.

When I was at Athens last autumn, a General Election was near at hand, and the Ministers were appealing to the constituencies in favour of their policy. I was present at a great popular demonstration in favour of M. Tricoupis, then Prime Minister. A great procession passed through the principal streets and halted in front of the Ministry of Finance. It was there addressed by Tricoupis from the roof of the building. There could not have been less than 20,000 persons present. They consisted for the most part of well-to-do artisans and middle-class people, in no way differing from a similar gathering in any one of our great towns in England, listening with marked interest to their leader. Tricoupis addressed them in a manner strikingly free from any oratorical display. His matter, however, as I read it in the papers, for I could not follow it with the pronunciation of modern Greek—so different from what we in England are pleased to suppose and maintain was the ancient style—was of a far more belligerent tone towards Turkey than his wont. In fact, it sounded a new departure in his policy, and pronounced for vigorous action against Turkey in the future. "We have," he said, "increased the moral and material force of the nation. Soon we shall possess a fleet which will make the Greek flag supreme on the *Ægean* Sea. All this we do, not for the actual kingdom of Greece, such as Europe has aided us in creating, but for the cause of the grand Hellenic idea. The time for action is not yet come ; but we are always ready for the combat, and victory is assured to us."

These brave words would have caused, it is said, the demand of explanations from the Porte, if the elections had not supervened and deprived M. Tricoupis of power. The demonstration differed in no respect from what I have frequently seen in England, save that at the conclusion of M. Tricoupis' speech, the crowd, carried away by his appeal to their Hellenic aspirations, and by the enthusiasm of the moment, greeted him with cries rather novel to us Englishmen ; "Long life to God in heaven and to Tricoupis on earth." In the papers the next day it was reported by some one who stood by, that the Philosopher Harrison and the Deputy Lefevre had declared that they had never seen a more enthusiastic demonstration even in favour of Mr. Gladstone.

After such a meeting it was difficult to not believe that Tricoupis was certain of success at the elections. Such was the universal

belief of all we had met at Athens, and I bade farewell to him and to his accomplished sister, who so ably seconds his policy by her social tact, with the utmost confidence that he would be confirmed in his post of Prime Minister for another term by the popular vote. The ballot boxes, however, have their surprises in Greece as elsewhere; and in spite of official influence, which must be very great in a State where every one is competent for and desires employment under the Government, Tricoupis and his party were defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Many explanations have been suggested for this unexpected popular verdict. The most reasonable appears to be that the constituencies have resented the failure of Tricoupis' policy to Turkey, throughout the past four years, on the Cretan and Macedonian questions. He had led them to hope that, by maintaining a friendly and conciliatory attitude to the Turkish Government, he would obtain concessions from the Sultan. This policy had practically failed. The presence in Greece of many hundreds of Cretan refugees, unable to return to their homes; the complete subjection of Crete by the Turkish troops; the abrogation of the Constitution in the island, and the restoration of the arbitrary power of the Sultan there, had exasperated public opinion in Greece. To these had been added more recently the success of the Bulgarian Government in obtaining for their bishops in certain parts of Macedonia a recognition by the Sultan of civil jurisdiction, hitherto recognised only in the case of the Greek bishops,—a policy most distasteful to the Greeks, and reckoned by them as evidence of the complete defeat of their policy at the Porte. These, added to the usual party questions, and a dissatisfaction at the increase of taxation in order to carry out Tricoupis' financial schemes, must be taken to have been the main causes of the turn of public opinion against him. He had at the last moment, at the demonstration I have alluded to, indicated a change in policy, and the adoption of a more hostile attitude to Turkey; but, as is generally the case in such changes of policy, it came too late to affect the result of the elections.

Before leaving Athens I had a long and most interesting conversation with M. Tricoupis. He told me that it had been the policy of his Government to keep on good terms, as far as possible, with the Porte. Looking to the present position of the Turkish Empire, to the constitution of Bulgaria as a new State, and to the attitude of Russia, it was far better for the present, and for some years to come, that the *status quo* should be maintained, and that the Greek population should be allowed to grow and to develop, as they were doing continuously and rapidly, under the shadow of the Turkish Government, in the confident belief that the day would come when the Greeks would be recognised as the most numerous and influential classes in the most

important parts of that Empire; that it was consequently better for the ultimate and lasting interest of Greece that the Eastern Question and the next dismemberment of Turkey should be deferred and not precipitated.

In this view he had endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Sultan, and to approach him on the various questions of immediate dispute in a conciliatory spirit. The Sultan, however, had met all his approaches in exactly the opposite spirit, had not only refused all concession, but had made it impossible to negotiate. The policy of the Sultan, he said, had, for some years past, been one of constant aggression upon Greece and the Greeks in Turkey; their privileges were being restricted and reduced; the pretensions of Bulgaria were preferred to those of Greece in Macedonia; and it was impossible to obtain a settlement of any question. He said there were only two methods for a foreign Power to influence the Turkish Government—bribery and threats. Much could be done by bribery; everything by threats, provided the Sultan felt that effect would be given to them. The Russian Ambassador had full command of both weapons; he could, at any moment, threaten to enforce payment of a part of the enormous indemnity to which Turkey was subjected after the last war, and he was also allowed to use any money thus squeezed out of the Turks for the purpose of his diplomacy in bribing the Sultan's Ministers.

On the subject of Bulgaria M. Tricoupis spoke with much warmth. He denied that this new State was capable of being a bulwark to Turkey against the advance of Russia. Its people were substantially Russian in feeling, and when the proper time should come they would, like the Servians, brush away any anti-Russian Government and show their true colours. Russia would succeed in asserting a control over it, and would at the least command its army and occupy Bourgas.

He said that the Greek Government had infinitely better means than any other power, and at far less cost, of ascertaining what was really taking place at the Sultan's Court, what influences were prevailing there, and what intrigues were being developed by Russia and other Powers, and he complained that the British Government would not consult them nor believe them when they made representation as to what was imminent at Constantinople.

The Government, he said, had obtained early information as to the intended grant of Berats to the Bulgarian Bishops in Macedonia long before it was accomplished. The Russian Ambassador would not believe it, but when it was accomplished, was incensed beyond measure at such an important step being made without his knowledge. M. Tricoupis said it was impossible to understand the policy of the Sultan in making this concession to Bulgaria. It was practical admission of civil jurisdiction in many

most important matters to the Exarch of Bulgaria, by whom the Bishops were appointed. It was true that the Bishops of the Greek Church had the same jurisdiction, but they were subject to the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople, who is appointed by the Sultan, and is therefore to some extent under the control of the Porte. While the Sultan was thus favouring the Bulgarians he was withdrawing privileges from the Greeks and their Bishops. It was, however, impossible to understand the policy of the Sultan ; it does not follow any well-defined line, so is subject to caprice, according to the favourite of the moment.

With respect to Crete, M. Tricoupis said that it was an entire mistake to suppose that the insurrection had been put down. The Turks had, at a great expense, sent nearly 30,000 men to the island ; and, in view of this immense force, the insurgents had found it expedient to withdraw from active operations, and to all appearance the island was quiet, and had been pacificated in the Turkish sense ; but the Turks could not maintain this large force there ; already it was reduced to 10,000 men ; nothing had been settled ; the Constitution was virtually suspended ; there was practically no government but that of the Pasha, through the agency of his troops ; none of the refugees or the chiefs of the insurgents had yet returned to Crete ; when the Spring came the revolt would break out again, and the Turks would find that they held only the land in which their troops stood. By that time, M. Tricoupis said that his Government hoped to have in their hands the three ironclads now building in France ; these were more powerful and faster than any ships which the Turks had, and would practically give them command of the *Ægean* Sea, and enable the Greek Government to forbid the landing of any Turkish reinforcements in Crete. It would then rest with England, which, by virtue of its fleet, had command in these waters, to say whether the Turks should send reinforcements to the island to maintain the existing order of things, which was utterly opposed to treaty obligations ; if not, Crete would be lost to Turkey. He was not without hopes that, when this was made clear to England and the Great Powers, diplomacy would step in, and allow the island to be annexed to Greece. It had long been only a cause of expense to the Turks ; the chronic revolts of its people necessitated the continual sending of troops there ; it was never able to give a surplus revenue to the Sultan.

He thought it possible that Turkey might, at the instance of the Great Powers, be disposed to consider a proposal for the sale of the island. He alluded to the rumours that England was anxious to obtain a footing in the island, and might insist upon a naval harbour at Suda Bay ; he seemed to think there was some truth in this ; but he said that nothing could be more distasteful to the Greek Government than any such scheme : they would prefer that it should remain under the Turks.

M. Tricoupis further commented on the fact that, while England apparently had been so successful in dealing with its subject races in India, it had been unsuccessful when trying its hand in governing Greeks in the Levant. It had failed completely to secure the goodwill of the Ionian Islands, in spite of its large expenditure there: the people of these islands were unanimously in favour of annexation to Greece, and not a voice was ever heard now of regret; it was quite untrue that the islands were less prosperous now than formerly. The town of Corfu had suffered somewhat from the withdrawal of the English garrison, but the people of the interior had gained in every way, and there was no part of Greece more loyal and more contented. Their roads had been doubled, and agriculture had greatly prospered. The Government of Cyprus, he said, was even a greater failure. It was carried on at a ridiculous expense, three or four times greater than it would be under administration by Greece. The people, he said, were in a worse condition now than under the Turks; they were ground down by the taxes, and were loud in their complaints. In Turkish times the taxes, though heavy, were seldom paid, and though the Government was thoroughly corrupt, there was not the same discontent as now. M. Tricoupis complained also of the general tone of English diplomacy to Greece. He could not understand why, having done so much for Greece, having fought for them at Navarino, having conceded the Ionian Islands, having befriended them at Berlin, it should go out of its way to treat Greece with habitual contempt and neglect. The French, who had also done much for Greece, but not so much, adopted a very different course, and were habitually civil and conciliatory in their communications, and, as a result, were universally popular. The Greek Government, he said, was grateful to England for reducing the duty on currants; he fully expected that the remaining duty would be knocked off. It was of immense importance to Greece to extend its market for currants, especially in view of the fact that France, under Protectionist ideas, was raising her duties.

I have quoted M. Tricoupis' conversation without any comments of my own. Though he has ceased to be Prime Minister, he must continue to exercise immense influence in Greece. He is universally admitted, even by his opponents, to be the ablest and most conspicuous man of politics yet produced by modern Greece; a man on the highest level of European statesmanship; with unrivalled powers of work; of unquestioned honesty; and with remarkable eloquence. He is, perhaps, by reason of these qualities, rather imperious and autocratic in his Cabinet and in the Chamber, and too little disposed to concede to the prejudices and wishes of others. His successor, M. Delyannis, is also a statesman of capacity and of unquestioned probity, and with great experience gained in diplomacy as Minister at Paris and Berlin; with considerable eloquence and equal facility in speaking

in the purified language of the young Greeks and in the *patois* of his native province; but he has not the same grasp of detail, financial ability, or power of carrying his colleagues with him as his opponents. He is in a dangerous and critical position—having been elected with the cry for a more vigorous and ambitious policy. It is probable that he will find it difficult to maintain this part. He has already disappointed the Cretan refugees by his answer to a deputation on the subject of his policy in respect of Crete. It may be doubted whether he will be so adventurous even as M. Tricoupis promised to be, when the three ironclads are to hand.

With reference to M. Tricoupis' complaints of English diplomacy, I may observe how important it is that the tone of our legations should be of a sympathetic and friendly character. In too many cases of smaller countries, the English diplomats and their subordinates are apt to speak of the people among whom they find themselves, and their statesmen, in terms of disparagement and in a querulous and nagging tone, assuming the position of superior persons and critics, and not making allowance for the difficulties and past history of the country.* A little sympathy and a friendly tone would go a long way in preventing ill-feeling resulting from diplomatic necessities.

During my visit to Athens in 1887, I saw much of the diplomatic society there. Each of seven Great Powers is represented by a Minister, a Secretary, and an Attaché, and many smaller Powers by one or two representatives. These gentlemen and their families meet one another two or three times a day, and exchange courtesies and gossip. There is little other society in Athens; for the Ministers are very poorly paid, the Prime Minister receiving a salary of only £350 a year. These diplomats contained among their members many able, accomplished, and agreeable men. Their misfortune is that they have absolutely nothing to do. Once perhaps in five or six years there is a diplomatic breeze in which Greece may have some concern. The question is probably then dealt with at London, Paris, or Constantinople, and not at Athens. It seems a pity so much ability should be wasted.

We should always recollect how difficult is the position of modern Greece. With a restricted area, which certainly does not admit of a very large increase of population beyond the the present two millions, there is a far larger population of Greeks, probably four millions, under the rule of Turkey. Some of these are in districts and islands where they form the immense majority of the population, and where there is reasonable hope that annexation to the parent country may be possible. Others, and the larger part, are to be found at Constantinople, Smyrna, and the coasts of Turkey bordering on the sea, where there can be little hope for union so long as the Turkish empire lasts.

* These remarks have no reference whatever to our present Minister at Athens.

Even when this breaks up it is hardly to be expected that Greek rule will be substituted for Turkish rule on the Bosphorus or in Asia Minor. With all these kindred Greeks there is necessarily the strongest bond of union; nothing can be done in Turkey affecting this population which does not greatly excite the sympathies and interest of the Greek people. They must be ready for action when the time comes; there are men among them always ready to assist insurgents with arms and money.

They are accused of troubling the peace of Europe; but they know that it is only by agitation, incitement, and insurrection that any thing has been done in the past. They see the result of the adventurous policy of Bulgaria in obtaining the union of Roumelia, and in the extension of its interests in Macedonia. We cannot be surprised at the jealousy of Greece with respect to the further extension of Bulgaria to the south and west.

One effect of the uprising of Bulgaria has already been that a definite limit has been placed to the ambition of the Greeks. The Bulgarians have asserted themselves. They are more numerous than the Greeks. They have shown equal capacity for governing themselves. The Greeks can no more hope to lead or incorporate the Bulgarians as they once hoped, and to some extent succeeded for a time in doing, under the shadow of Turkey. The latter in the future distribution of the spoils of Turkey in Europe must have the larger share. The ethnological distribution shows that eastward of Salonica the Bulgarians are far more numerous than the Greeks; in fact, they constitute the population, except in a narrow fringe of country bordering on the *Ægean* Sea. But this should not prevent the Bulgarians having access to the Mediterranean.

That Macedonia and Albania and what remains of Epirus will ultimately, and probably at no distant day, be freed from Turkish rule cannot be doubted. The difference between their condition and that of the provinces recently freed is so great that, if some speedy and unprecedented change does not take place in Turkish administration, it will be impossible for Europe to resist the claims of these people for the like treatment.

The wise course would be for Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia to come to some understanding as to the future lines of demarcation; but there is little sign of the existence in any of these people or their statesmen of a temper which will enable a peaceful solution of the difficulty; and the chances of Turkey consist in the indefinite postponement of the question in consequence of these jealousies, fomented and stimulated perhaps by other powers beyond. Meanwhile there may perhaps yet be time for Turkey to be mindful of the old line, well known to Westminster scholars: "*Aut disce aut discede, manet sors tertia cœdi.*"

Both in 1857 and 1887 I stopped on my way home from Greece at Corfu. In the former year I spent a few days there with the Governor, Sir John Young, at the Government House, then one of the most delightful residences out of England, the envy of every official in the Colonial service, and with a splendid panoramic view of the Albanian mountains. I well remember the national pride with which, coming from the East, one first met here the English soldiers in charge of this stronghold. Nothing could be more bright and lively than the little town, with its large garrison. Everything was organised to make life as pleasant and as English as possible. By contrast, it now appears to Englishmen forlorn and deserted. Government House, now the King's palace, is seldom occupied, and looks shabby and ill-kept. There are everywhere the sad reminders of the English occupation, in dismantled forts, the statues of former governors, the parade, where formerly four or five regiments were often exercised, now deserted.

Nothing has more offended Greek susceptibilities than the dismantling and razing of so many of the fortifications, on which so much English money had been spent. I have had this thrown in my teeth on many occasions, as an example of contemptuous distrust on the part of the departing Power. But, in fact, the charge is unfounded as against England. The Ionian Islands could not have been given up to Greece without the consent of the Great Powers, and it was Austria alone which made it a condition of its assent that these fortifications at Corfu should be razed.

From inquiries I made I have little doubt that many of the townspeople of Corfu look back with regret to the days when English money was so freely spent in the town; but the population outside the town are content with the change, and Greece has no more loyal subjects. I recollect well an Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, when arguing in our House of Commons against the cession of the islands, some time before the event, gravely saying that if given up by England they ought to be handed over to Turkey, to whom they naturally belonged, rather than to Greece, as the people were not Greeks by race! Whatever their mixture of blood, they consider themselves essentially Greeks.

It may be worth while to recall the fact that it was the supposed interests of England in the retention of Corfu as a naval station, and the fears of the ambition of Greece, which induced the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, to whom, after the death of Canning, the negotiations as to the limits of the new kingdom of Greece unfortunately fell, to use all their influence to restrict them as far as possible, and to insist upon restoring to the Turks the islands of Samos and Crete, which had practically asserted their independence. Against this policy Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell made most vigorous protests in the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston

expressed the opinion that the possession of Crete was necessary both to the political well-being and to the national defence of Greece; while Lord John Russell, in one of those noble sentences which not unfrequently distinguished him, said, in reply to the argument that the interests of England were opposed to the union of Crete with Greece: "I will never consent to be classed with those who think that the improvement of mankind in any part of the world would be hostile to the interests of England." The sentence ought to be carved over the portals of the Foreign Office, as a memento of past diplomatic errors, and as a guide for future policy.

G. SHAW LEFEVRE.

WOLFE TONE:

A NOTE.

To the *Nineteenth Century* for the months of May and June, 1890, I contributed two articles giving an account of the life and actions of the famous Irish rebel of 1798, Theobald Wolfe Tone.

As it is probable that by the courteous permission of the editor of that magazine I may republish these articles in a separate form, I have been looking out for any criticism, whether favourable or unfavourable, which might enable me to correct or modify any part of the picture there drawn of a very remarkable character and of a very memorable life. But I looked in vain, until the last November number (1890) of this REVIEW appeared, when some notice of my articles occurred, in the course of a paper by Mr. Justin McCarthy, upon the last two volumes of Mr. Lecky's *History*. But on examining what Mr. McCarthy says in that paper, I was much disappointed to find that it was useless for any purpose of correction. It not only avoids all details, but it avoids all facts of any kind. It is violently hostile and even denunciatory in tone, without specifying one single touch in my representation which can be shown to be untrue to Nature, or even one single great omission which could materially affect its fidelity. I find myself therefore in the position—so far as the paper is concerned—of having nothing to answer, and nothing definite in the way of correction either to accept or to resist. On the contrary, when I find the expression of very strong hostility to my representation of certain historical facts and events coupled with an obvious inability to contradict any one of them, I must conclude that my narrative of those events has not been found assailable—so far at least as this writer is concerned. Nor does this surprise me; because I have taken all my facts from the memoirs of Wolfe Tone, written by himself, and supplemented by a devoted son. I have kept strictly within the lines of an autobiographical journal kept by the man, and traced by his own hand, or by another hand not less friendly than his own. I therefore now publicly challenge any contradiction of any part of my narrative, making, however, as I now do, only one confession, which requires a few words of explanation.

The autobiography of Wolfe Tone was recommended to me by a friend, who is an Irishman, and who shares somewhat in those vague feelings of lenient judgment which are apt to gather round the memory of dead men who have fallen in any kind of contest. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1888 I procured the book, and devoted to a close examination of it many hours in which its stormy and savage features contrasted strongly with the beauty and peace of surrounding Nature. But I found the book more engrossing than any novel. Its unfolding of character, its confessions of motive, its bursts of ferocious passion, its intense hatreds, its dramatic incidents, the great personages whom we see passing across its stage, its clear discernment of the baseness of his own associates, its unscrupulous determination to use any instruments, however foul—its lurid setting in gloom and despair and death—all combine to raise its interest, in my opinion, far above that of an artificial tragedy. One thing above all struck me as a result of the whole life, and that was the utter falseness of the kind of glamour which in some minds has been allowed to gather round the man who has made these revelations of himself. In this judgment of the whole I have no temptation to condemn all rebellions against existing Governments as of necessity either base or wicked. I am myself the descendant of men who personally staked all, and lost all, in resisting the encroachment of unconstitutional authority. My judgment was formed entirely on the special features of the case, on the moral character of the career described, of the means employed, and of the ends to be attained.

It was under the impulse of this conviction that I wrote the papers which Mr. McCarthy so vehemently denounces, and which he so carefully refrains from answering. But the friend who had advised me to read the book was, to my surprise, sufficiently under the glamour to which I have referred to be somewhat disturbed by the results of my reading. But, unlike Mr. McCarthy, he has, in response to my appeal for any specific error, or exaggeration, or omission as to matters of fact, which might justify his own more favourable estimate, indicated some two or three points upon which some correction is due. One of them is a point of some importance, as bearing upon personal character; and another of them is of some incidental importance in respect to some details of the rebellion. These corrections will be made when the papers come to be republished. But the passages they refer to might never have been written so far as they affect the general result. I do not here specify the passages I refer to, because I shall be curious to observe how far Mr. McCarthy, or any other critic, is sufficiently informed to be able to detect them. I have a strong suspicion that they are not, and that my study of a most curious book has been far closer than their own. But possibly they may light on some other points on which some similar corrections may be due. If so, such corrections will be made.

There is one *caveat*, however, which I must enter. I decline to be drawn into any argument with Mr. McCarthy which does not concern facts, but concerns the moral judgment which is due upon those facts. I cannot argue whether it was or was not a base act to offer his services to England and then to vow eternal vengeance against her, because her great Minister declined his offer. I cannot argue whether such conduct was not doubly

base in connection with the kind of service which he did offer—whether his proposal to Mr. Pitt to act on an enormous scale as a buccaneer and pirate against the Spaniards was or was not the proposal of a thoroughly unprincipled adventurer. I cannot argue whether it was or was not a thoroughly dishonest course to go back to Ireland and there argue that for Ireland to send a single soldier to help England in a war with Spain would be the crime of murder. I cannot argue whether again, after this contention, it was or was not a disgraceful act to renew negotiations with the English Ministry that he might be commissioned to fight, and sack, and plunder, and commit sacrilege in the rich churches of the Spanish Main. I cannot argue whether, when an American officer told him that such enterprises could never secure the sympathies of his countrymen, it was or was not a hypocrisy to change his tone and pretend that the liberty of the Spanish colonies was his end and aim. I cannot argue whether it was or was not a great wickedness to be willing to sell his own country to the French Government which he knew to be unscrupulous and corrupt, provided he could secure a high and good place in the administration of it. I will not argue whether it was not cruel and ferocious to be willing to employ the Infernal Brigade fresh from the horrors of La Vendée in the invasion and devastation of England. I will not argue whether it was or was not the act of a savage to advise the deliberate massacre of all Irishmen who might resist his fellow-conspirators in defence of their country and their homes. About none of these questions—and many more—will I waste time in controversy. I will only add, now, that I dispute altogether that view of the functions of history which identifies a fair judicial spirit in judging of the past and of the dead, with a mere languid balancing between good and evil, between right and wrong. We must always, indeed, make due allowance for the standard of morals prevalent in the times of which we write. But we must remember that the times in which Wolfe Tone lived and acted were practically the times in which we are living now. There are some few men and women now alive who were for at least a short time his contemporaries. They were separated from him, indeed, by a space of years which measures the distance between childhood and maturity. But still we can never feel that the moral horizon has shifted perceptibly since the time of the latest generation which has not yet wholly passed away. It is the solemn duty of history to record its verdict, and to pass its sentences on the moral aspects of human conduct. Her summings-up may be most impartial, and yet be most severe. There are occasions when, like other judges, she must put on the black cap, and pronounce the heaviest sentence known to human law. Intellectual power, clearness of vision, versatility, resource, and even the good-nature of boon-companionship, are irrelevant to the great issues of right and wrong, of virtue and of vice, with which history has to deal. Let them be acknowledged for all that they are worth. But don't let them blind or obscure our moral judgment on the actions of men.

ARGYLL.

THE TSAR AND THE JEWS.

NO one was surprised at the rebuff administered to the Lord Mayor of London by the return of the memorial addressed to the Tsar on behalf of the Jews.

On February 1, 1882, a meeting was held at the Mansion House, under the presidency of the then Lord Mayor, in response to a requisition signed by peers and gentlemen of influence who desired, in as public a manner as possible, to call the Russian Government to account for the outrages of which Russian Jews were at that time alleged to be the victims. But the Russian Government were little disturbed by this gathering of English gentlemen. Naturally, they felt some resentment at the interference in their affairs, but they did not alter their policy. Three months afterwards they promulgated the laws of which so much lately has been heard, the "May Laws of 1882." These laws have, however, been marked more by their transgression than their observance. The Government authorities have seemed either unable or indisposed to enforce them. Latterly, however, the Russian Government have formed the opinion, on grounds which to them seem sufficient, that the extent to which these laws are being broken or evaded constitutes a serious danger to the best interests of the empire. Accordingly, they have taken steps to lessen the danger. They have issued instructions that in future the May Laws of 1882 are to be strictly observed and enforced. As was to be expected, the carrying out of these instructions has inflicted much hardship on the Jews, hardship which all but the absolutely heartless, whatever they may think of the policy which has caused it, must sincerely deplore. A pitiful wail has gone up from the sufferers, and western Europe, which hears it, stands horrified at what it terms the "brutal" policy which has called it forth.

A decade has not passed since the date of the meeting already referred to, but London has been again the seat of another meeting of protest, similarly presided over and similarly requisitioned. The voice of this assembly has penetrated no further than did that of its predecessor. The autocrat who wields the sceptre of Russia is not turned from his resolve. He declines, as Mr. Froude and every man in his right senses expected he would decline, to receive the English députation who were to interview him on behalf of his Jewish subjects, and he returns the memorial addressed to him. He does not feel that such officious aid will help him and his advisers to cope the better with the difficulties of this question, and prefers to remain unencumbered with it. He does not see why he should trouble himself about a meeting held in the London Guildhall any more than our Queen would trouble herself about a meeting in the Town Hall of St. Petersburg convened to protest against the alleged coercion of the Irish people. Not only does His Imperial Majesty decline with "one stroke of his pen" to "annul those laws which now press so grievously on the Jews," but he seems more than ever resolved that those laws shall be strictly enforced.

Yet friend and foe alike bear testimony to the Tsar's excellent personal qualities, to his innate humane and pious disposition, to his many domestic virtues. This being so, is it not clear that something has hardened this Sovereign's heart, some strong motive dictated this stern policy? It is not reasonable to suppose that this policy has been adopted from mere caprice. What motive, then, has actuated it? Surely until we have discovered the motive, and considered its sufficiency, even as partial excuse, if not total justification, it is only fair that we should withhold our condemnation of the Tsar and his advisers. Further, in interfering at all with the Tsar in his internal policy, we adopt a course which cannot but fail to make bad blood between the two countries, and we expose ourselves to a retort such as that which appeared in the St. Petersburg *Novoye Vremya* of December 18:—

"The concern of England," this paper sarcastically remarks, "which has beggared the population of India and Egypt, which has poisoned the people of China with opium, which destroyed like dangerous insects the natives of Australia, and which under pretext of abolishing the slave-trade is now exterminating in most wholesale fashion the numerous races of Africa—the concern of a people who do these things is certainly touching."

With many other people in this country who do not see in the existing government in Russia, in reference to this question, that object of detestation which fills the vision of so many estimable English folk, I have been expecting to see some reply to the many bitter attacks which from time to time in our magazines and newspapers have been made on the Jewish policy of the Tsar. I had thought

that, keenly sensitive as the Russian Government are to all aspersions on their character, they would by this time have found some competent writer to put their case before the British public. Madame Novikoff appears to think that her country can afford to be indifferent to the opinion of the world, but she cannot but know that international opinion is now a force which has to be reckoned with. She would have done better, I think, if she had devoted the energy which she expended in endeavouring to turn the Guildhall meeting into ridicule to penning a plain statement of the case for the Russian Government. Her epistles to the *Times* were certainly amusing, were indeed to a certain extent warranted, but they were by no means calculated to allay the feeling aroused in this country against the policy of her Sovereign.*

Failing any exposition of the motives of the Russian Government from an authoritative source, and thinking it to be a pity that any unnecessary bad feeling should exist between England and Russia, I feel it incumbent upon me, an Englishman of many years' residence in Russia, to place before the English public a few facts and deductions which may serve to throw some light on the attitude of the Russian Government towards the Jews. At present, if we are to rely on the articles which have already appeared on this subject in English periodicals as a full and sufficient statement of the problem, the Tsar's policy would appear to be either wholly motiveless, or actuated by the most sordid and wicked considerations.

Turning to the article on this question which appeared in the *Fortnightly* of October last, I search in vain for any clear expression of the writer's opinion as to the motives of the Russian Government. I find quoted at the head of the article a passage from the song of Rabbi Ben Ezra :—

"Something is wrong, there needeth change,
But what or where?"

but I cannot discover any satisfactory answer to the inquiry. I read an able summary of the laws affecting Russian Jews, and a heart-rending description of the sufferings of that ill-starred people, but there the argument seems to end. We are not even informed, as the *Spectator* has pointed out, how it happens that the Tsar does not feel "the usual impulse of despots to protect the lowest class in the community, one, too, which is unresisting to a fault." The article in *Blackwood* of the same month is similarly incomplete. Yet to Mr. Lanin

"it is a matter of wonder that so very little should be known and so much rashly written in this country about Russia,"

* Since this was in type, I have been pleased to notice a report in the newspapers stating that Madame Novikoff is preparing a pamphlet on the subject.

and to the writer in *Blackwood*

"nothing is more remarkable about Russia than the general ignorance in Europe concerning the social condition and internal affairs of that country."

Surely, from gentlemen so anxious to dissipate the crass ignorance of the average Briton on Russian questions, some enlightenment on the all-important point to which I have referred was only to have been expected.

Mr. Lanin is frank. He owns to being perplexed when he asks himself what has called forth the hostility of the Russian Government.

"It is not," he says,

"the Jewish religion that is so unrelentingly pursued, for it is admitted even by the orthodox Church to be superior to Mohammedanism, which enjoys toleration in Russia. Neither is it the Jewish race, for once a Jew adopts Christianity as his 'faith,' he is placed on a level with born Christians. It cannot be the supposed economical influence for evil exerted by the Jews, for the same evils complained of, only in much larger dimensions, are to be found in other parts of the Empire, into which a Jew never sets foot; and yet [mark the words] objectless as this persecution evidently is from any reasonable point of view, not only is it warmly advocated by a portion of the press, but a fiendish delight is taken in contemplating the results."

In other places he writes: "The powerful government of the Tsar is employing all its pecuniary resources, and all the ingenuity of human hate to crush them [the Jews] out of existence," "Alexander III. is resolved to grind the Jews down to the intellectual level of his orthodox subjects," and "Russian Judophobes—many members of the Government included—positively take a pleasure in the disgusting conditions in which Jews exist."

I read somewhere that Mr. Lanin "always seems to exaggerate." Will he not himself admit when he reconsiders the words which I have quoted from his article not only that he has *seemed* to exaggerate, but that he *has* exaggerated? No fair-minded opponent of the Russian Government will, I feel sure, go all the way with this powerful writer in such violent phrases.

However, if we are to ascribe to the present Government the diabolical intentions which Mr. Lanin imputes, we must ascribe these also to most of their predecessors right back to the time of Catherine I. For, according to Mr. Lanin's own showing, the Jewish question has been as much a trouble to successive Russian Governments as the Irish question has been to successive English Governments. How was it, may I ask Mr. Lanin, that the Empress Catherine I., after the annexation of the province of Little Russia, found it desirable to order the expulsion of this intelligent and harmless people from that territory, and that the gentle Peter II. could only find it in his heart so far to relax this order as to permit Jews to visit South Russia for the purpose of attending the fairs there? How was it that the Empress Anna found it desirable to withdraw the permission she had

given to Jews to visit her country for purposes of commerce, that the Empress Elizabeth felt obliged to frame more stringent laws, and that the enlightened and philosophic Catherine II. saw fit to pursue the same policy, modifying it eventually only so far as to permit Jews to settle in the government of New Russia, a concession which constitutes the foundation of the famous Pale of Settlement, "the main grievance of the Jews and the source of all their sufferings"? How did it happen that Alexander the Blessed failed in his effort to bring about the brotherly union and ultimate amalgamation of the Jews with the Russians?

Is all this exceptional legislation to be ascribed, like the laws of the present reign, to sheer devilry on the part of the rulers of Russia? The hypothesis is unreasonable and unwarrantable. Even the speakers at the recent Guildhall meeting, one and all, steered clear of uttering so outrageous a libel on the Russian Government. The writer of the article in *Blackwood*, too, prefers to leave the question of motive alone, rather than make an attack of this kind. All that he ventures to say, by way of explaining the cause of the hostility felt in Russia towards the Jews, is, that "it is chiefly as a trader that the Jew excites the jealousy of his neighbour," and that "though the Jew middleman is often useful he is decidedly an unpleasant character, and contributes much to the unpopularity of his race."

The promoters of the Guildhall meeting would seem to be as much in the dark on the question of motive as the writers of the articles in the magazines. They leave us to infer it from the resolution moved by the Duke of Westminster, which ran as follows:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the renewed sufferings of the Jews in Russia from the operation of severe and exceptional edicts and disabilities are deeply to be deplored, and that in the last decade of the nineteenth century religious liberty is a principle which should be recognised by every Christian community as among the natural rights."

This resolution consists, it will be observed, of two distinct propositions, which, so far as their wording is concerned, might be presumed to have no relation to one another. Separately considered, no more innocent-looking propositions could have been framed. Few would hesitate to subscribe to them. But, of course, nobody present at the meeting regarded them in this way. They were intended to be read as cause and effect. It was desired that the Tsar of Russia should understand that, in the opinion of the citizens of London, the exceptional legislation referred to in the first proposition was the effect of his not recognising the principle referred to in the second proposition. The sting of the resolution lay in the juxtaposition of its component parts. Otherwise the resolution is meaningless.

We may therefore take it as the opinion of the "Citizens of

London in Guildhall assembled," notwithstanding the terms of the memorial do not seem to support it, that the Jewish question is at bottom a religious question.

I do not agree with these "citizens of London." I am one with Mr. Lanin in the opinion that the Jewish question is *not* a religious question. Religion, to my thinking, no more enters into it, than it did into the Jewish question with which some four thousand years ago the Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph" had to deal. I assert that the Russians are the most tolerant of people on religious subjects. If you are not orthodox, they look upon you as lost, but they do not add to your misfortune by persecuting you. Rather, they pity you. During the whole period of my residence in their country I have never once, English and heretical as I am, been attacked by Russians on the score of my religious opinions. I have not enjoyed this immunity when in England and other countries. Catholics and Dissenters alike have attacked me. In Russian villages, Tartars, Lutherans, and Catholics may be found living side by side with orthodox peasants on most amicable terms.

No, in all seriousness, it is not religion which is at the bottom of the trouble with the Russian Jews. The real cause is much the same as it was in Pharaoh's time.

"Now there arose a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph, and he said to his people, Behold the people of the children of Israel are too many and too mighty for us: come, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass that, when there falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies. . . . And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve them with rigour. . . . And Pharaoh charged all his people saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive" (Exodus, chapter i., revised version).

The children of Israel of the present century are becoming "too many and too mighty" for the people of Russia, and the modern Pharaoh is endeavouring in his own way to reduce their number, and to weaken their power. Like his prototype he considers his best plan is to make them "to serve with rigour," to make existence harder for them. Perchance, then they may be induced to start in search of a new Canaan. He will not refuse to let them go. No heaven-sent plagues are necessary ere he will give his consent. The very presence of the Jews in his country is, in his opinion, plague enough. He would be only too well pleased, if a Moses were to arise to lead them across his western frontier.

Fear, then, and not religious bigotry lies at the root of the Tsar's policy toward the Jews. Rightly or wrongly, he and his advisers consider that they have reasonable grounds for regarding the Russian Jews in their number and their peculiar characteristics as a real menace to the stability of the Empire. They strive, therefore, in

obedience to the "First Law of Nature" to preserve their own existence. Are they to be blamed?

We are now come to the crux of the matter, to the important question: Do these reasonable grounds exist? Before any one can give an accurate answer to this question, he must first rid himself of all personal bias against either Russian or Jew, and then listen to, and carefully weigh, the arguments of both parties.

Probably, the most important, and at the same time most moderate, statement of the case for the Russian Government, is to be found in the article on the Jewish Question in "Contemporary Russia,"* the work of M. Skalkoffsky, Vice-President of the Russian Mining Department, a travelled and well-informed man. No English translation of this book has, I am told, yet been published, and I shall therefore refer to the article in question at considerable length.†

Dealing with the origin and growth of the Jewish Question, M. Skalkoffsky points out that

"The Jewish problem in Russia is a legacy from the Poles. The lazy and unprincipled Polish nobility, incapable as they were of independent action, were glad of the assistance of the Jews in exploiting a down-trodden peasantry, and thus their country soon became the nucleus to which the Jews were attracted. When a part of the country was annexed to Russia, it became imperatively necessary to relinquish the existing policy of ignoring the Jews altogether which had been favoured by Peter the Great and Elizabeth, the former saying that he had rogues enough among his own people, and the latter that she desired no material benefit from the enemies of Christ.

"The question had to be considered seriously, and the Government, taking the only course at all practicable, secured to the race comparative freedom of action in the particular districts where they had been settled for centuries, and even invited them to populate a part of South Russia then very thinly inhabited; taking the strictest measures, however, to prevent the farther spread of the race into the remaining portion of the Empire.

"In time, however, the strictness of the laws became relaxed, and the Jews spread into the interior, causing the same complaints to be uttered on every side as had been made against them in the western provinces. Here the state of affairs soon became almost unbearable, especially about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the influence of the Polish nobility in Russia was at its height. The remedy proposed by the partisans of the Jews was to abolish the Pale of Settlement altogether, and by permitting the Jews to settle anywhere throughout Russia, to assist them to lose themselves among the native population.

"Unfortunately, this hope can only be treated as an illusion. The idea of grafting the race on the natives would perhaps be tenable if we could imagine the necessity, or rather the scope, required for the utilisation of the peculiar talents of the race. As we have said elsewhere, the class of business men which the Jews almost invariably belong to should form a very trifling percentage of the entire population.

"It is, moreover, a matter worthy of consideration, seeing that the Jews multiply with such astonishing rapidity under their present conditions,

* "Sovremennaja Rossia." 2nd edition. 1890.

† For the translation of this article I am indebted to Mr. Alex. Coates, of St. Petersburg.

what is to be expected if they are permitted to live at the expense of the whole empire?

"The disturbances in Rostoff on the Don, Ekaterinoslav and Nijni-Novgorod plainly demonstrate the untenable nature of the theory—which, however, was never shared by the Government—that the distribution of the Jews in small portions among the population throughout Russia, in other words, the suspension of the Pale of Settlement, is the best means of solving the Jewish problem. In the towns named the proportion of Jews is very insignificant, yet the disturbances plainly prove that even so small a dose of the national distemper is more than the popular organism can support.

"This may be illustrated by a few more instances. We learn from the official report of M. Augustinovitch, published by the *Pravitelstvenni Vestnik*, that the colonisation of the Island of Sahalin was observed to be making most satisfactory progress until lately, when a few Jews appeared among the convicts. With their advent all was changed. The most stringent measures taken by the Governor and his officials proved unavailing. The secret sale of spirits was introduced, and while the Jews succeeded in acquiring small fortunes, the convicts of other religious persuasions lost everything, including the assistance which was given them by the Government on having served their time. Scarcely a single Jew performs the hard labour allotted to him, as he is always in possession of the means to hire other convicts to work for him, while he himself carries on his illicit trade, and gradually robs his fellows of the last of their possessions."

On the fecundity of the Russian Jews, and its bearing on the problem, M. Skalkoffsky observes that

"according to ancient writings, the Jews first made their appearance in Kieff during the tenth century, and since then their number in the south-western governments alone has attained the formidable figure of over two millions.* The significance of this figure (which is slightly below the actual truth) will be perceived if we take into consideration the following well-known facts. With few unimportant exceptions the Jews are not personally concerned in any productive industry, but almost invariably occupy a sort of intermediate position as middlemen, petty traders, agents, brokers, &c., between the producer and the consumer. Without denying the utility of this feature of trade, it is necessary to bear in mind that so enormous a proportion of middlemen is far above the requirements of the country. In France, when the population exceeded forty millions, the proportion of individuals occupied in all the branches of commerce was computed at about 1,800,000, and there can be no comparison made between the trade of France and that of the south-western governments of Russia. Being essentially a migratory people, the Jews simply inundate this or that point according to the opening presented to their trade. It is well known, for instance, that the emigration of the Jews to Odessa, which has resulted in the alarming preponderance of the race now existing in that town, only assumed its present proportions quite lately. Towards the close of the sixth decade of the present century the Jews commenced to pour into Odessa in regular hordes. A census taken in the year 1859 shows the proportion then borne by the Jews to the mass of the population of the town to have been as 1 is to 7·4, while a second census in 1873, a very incomplete one, shows that, notwithstanding the growth of the original population, which showed an increase of over 50 per cent. against the census of 1859, the proportion borne by the Jews to the remaining population was as 1 is to 3·7. In many towns, as, for instance, Vilno, Titomir, Kramenetz, Podolsk, and others, not to mention Berditscheff

* There are now over 6,000,000 Jews in Russia.

and Shkloff, the number of Jews greatly exceeds that of the Christians. The steady growth of the Jewish element in the district in question would surely indicate that the race had fallen into conditions eminently favourable for its development, however clamorously the opposite may be urged by the Judophiles. In an exceedingly interesting paper published in the Address Calendar of the Odessa police by the local Statistical Committee, which deals with the fluctuations observed in the population of the town, figures were produced which will serve to demonstrate the degree of truthfulness contained in the numerous complaints daily made of the supposed hardships and oppression to which the Jews are subjected within the pale of their settlement. On comparing the death rate with the register of births during 1883, in the classifications according to the various religious persuasions, the Jews were found to be particularly favoured. The mean increase among the Christian portion of the population, by a preponderance of the number of births over the number of deaths registered, was found to be 78·2 individuals, while that of the Jews was 628·5! Thus the Jewish element is shown to increase by natural means alone *eight times more rapidly* than the Christian. A similar disparity will be observed if we turn our attention to the subject of marriage. During a period extending over eight years, the total percentage of marriages contracted was 65·59 per cent. between Christians of all persuasions, and 34·41 between Jews. The significance of these figures will be perceived if we bear in mind that the Jews alone constitute one-fourth of the entire population of Odessa. So enormous a difference in the number of marriages points unmistakably to a difference in the relative affluence of the two elements. A few further data may be interesting as tending to confirm this premise. The average number of births to every Christian marriage during the eight years alluded to was 4·54; among the Jews it was 4·63. And the death rate during the same period was 37·13 per cent. of Jewish infants, and 48·08 per cent. of those of Christian parents, thus showing an excess of 11 per cent. in the mortality of the latter. It is obvious that the peculiar characteristics of this people, their amazing fecundity, their early marriages, and frequent divorces in cases of barren unions, as also the tendency to mutual support and combined action observable in them, tend to create for the race conditions eminently favourable to their further growth and development."

As to the "supposed economical influence for evil exerted by the Jews," which Mr. Lanin asserts cannot be the cause of the hostility of the Russian Government, the author of "Contemporary Russia" has much to say.

"The Jews are," he continues, "*par excellence*, a commercial race. In Russia they are gradually insinuating themselves into all the various branches of commercial enterprise. The vitiating effects of this movement are observable everywhere, yet a few particulars which would serve to illustrate the principles on which the Jew brokers and petty traders conduct their operations may be worth the reader's attention. The official *Vestnik of Commerce and Finance* thus describes their mode of procedure in the most important of Russian industries, the grain trade:—

"The Jew-buyers are rarely possessed even of the means of depositing an advance of ten or twenty roubles on a parcel of grain; the purchase is therefore arranged by a Jew broker, whose commission-money amounts to one rouble on every waggon-load of grain sold. The goods are then warehoused, the person under whose superintendence this is done receiving fifty copecks per waggon-load, another thirty copecks being paid to a third Jew who attends to the despatch of the grain and makes out the receipts and

other necessary documents. The buyer then deposits the railway quittance in a Jewish counting-office, and receives the full value of the grain, paying a discount of from one to one-and-a-half per cent. for every ten days. Only then does the seller receive his money for the grain he has sold. To the expenses enumerated must be added a considerable loss on the grain incurred by the seller through the petty swindling of the Jews connected with the transaction. These swindles have often formed the subject of articles in the Russian periodical press, and so deeply have they taken root in the trade, that a special slang vocabulary exists among the Jews to express the various forms which they take. The liquor trade in all its branches is almost entirely in the hands of the Jews, though the numerous methods resorted to by that talented fraternity render it rather a difficult task to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the extent to which they are concerned in the various subordinate features of the trade. The commonest method employed is that of running an establishment in the name of a Russian, who, for a consideration, procures the necessary papers, and in some cases attends in a great part to the business. Again, it occasionally happens that the Jew who is the real proprietor figures in the papers as the servant of the nominal proprietor of the establishment.

"These frauds are conceived and carried out with remarkable intelligence and caution, so that the revenue officers and the police are practically unable to detect them, and, except in a few isolated cases, the Jew is allowed to carry on his illicit trade in undisturbed security. In the meantime the system is carried on with true Jewish effrontery, so that, for statistical purposes, the Jews do not even trouble themselves to conceal their connection with the trade. Thus, it is officially known that the percentage of drinking-houses of all kinds illegally held by Jews is thirty-five throughout Russia, while in the south-western provinces particularly, where the Jews form a recognised element of the population, the proportion of public-houses owned by them is nearly eighty-nine per cent. ! Thus, while complaints are daily being made of the persecution to which the race is systematically subjected, more than ten thousand Jews are allowed to disobey the laws specially promulgated for their restraint. It is necessary to bear in mind that the pale of Jewish settlement in Russia includes, besides the south-western provinces, only fifteen of the governments of Russia proper. In the remaining districts the Jews form, happily, only an accidental contingent of the population.

"We will pass over the governments in which the Jews are not numerous, and devote our attention to that portion of the Empire which has been laid open to the race, and in which there are actually more Jews than there were in Judæa in the days of Solomon. Here we find that, until very lately, this down-trodden and cruelly persecuted people owned more than one-half of the entire number of distilleries, nearly three-fourths of the breweries, seven-eighths of the wholesale spirit warehouses, nearly one-half of the number of public-houses, and a similar proportion of drinking-saloons, wine cellars, and beershops. Comment would be superfluous. The figures speak for themselves."

Mr. Lanin urges that these evils are to be found in larger dimensions in other parts of the Empire into which a Jew never sets foot, and that they cannot therefore be the cause of the present trouble. The writer in *Blackwood*, too, observes that

"official statements have proved that the rate of interest paid by the peasants to the Jewish usurer in the western provinces is far lower than the rates charged by the Russian *koulak* in the provinces from which the Jews

are excluded. The *koulak*, too, enforces his claim with rigour, whereas the Jew, unsupported by the authorities, has frequently to compromise, or even accept a total loss."

As to this, the author of "Contemporary Russia" writes as follows:—

"It is often argued that the people suffer no more from the Jewish middlemen than they do from the native *koulaks* and *miroyeds*. We are ignorant of a single instance of public resentment of which the *koulaks* or *miroyeds* have been the object, while instances where the populace have been incited to demonstrations against the Jews are familiar to every one. It is obvious, therefore, that the populace must make some distinction between their native persecutors on the one hand, and the Jews on the other."

This distinction, M. Skalkoffsky maintains, does undoubtedly exist. "To begin with," he continues:—

"The *koulak* is a native product, his education and moral training do not differ from the education and moral training of the community in which his operations are conducted. He is in most cases illiterate, and, in general with the ignorant, possesses a wholesome appreciation of the inconveniences connected with the law. He is not averse to an occasional carouse with his compeers, and is in no way connected with others of his calling, invariably working for himself. It is natural, therefore, that the people should see in the *koulak* merely one of themselves, with no points of difference except the energy and consistency necessary to enable him to make capital out of the weakness and stupidity of his less capable fellows.

"In the case of the Jews, the opinion of the populace is based on entirely different considerations. The Jew is a product of a civilisation entirely foreign to the village community on which he lives. His religion, his moral training, his customs, all differ materially from the customs, the religion, and the moral training of the Russian peasant. He is never quite illiterate, and far from possessing the horror of the law observed in the *koulak*, he actually prefers that means of settling his disputes, and consequently very frequently resorts to it. Having absolutely nothing in common with the rural community in which his operations are conducted, their ostracism has no terror for him; nor does he, like the *koulak*, act individually, but invariably is in close communication with all the Jews in the neighbourhood, by whom he is advised and assisted. With the *koulak* the peasant is able to treat on common ground: with the Jews, an element entirely foreign to his own sphere, the *moujik* has no common ground to treat on. The relations of the Jews to the Christian community are, moreover, regulated by the degree of affluence of the latter. If there is neither a sufficiency of wealth, nor a reasonable facility offering for trade, the Jew, being absolutely parasitical in his instincts, soon rids the place of his presence, and proceeds to some more promising neighbourhood. The *koulak* cannot do this; he is bound by the ties of birth and relationship to a particular community; there are for him no 'fresh woods and pastures new.' Thus, while it sometimes happens that a *koulak* relinquishes some of his predatory habits, a Jew is practically incorrigible.

"Taking the statistics of a government like that of Kherson, where the Jewish contingent of the population is comparatively inconsiderable, we find that for every ten individuals of the native population there is one Jew. If we then turn our attention to the fact that *koulaks* or *miroyeds* are not to be found in every village, and that sometimes in a small town, with a population of upwards of three or four thousand, not more than ten *koulaks* can be pointed out, the disparity in point of numbers is still more obvious."

Mr. Lanin and the writer in *Blackwood* have not denied the extreme unwillingness of the Jew to become a soldier. On this peculiarity of the Jewish character, M. Skalkoffsky says:—

“The recruiting system is in every possible way avoided by the Jews. A report issued in 1876 showed, for instance, that, notwithstanding the strictness with which the rules of conscription were enforced by the Government, the result was not what was expected. Even the revival of an ancient statute which provided that, in cases where the defection of Jews caused a deficiency in the number of recruits, the number wanted was to be supplied from among their own people, has not improved matters, for in the same year, of twenty-three per cent. not answering to the summons, *twenty per cent. were Jews!* The figures of other years give still more astonishing results; thus in 1878, of the entire number of recruits who did not respond when called on, eighty-seven per cent. were Jews!”

I purpose now giving the views of a Russian journalist, whose name is more widely known than M. Skalkoffsky's, and who expresses himself in more energetic fashion. I refer to the editor of the St. Petersburg *Graschdanin*, Prince Metchersky.

As every one in Russia is aware, this well-known personage has made the Jewish Question his hobby. According to him the proposal that the Jews should be allowed to spread beyond the Pale is altogether inadmissible. If approached on the subject he will express himself in this wise:—

“There are already in Russia six million Jews; in twenty years time there will be twenty million Jews. The condition of the Jews is hopeless, beyond recovery. Like a man afflicted with a terrible disease, the Jew seems only to exist; he does not live. His affliction does not kill him, but it renders him to all intents and purposes lifeless. We cannot allow him free rights of residence in all parts of the Empire, for our peasant would soon be in a similar plight. The *moujik*, in his simplicity and ignorance, is no match for the Hebrew. He must therefore be protected. In England and France the masses are sufficiently wideawake to know how to protect themselves. Here, the contrary is the case. Moreover, with such freedom as the Jews already have, they have shown themselves able to do incalculable harm to Russia. For instance, look how they have spoilt our grain trade. They ruin the peasant farmers financially and morally wherever they get the chance. They combine together to bring down the price of his produce far below its natural value, and get him wholly in their power by selling him vodka and lending him money. Look how they are getting everything into their hands, restricted even as their liberties are. They are becoming paramount in the Press, and they practically control the finances of our country. Even in the law and other professions they are making themselves indispensable. Soon they will have us at their feet. Like Austria, we seem destined to become, to all intents and purposes, a Jewish Empire.”

Prince Metchersky takes, it will be seen, an extreme view on this question. Fearing the Jews as he does, it is not surprising to find him very bitter against them. He regards them as destructive microbes. They feed on and promote the degeneration of the social organism. They must therefore be got rid of. And “when microbes have to be destroyed, we do not,” he says, “pause to

inquire how microbes like the process." To the cynicism of this remark the Rev. Dr. Herman Adler called attention some time back, when preaching on the alleged persecution of the Jews.

His views on this question would not, perhaps, demand much attention, if they were not to some extent shared by the Tsar and the Russian Ministers. The *Graschdanin* is regularly perused by His Imperial Majesty, and is also in some degree the organ of the Government officials and of the privileged classes. It will be interesting to hear, therefore, what the Prince has to say at the present juncture concerning the alleged persecution of the Jews. In an issue of his paper in September last, I find an account of a most interesting conversation which he had had with an Englishman on this subject. The enemies of the Prince charge him with carrying on conversations with imaginary individuals, and then printing them in his paper as *bona fide* interviews. In the present instance, however, the conversation was not imaginary, the English interviewer being Mr. Barnes Steveni, the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*.

"One day," begins the Prince, "amongst the numerous 'dead souls' that visited me, was, if I am not mistaken, an English correspondent, who inquired why I was for ever attacking the unfortunate Jews. Having placed my interrogator in a chair, I replied: 'The Jews, as you know well, are everywhere; they are, moreover, not only unbidden guests, but very unwelcome ones. In Russia they possess a peculiar significance. As you probably know, in some districts of this country the Jews have all the rights of residence; in other districts they are allowed to live temporarily on certain conditions. The trouble at the present time is occasioned by the Jews endeavouring to obtain the right to live everywhere without restriction. With this end in view, they and their Russian allies have circulated the following paradox—viz., 'The Jews, when confined to one spot, may possibly become a source of danger to the Empire, but distributed all over the Empire, they will grow up and intermingle with the mass of the Russian people, and so become harmless.' This is absolutely false. In those districts where the Jews have the right of settlement they are identified with the natives so much that they have become predominant, and compel the latter to see the necessity for living as they do. The case is quite different when they invade a new district. There, then, at once begins a struggle for existence between them and the native population. Jews can endure far more suffering and deprivation than Russians. They have also greater energy and fixity of purpose. They pursue every path, and especially every crooked path, which enables them to creep to the top from below. The end of the struggle, therefore, generally is that the Jews succeed in stifling the life and enterprise of the original inhabitants. They are *trichinae*. They fasten on and embed themselves in the muscles and nerves of the local organism, consume them by degrees, and ultimately destroy the whole organism.*

"This, in the first place, is why the Government, acting in pure self-defence and for the safety of the Empire, should under no pretence and in no case whatever permit the settlement of Jews outside the legal boundaries of the Pale of Settlement."

"No!" exclaimed my interlocutor. "Where, then, are the Jews to

* Here the Prince refers particularly to the exploitation of the south-western provinces by the Jews, who, not being allowed to own land or forests, exhaust the former and cut down the latter without any regard to the welfare of posterity.

go? It appears that in the districts where they are allowed to reside they are already too numerous. Formerly they numbered only four millions, now they number six millions. What is to be done with the remaining two millions?

"‘Allow me to explain,’ said I, in answer, ‘that I and my paper are at loggerheads with the liberals and humanitarians of the present day upon this very point. The question—What is to be done with the Jews?—must, according to my firm conviction, be solved by the Jews themselves, and it can be solved by them. In no case is it the business of the Russian Government or of Russian society to solve it. For the Jews there is a legally-defined Pale of Settlement, no more and no less. Where they should go when they become cramped for room is no business of ours. Let them go where they like.’

"‘Why not let them go to Siberia?’*

"‘The Lord preserve us! The Government would make a great mistake in giving them any such permission. Siberia! why in that country lies the whole future of Russia.’

"‘But look at us in England,’ replied my Englishman; ‘we neither persecute the Jews nor have any complaints to make about them.’

"‘In the first place, excuse me, I will raise an objection to the word “persecute.” Nobody in Russia *persecutes* the Jews. This accusation is an abominable lie concocted by the Jews themselves, and circulated in all the Jewish papers of Europe (the name of which is Legion). There is no truth in it; not an atom of truth. It is only a big “tit for tat.”†

"‘The Government in this matter, as in all other affairs, have begun to act with firmness. They demand that the laws shall be carried out and that greater respect shall be paid to the authorities. In the past the Jews, profiting by the laziness and feebleness of the Government officials, have managed, it would appear, by all kinds of methods, to obtain for themselves various illegal positions in Russia. These infringements of the law are no longer permitted. They are, as in other countries, regarded as deliberate breaches of the law.‡ The Jews now begin to make an outcry, to call the legal demands of the Government “persecution.” At one time the peasants were allowed almost to hew down the forests, and to pasture their beasts on anybody’s land. Even when caught on the spot they were let off almost scot-free, to such an extent had the administration of the law become weakened. At the present time, however, all trespassing and forest exploitation is impossible without sure punishment of the guilty parties following. Now, will you not agree with me that it would be very unreasonable of the peasants to begin to deafen our ears with outcries of “persecution,” merely

* Mr. Steveni here did not mean as exiles, but as tillers of the soil. Southern Siberia is not only almost uninhabited but is extremely fertile.

† This reference to the power of the Jews in the Press seems to be founded on facts. Nearly all the telegraphic agencies of Europe are either directly or indirectly owned or managed by Jews. The Russian Government have discovered that the Jewish telegraphic agencies and the Jewish newspapers of Europe have of late years been systematically used for disseminating false reports about Russia, the object being chiefly to depress the value of the rouble when convenient to the big Jewish bankers and speculators on the Exchange.

‡ It may be observed here that Russian officials, by their extreme corruption, make the law worse for the poor Jews than it otherwise would be. A rich Jew can buy almost any privilege; a poor one is completely at the mercy of the authorities. This state of affairs is, it must be admitted, a great stain on the administration of justice in Russia, and the Government should set about improving it by every means in their power. They would be well-advised if they paid their officials better, and organised a better system of supervision. If the laws against the Jews are necessary, they should be enforced equally on rich and poor. Russia, however, is not the only country where complaints are made of there being one law for the rich and another for the poor.

because they are not allowed to continue to break the laws with impunity? The case is exactly the same with the Jews.'

"In the second place, there is a vast difference between England and Russia in regard to this question. England is too full of the English, who are too energetic and self-reliant a race to have reason to fear the Jews. In England the Jews are only in the crevices. It is the same, only in a less degree, with France. French blood is too hot, too boiling over, one might say, to allow the Hebrew blood to overcome it. In France the Jews have only occupied a position amongst the higher intellectual and financial classes. But there is a country in Europe where the Jews have met with a more passive resistance. That country is Austria. And what do you see there? There is no more an Austria, no more a Hungary. From top to bottom there is only a kingdom of Jews! The villages belong to Jews, the Ministry is a Jewish office, the palaces are temples of Hebrew cult; and the hour of the political death of that Empire has approached terribly near.

"Yes, when I look at Austria, I am dreadfully alarmed for my own country. Russia, also, is a passive Empire. It is not noticed how the Jews are everywhere increasing, and when it is—it will be too late. The Jews are not creeping into the chinks, they have already crept into them. But they will not stop in them. They will advance farther and farther. They will sit everywhere, openly and in high places, meeting from our people no active opposition. What will happen, should they succeed in breaking through the dam and inundating the country, will be an outburst of popular vengeance which is to be feared, in no case desired. That this should not happen, that the Jews should not conquer Russia as they have conquered Austria, it is essential that the laws relating to the Jews should be strictly carried out, that none great or small should be allowed to break these laws to their profit."

By the publication of these pessimistic views Prince Metchersky raised quite a storm in the Russian press, and became the object of much abuse from Judophile quarters. A series of eloquent letters soon appeared in the *Novosti* from the pen of M. Gradoffsky, a Russian, yet a staunch Judophile, who essayed to prove that Jews are no worse than other people, and that Judophobic views are not held by people of repute. Space does not permit of my stating M. Gradoffsky's argument. I can only say that though this champion of the Jews writes powerfully, he does not appear to me to state anything that would induce the Russian Government to adopt a different policy.

During the past few months I have spoken on this subject to Russians of all classes, and on my asking why Jews should not be allowed to spread all over Russia, I have generally been met with the ejaculation, "*Gospodin pomeele pashiednaika roobaska sneemant*" ("The Lord have mercy upon us; they would take our last shirt and become our masters."). My inquiries have convinced me that the objection to the Russian Jew is based on material as opposed to spiritual considerations, and that the Russian Government are not only not guilty of the charge brought against them of objectless persecution, but to some extent are justified in the policy which they have adopted.

Is it not a fact that the tendency of the Russian Jew is to act as a

middleman? Is it not also a fact that there are already more than enough middlemen in Russia? Are not the Russian peasants within the Pale of Settlement completely in the hands of the Jews? Is it desirable, in the best interests of the Empire, that this demoralisation of the peasant should spread? Is there any ground for hoping that Jews, if allowed rights of residence all over Russia, would take to agriculture? Is it not certain that they would swell the ranks of the middlemen? Are Jews or Russians the chief concern of the Russian Government? If the latter, are not the Government bound to take steps to protect them from the "aggressiveness of the Hebrew?" Is not their present policy calculated to afford this protection?

A disciple of Mr. Darwin may say, "On your own showing, the Russian Jew is the superior of the Russian peasant. Why not let the superior survive?" I reply: "Is the superior in this case the fittest?" "Would the Jew till the soil as the Russian peasant does? Is not his whole record against him as a tiller of the soil? Would he make as good a soldier as the Russian peasant?" These are the considerations which weigh with the Russian Government. I hear some one else say: "Granted that the unsophisticated *moujik* falls an easy prey to the Jew, is not that an argument rather for the education of the *moujik* than for the repression of the Jew?" I reply that it is an argument for both. It is impossible to educate the peasant until he is out of the clutches of the Jew. The peasant certainly needs educating. But the principal subject on which he needs instruction is agriculture. He is sadly in want, too, of instruction in the advantages of industry, thrift, and sobriety. But no amount of good advice will benefit him if the Jew is always at hand to ply him with drink, and "help" him with money.

The Russian Government may therefore be well advised to pursue their present policy—viz., to make Russia an undesirable place of residence for those of their subjects whose presence does not make for the ultimate good of the country. As the author of "Contemporary Russia" points out, the Jews must be convinced "that their halcyon days in Russia have gone by." They will then soon rid the country of their presence.

"As it is," this writer proceeds, "no small percentage of the race emigrate to America, and it is in America and Western Europe that their sterling qualities will receive the acknowledgment due to them. Instead, therefore, of encouraging them to overrun Russia, it would be wiser, as the *Novoye Vremya* says, to persuade them to spread west, where they form at present only a fraction per cent. of the population. For this purpose neither the application of force nor any other old-world measure is required. It will be sufficient to elaborate a plan of legislation which will render their farther sojourn in Russia moderately inconvenient to them. Easily evaded statutes, professing to protect the revenue from their encroachments, or forbidding them to travel in Russia, have been proved inadequate, for the country is overrun with the Jews, and inundated with poisoned spirits.

What is really necessary is a measure prohibiting their settlement under any pretext, however plausible, outside the prescribed pale, or engaging in any trade calculated, directly or indirectly, to place the peasantry in their clutches. The schools should be reorganised on a thoroughly Russian plan, and intermarriage with Christians freely permitted. The crowning measure, however, would be an income-tax to be imposed on the more affluent of the Jews, the proceeds of which should be utilised as an emigration fund for their poorer brethren. Count Ignatieff once very aptly remarked to the 'Universal Jewish Alliance' that the Jews in Russia were a perfectly free people, 'for,' said he, 'the western frontier is wide open to them.' The only difficulty is, that the emigration of the Jews, to be at all considerable, requires the material assistance of the Government, as it will be the poorer class that will leave the country. As the enormous incomes acquired by the Jews in Russia are, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the proceeds of elaborate swindling, the victim of which is the Government, the latter has obviously a perfect right to tax them, though were it to be proposed to tax the Jews in the interests of the Gentile, the measure, however just in principle, would bring all the fat into the fire in an instant. All that is claimed, however, is that a moiety of the wealth which is daily passing into the hands of an obnoxious race should be utilised for the benefit of its own members. To render the measure beneficial it would be indispensable to ensure that a Jew on once receiving the sum assigned to assist him out of the country should not be able to return and claim it a second time. For this purpose it would be necessary to forbid once for all the entrance of Jews into the Empire, whatever the pretext, were it only for twenty-four hours, were it on the staff of a diplomatic corps, or were it with a proposal to pay the national debt twice over!"

As reported in the newspapers, the policy of the Tsar is having its designed effect. Thousands of Jews are finding that life in Russia is no longer worth living, and are starting in search of a less inhospitable shore. No fresh legislation has been found necessary to bring about this result. Statements have been made in the Press to the effect that new edicts against the Jews will come into force in the present year. They are, so far as I have been able to ascertain, absolutely without foundation. No new edicts have been issued, and none are in contemplation. None are necessary. The existing laws are amply sufficient, if properly enforced, to meet the exigencies of the present situation. In the past, Jews have chosen to disobey these laws. Past masters in the art of evasion, they have, up to the present time, found little difficulty in escaping the penalty of disobedience. In the Russians they found a flabby, easy-going people, always accommodating in the matter of bribes. It was the easiest thing in the world for them to corrupt the poorly paid and not over-scrupulous Russian official, and when a Governor or Governor-General chanced to get into monetary difficulties, they knew well how to turn his misfortune to their advantage. So successful have their artifices been that the boundaries of the Pale of Settlement may be said to exist at the present time only on paper. Look at Moscow. In that "city of the throne," there are now over one hundred thousand Jews. Had the laws regulating the sojourn of Jews outside the Pale been observed,

that city would not now contain many more than one thousand Jews. Look at St. Petersburg. Thirty years ago one hardly ever came across a Jew in the streets of that capital. Now the city swarms with Jews. As likely as not, you have a Jew as your next-door neighbour, a Jew as your neighbour over the way, and a Jew as your neighbour in the tenement over your head. In the theatre, in the street, everywhere the Jew is in evidence. The banks and institutions depend almost solely upon him.

Few of these gentlemen are merchants, and pay their guild-money; few pursue the callings in respect of which they have obtained permission to reside outside the Pale. Only a small proportion have had an education fitting them for the professions. The Jew artisan who practises his art is a rarity. He is not to be found except in the most abject poverty. No sooner does he save a few roubles than he takes either to broking or the liquor trade. He scorns physical exertion if he can live by his wits.

It seems to me, therefore, that Russian Jews have chiefly themselves to blame for their present troubles. Knowing well what the law was, they chose to disregard it. They smart now from the strokes of a rod of their own making. None the less, it is to be hoped that their present chastisement will be made as light as possible, that they will be treated as men, and not as microbes, and that the corrupt officials, who are partly to blame for the present condition of things, will not be allowed to go off scot-free.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN.

POSTAL AND TELEGRAPHIC REFORMS.

THREE months ago a deputation did me the honour to ask me to place myself at the head of a movement for establishing half-penny postage throughout the United Kingdom. I had to decline, at all events for the present, on the ground that the cost would exactly amount to three millions per annum, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not born who would consent to give up this sum, and increase the income-tax by about three halfpence in the pound. Before the Select Committee on the Post Office Estimates, however, it was elicited that postal profits were increasing at the rate of two hundred thousand a year. While holding that the Post Office had no right to make a profit out of the work which it had been appointed to do for the public, I joined with Mr. Shaw Lefevre in a resolution that the profit of the Department should stop at three millions, and that any surplus realised over and above this sum should, in the words of my resolution, "be devoted to facilitating, cheapening, and extending the postal and telegraphic communications of England and the Empire," in other words, to postal and telegraphic reforms.

It is the purpose of this article to enumerate briefly these reforms, and to point out the defects of the postal and telegraphic systems, the grievances of which the public complain, and the remedies which should be applied.

Although the Postal and Telegraphic services are of such vital importance to the community, it is more difficult to secure a reform in them than in any other branch of the State administration. They constitute the essential machinery of social and commercial life; they economise our time and labour, enable us to speak or act at any number of points without the necessity of being present, provide us with trained and trustworthy messengers, carry our parcels, bring

goods ordered home to our doors, furnish us with cheap and safe banking facilities, and, finally, mitigate the inconveniences and sufferings of separation and absence, by supplying a swift, sure, and secret means of communication between those whom Fate has divided. It is obviously everybody's business to see that such agencies are made as perfect as possible, and, doubtless, it is for this very reason that nobody seems to trouble himself very much on the subject.

There is a pretty general impression that it is lost labour to preach reform to the Post Office. That institution somewhat resembles those patient, useful, pachydermatous animals which will carry heavy loads at their own pace, and in their own way, but which cannot be allured by smooth words, or stimulated by reproaches into mending their pace, or altering their route. We manage such an animal by bit and bridle, or, in the last resort, take it by the head; and so must we deal with the Post Office.

This stubborn aversion to reform is due to more than one cause. In the first place, the Post Office is a monopoly, and consequently the fear of competition and of loss of profits cannot be appealed to. Again, the Post Office has been found to be in practice the most easily worked of the instruments for raising indirect taxation. It has accordingly degenerated from its high function of a public agency into a section of our revenue-getting machinery; it is strictly subordinated to the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer naturally frowns upon any suggestion of reform which, though it would further the public interest, might in any degree diminish the postal surplus. There is besides a curious and amusing conservatism of feeling among the higher permanent officials at St. Martin's-le-Grand, which displays itself in passive resistance to the reforming tendencies of a later generation. How formidable this *vis inertia* is may be seen from the account of Rowland Hill's long struggle with it on behalf of his scheme of Inland Penny Postage, concerning which an official Bottom of those days (Lord Lichfield) declared that "of all the wild and visionary schemes he had ever heard or read of, it was the most extraordinary."

Provided, however, that popular opinion be unmistakably expressed, Parliament may be relied upon to see that any reform desired by the public shall be carried out, willy-nilly, by the Post Office, or any other department. And the reforms upon which, so far as can be judged, the public has set its heart, may be drawn up as follows:—

CIRCULARS.—In order to place British merchants on a level with their foreign rivals, in competing for orders in the United Kingdom, our Colonies, and India, it should be possible for an Englishman to send through our Post Office an invoice, circular, prospectus, price list, or other similar document, not of the nature of a letter, and not weighing more than half an ounce, in an open envelope, at the $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate.

At present, such documents are permitted to be sent in large quantities by foreigners from France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and other countries, in open envelopes, at the $\frac{1}{2}d.$ rate, to be delivered by British postal officials in the United Kingdom, in India, and in our Colonies. Yet this valuable privilege is denied to the British merchant. Owing to this unjust and absurd rule, great numbers of communications addressed by British firms to persons resident in this country are sent abroad to be posted. Thus, an English association recently forwarded 100,000 circulars, in open envelopes, to the Continent, to be posted back to England. The British Post Office in such a case does all the work of sorting and delivery, while the foreign Post Office takes all the profit (for under the Postal Union arrangement each country retains postage collected by it). So that, in the unworthy attempt to compel the British subject to pay a penny for the transmission of his circular, our Post Office misses even the half-penny which he is willing to pay. We have here an apt illustration of the proverb, "Much would have more, and so lost all."

It is unnecessary to say one word as to the unpatriotic folly of carrying trade papers for foreign merchants at half the rates charged to our own countrymen. But we can easily imagine the storm of indignation which would rage in Paris or Berlin, if it were discovered that such a discrimination had been made in favour of foreigners, and to the prejudice of native-born Frenchmen or Germans.

The regulation that if the addressee's name be written on a circular "so as to form part" of it, the circular is charged for as if it were a letter, should be repealed. This regulation is constantly and innocently infringed by the public, and I have received innumerable complaints on the subject. It causes wide-spread irritation, and the penalties exacted are not worth the resulting odium. Moreover, it is absurd to contend that the mere insertion of a name converts a circular into a letter.

It is curious to note that a man is allowed to write in a book sent through the post—"From Mr. Brown, with the compliments of the author."

The cost of sending circulars from England to Persia, *via* Russia, is $\frac{1}{2}d.$, but by the Brindisi mail the charge is $1\frac{1}{2}d.$

POST-CARDS.—The regulation should be rescinded whereby the public is not permitted to send an ordinary card, bearing an adhesive halfpenny stamp, through the post, although such card may be of the exact size of a post-card, and although the Department transmits large quantities of circular cards—*i.e.*, cards in identical terms—of varying sizes, and each bearing an adhesive halfpenny stamp.

It should be observed that, by reason of this regulation, the Post Office annually incurs an unnecessary expenditure of £20,000 on the material for the official post-cards. In answer to a question, the Post-

master-General informed me that the cost of printing halfpenny adhesive stamps amounted to only £16 per million, whereas the post-cards cost £234 per million. Some official wiseacre has doubtless advised Mr. Raikes that this regulation is necessary. The blunder of that wiseacre costs us £20,000 a year.

Abroad, the public may supply its own post-cards, of regulation size, and place ordinary adhesive stamps upon them, and we carry foreign post-cards which arrive from the Continent, bearing adhesive stamps, and deliver them here. When in Austria, I myself affixed a stamp to a plain card which I sent to my right hon. friend, the Postmaster-General, and it was duly delivered. On this same card I wrote begging him to grant a similar facility to the people of England, and I had a letter in reply, in which he contents himself with stating that he "cannot hold out any expectation that it would be possible to adopt the suggestion." He does not give a single reason why he cannot comply with the request—and why? because it is impossible for his advisers to supply him with one.

A post-card should be sold at its face (or stamped) value. In the United Kingdom, post-cards are not sold at their face value, $\frac{1}{2}d.$ each, and a poor man is compelled, either to pay three-farthings for a half-penny post-card, or to buy more cards than he requires, whereas in nearly all other civilised countries post-cards are sold at their face value. There is absolutely no justification for charging more than the face value, for the extra profit does not go to swell the postal revenue, but becomes the personal profit of the postmaster.

The closed post-card (the "*carte lettre*" or "*biglietto postale*" of France and Italy), that is, a thin, double or folded post-card, to be closed by means of gummed edges, should be supplied to the public by the British Post Office.

It is a Post Office rule that no printed, written, or blank paper, or other material, may be affixed to a post-card, not even the "adhesive address slips" which are so commonly used, and are so convenient to the public. This rule should be abolished. For post-cards from foreign countries with printed and other slips affixed are admitted and delivered in this country without objection or excess charge. Why should a correspondent be punished by the British Post Office for being an Englishman?

Privately printed post-cards should be stamped by the Post Office at a reasonable rate. In order to prevent tradesmen from selling halfpenny post-cards at a lower rate than the Post Office charges, the Postmaster-General has increased the rate for stamping these private post-cards (of regulation size) from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per quire, and has given no reasons for imposing a fee of 200 per cent. above the price at which any printer would execute the work.

Stationers and others were in 1889 able to sell their own post-

cards, stamped, however, by the Inland Revenue Department, for $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per dozen. In four years the number of these privately printed cards rose from three millions to fifty millions per annum. The price of stationers' post-cards is now still lower.

Moreover (as part of the payment for stamped cards and envelopes), the public is charged $1d.$ for the material of ten post-cards, although the charge for the material of twenty stamped envelopes is only $1d.$

The public should be supplied with "query" post-cards, or post-cards ruled on each side into two halves, one side being reserved for the question, with a blank space for the answer, and the other side for the addresses of the person inquiring and the person answering. Though the letter rate to India, Ceylon, and Australia has been reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}d.$, post-cards are charged $2d.$ each to those countries. Post-cards from England to Ceylon cost $2d.$ each, but from Ceylon to England $1d.$ each. Surely these anomalies should be remedied.

VALUE PAYABLE, OR CASH ON DELIVERY POST.—The system in use in India and other countries of a "Value Payable" or "Cash on Delivery" post should be adopted in Great Britain and Ireland, so that a person may order, say, a book of his bookseller, to be paid for on its delivery by the parcel-post conductor. This system would yield a large revenue, and be of great convenience to the public. Why should India be suffered to set us an example of postal progress?

REDUCTION IN CHARGES FOR PARCEL POST.—The inland rates of postage for parcels should be: For a parcel not exceeding 3lbs. in weight, $3d.$, and for every additional pound of weight, $1d.$, instead of (as at present) $3d.$ for a parcel not exceeding 1lb. in weight, and $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ for every additional pound.

The parcel-post tariff to Australia, which is now $1s. 6d.$ for 2lbs., and $9d.$ per pound afterwards, should be $1s.$ for 2lbs., as a minimum charge, rising by $6d.$ per pound. We can send about 50lbs. of valuable merchandise to Australia for $1s.$

AN "AGRICULTURAL PARCELS-POST" should be established at special low rates for the benefit of farmers, market gardeners, dairymen, and others, so as to utilise the superior speed of the post for the conveyance of perishable goods, and thus to encourage an important home industry, which is at present subject to the fiercest foreign competition.

BOOK-POST REGULATIONS.—A book sent to Australia weighing under 4 ozs. is charged $4d.$; but a newspaper of the same weight, sent in the same mail-bag, is charged $1d.$ A charge of $1s. 4d.$ is made for the transmission through the post from England to Australasia of a book weighing one pound, whereas a book of the same weight may be sent from this country to New Caledonia, 1000 miles beyond Australia, for $4d.$ Is it too much to hope that these anomalies may be wiped out?

NEWSPAPER POSTAGE REFORMS.—No legal objection exists to the

practice of sending English newspapers to France, to be posted there for India. The Postmaster-General's monopoly extends only to postal letters, consequently tens of thousands of newspapers, &c., are posted abroad by English merchants and agents for India and the East at a third less cost than if posted in England. Our Post Office of course loses the postage. How long must we wait before the British rate is lowered to the Continental standard?

The present newspaper regulations prohibit any monthly publication from going through the post at newspaper rates, and it is charged double. Many valuable scientific magazines are crippled through these high postal charges, and the people are thereby often deprived of valuable information.

There are also loud complaints of the arbitrary conduct of the post-office officials, who have ordained that any newspaper which does not furnish general news, as distinguished from matters of general information and amusement, to the extent of one-third of its total contents, shall not be registered as a newspaper. A private Member has introduced a Bill into Parliament to remedy this.

If the cover of a newspaper be inscribed "see x," referring to a cross marked within, or "p. 4," the newspaper in question is charged for at the letter rate, although such inscription simply serves as an indication for saving the time of the addressee. At the same time, the sender is allowed to mark with crosses and lines any number of passages inside the newspaper. Surely the inscription "see x" or "p. 4" might be permitted to appear on the cover.

At least 100,000 newspapers addressed to the colonies and foreign countries are confiscated annually by the British Post Office on account of deficient postage; whereas they should be forwarded to their addresses, the small deficiency being charged against the postal revenue. This valuable mass of periodical literature is sold as waste paper, and none is utilised for charitable ends, as in other countries.

It is the custom of the proprietors of the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic*, the *Pictorial World*, and other papers of a like nature, to issue at different periods of the year those beautiful coloured supplements with which we are all so familiar. Thousands of pounds are sometimes paid to eminent painters for the originals of the pictures, and enormous sums are spent in reproducing them. They occupy the engravers, lithographers, and printers, frequently, three, six, and twelve months in preparing for publication. Now, the Post Office authorities insist not only on the word "Supplement" being printed on each of those pictures, but on the date of issue being printed thereon. It is exceedingly inconvenient to have to print the date in advance, because, perhaps, on the very day named on the Supplement, some national calamity, such as the death of some member of our Royal Family, may occur. In such case it would be manifestly improper,

and against good taste, to issue copies of a painting of a comic subject, in tens of thousands, throughout the land.

Some time ago, I brought this question under the notice of the Postmaster-General, who certainly gave reason to hope that he would relax this regulation, insisting on the date being thus printed. It has not yet been done.

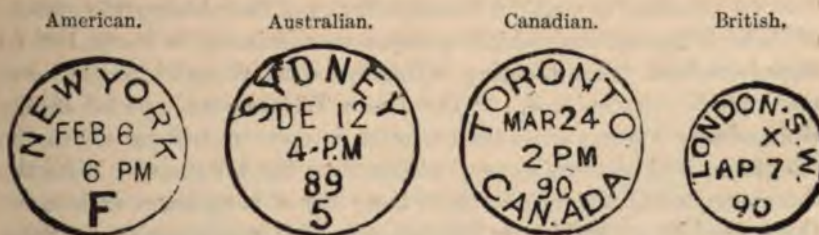
A tax, in addition to the postage, is levied in respect of all English newspapers delivered in Austria. This tax should form the subject of remonstrance by our Government.

POSTAL ORDERS.—The Postal authorities should issue a Postal Order for one guinea. Such an order is constantly required by the public for the payment of subscriptions, fees, and accounts.

A person remitting 19s. 6*d.* by postal order is charged more than another person remitting 20s.; and a person remitting 9s. 6*d.* is charged more than another remitting 10s. This should be rectified.

HOURLY OF COLLECTION SHOULD BE STAMPED WITH DATE.—In the United States, Canada, Australia, and certain European countries, the postal authorities stamp upon each envelope, post-card, or other document posted, the hour of collection, as well as the date, in plain and intelligible figures, and letters; thus enabling the public to check, trace, and control the movements of correspondence, without causing any extra trouble to the officials. Although a memorial, signed by 222 members of Parliament, requesting the institution of this reform, was presented to the Postmaster-General, he refuses to make this slight change for the public convenience.

The following are examples of American, Australian, Canadian, and British post-marks:—



IMPROVED LETTER-PILLAR BOX COLLECTION.—The system pursued in Austria, Germany, and Italy, in collecting letters from pillar-boxes, should be adopted in the United Kingdom. In the three foreign countries named, the collector never touches the letters. He drives round, takes out the full box from the pillar, and replaces it with an empty one, the perforation in each box fitting that in the pillar. As the key of each box is kept at the Post Office, this system is a perfect safeguard against the letters being stolen, soiled, or wetted.

AN INTERNATIONAL POSTAGE STAMP.—The Government should propose at the next meeting of the Postal Union the employment

of a common or International postage stamp, which can be used in any country, or in specified countries included in the Union, for the transmission of mail matter, or for the remitting of small sums of money not exceeding one shilling. In support of this scheme, it may be pointed out that at present, if one wishes to enclose a stamp for a reply to the United States, Germany or France, it is almost useless to do so, the English stamp being valueless for postage in those countries. Another and perhaps larger use of an International stamp, which would be equally good in the leading countries of the Postal Union, may be referred to—for buying small articles, books, pamphlets, and novelties in merchandise of all kinds. Such a plan would be much more convenient than any method at present in use. A foreign money order for sixpence is simply an absurdity, a cheque or draft equally so. In these days of international literature and international advertising, there are thousands of people to whom the remittance of very small sums would be a great convenience. The simplest form of such a remittance would be an International stamp.

EXPRESS LETTER POST.—The Post Office authorities should no longer refuse to introduce the system of express letter post, or special delivery post, which works so satisfactorily on the Continent and in America. A letter posted in Vienna or New York, having an extra stamp by way of special fee, is, on its receipt in the postal district to which it is addressed, at once despatched to the person to whom it is addressed, and generally delivered within a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes of its arrival at the post office, whether it be Sunday or week day, up to midnight.

CARTE TÉLÉGRAMMES.—Two years have elapsed since the Postmaster-General promised to consider the expediency of introducing the system of Carte Télégrammes, which answers so admirably in Paris, but no steps have been taken to bring it into operation, though it would be of much public convenience. "The Carte Télégramme," postal authorities admit, "goes sooner than a letter, is surer and cheaper than the telegraph, and of more general utility than the telegram. With the threepenny carte télégramme there is no fear of bungling of addresses; there need be no ambiguity through excessive condensation, as there is no limit to words, and with it you may transact all sorts of business—give orders to your butcher or baker, fix or put off appointments, or make any hurried inquiry you choose."

ADDITIONAL CHARGES FOR RE-ADDRESSED LETTERS.—Letters sent from one part of England to another are charged additional postage if re-addressed, but letters sent by foreigners to this country are re-addressed free of charge. This is most unjust.

By the Postal Union agreement we are bound to deliver all letters sent to us from abroad, and every farthing of postage is retained by the country whence they come. On the other hand, the whole revenue from the inland letters is retained by our Post Office, and the

least the British postal authorities should do is to give the same facilities to our own countrymen as are extended to foreigners.

FOREIGN *v.* ENGLISH POSTAL CHARGES.—Making allowance for the difference in exchange, a merchant in Austria can post 120 letters to England for £1; whereas a merchant in England can only post 96 letters to Austria for the same money.

This state of things should be amended.

INTERFERENCE WITH POST OFFICE.—The Board of Inland Revenue and other departments interfere with everything in connection with the Post Office, from the making of a contract, like that with Messrs. De la Rue and Co., which lost the country half a million sterling, to the placing of a filter or the mending of a lock. Yet though unable to execute trifling repairs without permission from the Treasury, the postal officials take it upon themselves to expend about £90,000 a year without the previous sanction of Parliament. Again, £300,000 a year is paid out of the Post Office Revenue fund, and no account is ever submitted to Parliament.

BADLY KEPT POST OFFICE ACCOUNTS.—Again, though it is admitted that the profits of the Post Office amount to £3,346,087, yet, owing to the peculiar manner in which the accounts are kept, it is impossible for any one to find out what the gross receipts and net profits are within three-quarters of a million of money.

Thus the cost of constructing postal buildings and the purchase of sites is habitually defrayed out of profits instead of being charged to a capital account. In London alone it is estimated that three millions of money have been spent in sites and buildings out of current revenue. The Post Office should be managed, and its accounts should be kept, on business principles.

WORRYING POSTAL REGULATIONS.—Many of the postal regulations are so worded as to cause much inconvenience and hardship to the public, without corresponding advantage; whereas the primary object of such regulations should be the convenience of the public, so far as may be consistent with the unimpeded working of the Department. Thus a man enclosed in one packet eight newspapers, and one small weekly paper, price one penny, and being under the impression that the small paper was registered as a newspaper, he affixed stamps of the value of fourpence halfpenny to his parcel. On delivery, the addressee was charged sixpence, as the small weekly paper, it was said, not being registered, should have been in a separate packet.

DELAY IN ANSWERING COMPLAINTS.—It is found that an answer to any complaint respecting postal matters cannot be obtained from the permanent officials of the Department for a period varying from seventeen days to three months, whereas in several other English-speaking countries, and in British Colonies and Dependencies, the duties of the officials are so arranged that an answer is received either during the day on which a question is put or, at the outside, within forty-eight hours.

NO ACCOUNTS KEPT OF FOREIGN OR COLONIAL CORRESPONDENCE.—It is somewhat remarkable that, in the words of the Postmaster-General, the British Post Office has "ceased for some years past to keep detailed records of the correspondence passing between this country and various parts of the Empire," so that there is the utmost difficulty in ascertaining the facts as to the amount of, or the receipts, expenditure, profit, or loss, upon any branch of that correspondence. This is the more remarkable because each of the British Colonial Post Offices keeps full records of the correspondence sent to the mother country, and publishes them. Such lofty indifference to the existence and importance of "Greater Britain" on the part of highly placed officials verges on the sublime.

WASTE PAPER ACCOUNTS.—While the Telegraph Department is credited to the extent of £2000 a year for the sale of waste paper, nothing at all is credited to the General Post Office for its waste paper, which is treated as a perquisite of the Stationery Office.

DISHONEST LETTER CARRIERS.—It is not pleasant to find that in 1888, 325 dishonest letter carriers were found guilty and dismissed for irregularities, and that on an average more than three postal officials per week were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, independent of the number who were cautioned for suspicious conduct or carelessness. There is reason to believe that sufficient pay is not given, and that sufficient care is not exercised in appointing these officers. Injustice is thereby done to the intelligent, courteous, and honest officials, and the whole staff is consequently brought into disgrace.

There is a general feeling that the Post Office works its employes too hard, and pays them too little. Mr. Frederic Harrison has recently drawn up a formidable indictment of St. Martin's-le-Grand on this head, which renders it unnecessary for me to deal with the subject. I will merely observe that Parliament will not tolerate for the future any approach to "sweating" on the part of a public Department.

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO LODGINGS.—A petty and vexatious regulation has recently been promulgated, to the effect that letters addressed to any person at a lodging which he has quitted shall be delivered at such lodging, although the person concerned may have given the usual notice requesting the delivery of his letters at a new address. This rule, which does not obtain in any other postal service in Europe, has caused, and is likely to cause, much needless inconvenience, delay, and loss. It will add a new terror to "life in lodgings."

DOUBLE POSTAGE FINE FOR INSUFFICIENT STAMPING.—If a letter bearing a 2½*d.* stamp, and weighing one-eighth of a grain over half an ounce, be despatched from this country to Australia, the recipient is charged double the rate of postage on delivery of it. Again, on the delivery in the United Kingdom of a letter from Canada on which insufficient postage has been paid, or in Canada of such a letter sent

from the United Kingdom, a fine of double the deficient postage is levied; whereas a letter sent insufficiently stamped from the United States to Canada, or from Canada to the United States is delivered on payment of the deficient postage only; all three countries being in the Postal Union. It seems unjust to fine a person who receives the missive, perhaps a bill or a begging letter, more than the actual deficiency in the postage paid.

EMBOSSSED STAMPS.—Here is an amusing anomaly. Although an embossed stamp removed from an unused (A. 1) telegram form is accepted in payment for a telegram (see Postal Guide for October 1890, page 417), there is a conflicting rule that "payment of postage on letters cannot be made by means of embossed or impressed stamps cut out from envelopes, cards, wrappers, or telegraph message forms (even although the stamps have not been before used)". (See Postal Guide, page 26.) As nobody will go through the tedious formality of applying at Somerset House for the value of an embossed penny envelope stamp, this rule amounts to the confiscation of the value of embossed postage stamps which, owing to mistakes in addressing, cannot be used.

SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS.—One would like to know why a registered Benefit Society is not permitted to open a current account at a Post Office Savings Bank.

NEW POSTAL GUIDE.—The present postal guide and regulations are framed (like a usurer's mortgage document) entirely in the interests of the Department, and not in the interests of the public. I would offer a prize for the best, clearest, fairest, and simplest postal guide.

TELEGRAPHS.

RAILWAY TELEGRAMS.—On the purchase by the State of the inland telegraph system, in 1870, the Government made an improvident contract to transmit free all messages sent by the railway companies regarding their business. The companies habitually transact all their correspondence by telegraph; and whereas in 1871, 97,000 of their messages were forwarded without charge by the Post Office, the number so forwarded has now risen to over 1,000,000, and the loss of the Department to over £50,000 per annum. Surely the privilege of sending telegrams without payment should be withdrawn from the railway companies, on payment of moderate compensation to them.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES SHOULD BE INCLUDED.—The time has arrived for the free transmission of the names and addresses (not exceeding eight words) of the sender and receiver of a telegram, since the telegraphs are now worked at a profit, and it is inexpedient to make the telegraphic service, like the postal service, a mere branch of the revenue, or of the machinery of taxation.

COMPOUND WORDS IN TELEGRAPH MESSAGES.—All compound words or names, including those of persons, houses, streets, places,

counties, or countries, should be transmitted as single words, so that such anomalies as those set out below may be put an end to:—

The name "South Hawley" is counted and charged for as two words, but "South Stainley" as one, "South Stockton" is read as two words, "South Somercote" and "North Berwick" are read as one, "North Woolwich" two words, "North Camp" one, "South Camp" two words, "North Town" (Aldershot) one, "North Town" (Wycombe) two, "De Vere" one word, "De Vere Gardens" three words, "Hampton Court" one word, "Hampton Wick" two words, "St. Stephens" one word, "Saint Stephen's" two words, "Westgate-on-Sea" one word, "Sheerness on Sea" three words, "Kingston-on-Thames" one word, "Kingston-Cross" (Plymouth) two words, "Lee-on-the-Solent" one word, "Lee Green" two words, "De Worms" one word, "Baden-Powell" two words, "Von Donop" one word, "Orr-Ewing" two words, "De-la-Rue" one word, "Agg-Gardner" two words, "La Thiere" one, "Pitt-Lewis" two words, "St. Leonards-on-Sea" three words, "St. Helen's Duckland" one word, "St. Just Lane" and "Ryton-on-Dunsmore" one word each, "Gateshead-on-Tyne" three words, "Newcastle-on-Tyne" one word, "Clapham-junction" two words, "High-Green" one word, and "Turnham Green" two words. "Can't," "won't," and "don't" are counted as one word each, while "shan't" is counted as two words. "Upstairs" is counted as one word, "downstairs" as two words.

Lastly, as in Australia and other colonies, the words "reply paid" added to a telegram should be transmitted without charge.

PRESS TELEGRAMS.—Any telegraphic message addressed to the editor, as distinguished from the manager, of a newspaper should be considered a Press message, and charged for accordingly.

Recently I sent for publication a telegram addressed to "The Editor of the *Times*," and was charged full rates, on the ground that it was not a Press message. A Press message must be addressed to "The *Times*."

These "catch-rules," as they may be termed, tend to bring the service into disrepute. A State Department with an annual surplus of £3,000,000 should be above profiting by lurking quibbles which would be discreditable in a struggling attorney.

A SOURCE OF REVENUE.—Some 300,000,000 telegraph forms are supplied to, or received from, the public every year, and the right to advertise on the backs of these telegraph forms should be sold for the benefit of the Post Office revenue. Here the authorities show themselves indifferent to a legitimate source of profit. Surely it is not contended that a telegraph form is too high and sacred a thing to be abandoned to the advertiser. It is certainly not more entitled to protection than a railway-bridge, or the inside of a railway-carriage.

CABLE FROM DOVER TO CALAIS.—There should be direct telegraphic communication between Dover and Calais. At present a message from Dover to Calais is first transmitted to London, thence to Paris, and

thence to Calais, the result being several hours' delay. Yet Dover and Calais contain a large number of residents, and there is a constant stream of travellers in each direction. The mail and passenger boat service is dependent on the tide and the weather. It is clear therefore that a short line of cable is very much wanted. When some illustrious potentate has been kept waiting and fuming for a few hours, in consequence of this circuitous arrangement, we may perhaps hope to see it remedied.

A* GRIEVANCE.—A person can telegraph 100 words from Germany to this country (making allowance for the average rate of exchange) for 14s. 8d., whereas he must pay 16s. 8d. for telegraphing 100 words to Germany, and £1 sterling will pay for the telegraphing of 136 words from Germany to England, but only 120 words from England to Germany can be sent for £1.

Surely our Post Office can achieve something more brilliant, or, let us say, more just, than this for us, in negotiating with astute foreign Governments.

HIGH CHARGE FOR A RECEIPT.—How much longer is a fee of 2d. to be charged at the telegraph-offices throughout this country on the receipt given for a sixpenny telegram?

In 1888 I brought this matter before the Postmaster-General, who promised to make a reduction in the charge. On the 12th of March, 1890, I asked the Postmaster-General why the promise was not fulfilled, and received the following answer: "I beg to inform the hon. Member that, in accordance with my promise, I made a proposal to the Treasury on the subject of the question, but her Majesty's Government have decided not to make any change in the amount charged."

Here we see the generous impulse of the Postmaster-General sternly checked by a niggardly Treasury. To charge 33 per cent. for signing and dating a receipt form, which would take a clerk five seconds, surpasses the most rapacious exactions of the loan-offices.

This incident is valuable, as revealing the light in which the Post Office is regarded by My Lords.

IMPROVEMENT IN DELIVERY OF TELEGRAPH MONEY ORDERS.—The system prevailing in India of sending the cash with a Telegraphic Money Order to the residence of the addressee should be adopted in this country, as it saves time, ensures delivery to the right person, and is a boon greatly appreciated. Money is remitted by telegraph only in cases of emergency, in which the chief object is to save time.

TELEGRAMS TO THE CONTINENT ONE PENNY PER WORD.—The public should be able to telegraph to any European country at the rate of one penny per word. In the case of telegrams to Paris, or France generally, the argument for the reduction is unanswerable. The rate levied throughout the United Kingdom, even between the south-east of England and across St. George's Channel to the north-west of

Ireland, is one half-penny per word. And the rate levied throughout France is rather less than one half-penny per word. It is obvious, therefore, that we might, even under the present conditions, institute an Anglo-French telegraphic tariff of 1*d.* per word, to the great benefit of trade in both countries. But a European rate of 1*d.* per word would yield a huge revenue.

TELEGRAMS TO THE CONTINENT AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES.—There is no more delightful occupation than a study of the "possibilities" of the uses to be made of the electric telegraph, and there is nothing more irritating than the knowledge that the obstruction to its general use is the existence of a cable monopoly controlled by men who exploit this beneficent invention—the common property of mankind—for their own selfish profit. Monopolies, as being opposed to the public interest, are discouraged by the law, and obnoxious to public opinion. But the cable monopoly is the creation of very able men, the ablest of whom is unquestionably Sir John Pender, Chairman of the Eastern Telegraph Company and various American Cable Companies; and it is so fenced about with contracts, subsidies, reserve funds, and capital, that it is difficult to strike a fair blow at it. The Companies have wires to India, the East, Africa and Australia; they form a kind of "pool," and maintain a "corner" in International telegraphy, by which they exact from long-suffering humanity an annual tribute, limited not by their conscience—for they have none—but by prudence. They act like vampires, which, though they suck freely from the veins of their victim, leave just enough blood in his body to keep him alive, and ensure themselves another meal.

The British Government and some Continental Governments, a few years ago, bought the submarine cables between England, Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland. Their first act was to reduce the rates from 2½*d.* to 2*d.* per word. The result was that 300,000 more words were sent in 1890 than in 1889, and the increased revenue to the Post Office on this branch of the service amounted to 47 per cent.

When, through competition, the telegraph rates between England and America were reduced from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 6*d.* per word, the business done increased 140 per cent. in eight months. Then Sir John Pender came to terms with his rivals, and 1*s.* per word was fixed as the minimum rate to America. We should reduce the rate to 6*d.* per word.

TELEGRAMS TO INDIA SHOULD NOT EXCEED SIXPENCE PER WORD.—In the parlour of an Australian bank in London, last week, I met a number of influential directors, who asked me what were the capabilities, or the carrying power, of the Indian, Australian, and American cables. The reply to this question really solves the difficulty. I was, through the courtesy of an eminent electrician, enabled to answer the question, and to state what could be done. It was easy to demonstrate that millions of words more could be sent, that the American wires would pay at 6*d.* per word, that the telegraph rate to

India should not exceed 6*d.* per word, and that 1*s.* per word would be ample for messages to Australia and New Zealand, or to Hong Kong and Japan. We now pay 4*s.* a word to India, and 9*s.* 4*d.* a word to Australia. It is proposed to bring the rates to Australia down to 4*s.* a word, but this will not satisfy the public. The charges are now prohibitory, except to Governments and rich merchants.

In consequence of the monstrous rates quoted, merchants use codes, but so great has been the increase of business relations with Australia, that while in 1872 the number of messages received and despatched amounted to 1774, yielding £16,153, in 1889 no less than 62,909 messages were sent and received, yielding a sum of £361,000, or nearly £1000 a day, the average cost of each message being £5. If messages could be sent to Australia from England for 1*s.* per word, or twenty words for £1, there would be an enormous increase of family or social messages. The Companies declare enormous dividends, besides reserve funds, in the shape of money or reserve stores of cable.

The traffic to India, Singapore, and Hong Kong is also very great, and is increasing. To exhibit the enormous cable traffic between Europe and India, I may refer to the official figures supplied me, showing that the grand total number of words transmitted in 1889 from India was 3,875,534, and the total net value £556,034.

Again, it is no secret that treble the present number of words could be easily despatched to America along the wires laid down.

It is clearly time to unite the English-speaking world in one vast commercial and social federation by means of the telegraph.

It has been the business of the latter portion of my life to investigate the working of the postal and telegraphic systems, and to urge in Parliament, and through the Press, the adoption of such reforms as appear to be called for in the public interest. The movement thus initiated some five years ago has been the means of securing, or in some cases of hastening, the following reforms :

(a) A saving of £107,000 a year, or a total saving of £1,070,000 on the cost of conveying mails to India and the East during the contract period of ten years.

(b) A saving of £40,000 a year on the De la Rue Post Office Stationery Contract.

(c) A saving of at least £25,000 a year on the Sample Parcel Post. Formerly tens of thousands of samples were sent from London to Belgium to be posted back to England, and Belgium kept every farthing of the postage.

(d) A saving of at least £30,000 a year in the carriage of mails to India, China, and Australia overland from Calais to Brindisi. When the agitation was commenced five years ago, the Governments of France and Italy charged a transit rate of 1½*d.* per letter. The charge has now been reduced to about 1*d.* per letter.

(e) The introduction of post-cards to and from Australia and South Africa.

(f) The extension of the Parcel Post to France.

(g) The introduction of the Telegraphic Money Order system into England.

(h) The reduction of Ocean Postage to Australia from 6*d.* to 4*d.* per letter, and the reduction of postage to the Cape of Good Hope from 6*d.* to 4*d.* per letter.

(i) The purchase by the State of all cables to the Continent, and the consequent reduction of telegraph charges from 2½*d.* to 2*d.* per word.

(j) And, finally, the establishment of a uniform letter postal rate to the Colonies of 2½*d.* per half ounce.

It will be interesting to keep for reference the list of suggested reforms enumerated, and as it is beyond question that every one will have to be conceded, sooner or later, I am curious to know how long we shall have to wait for them, or how many of the grievances will remain unredressed when another year comes round.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.—It will be expected that I should say something regarding Imperial Penny Postage. Public opinion has already been strongly and unanimously expressed in favour of an extension of Penny Postage to the whole of the Empire. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has so far yielded to this demand as to institute a uniform 2½*d.* postal rate to the Colonies; this new rate will benefit the merchants and other well-to-do persons who are compelled to maintain a large correspondence with the colonies, but it has failed to reach the masses. There is no good reason why Imperial Penny Postage should not be instituted at once, for it costs much less than a penny to convey a letter from this country to New Zealand, the most distant of our possessions.

There are, however, reasons for abstaining from a discussion of this great reform at the present moment. It will suffice to say that the question of establishing Imperial Penny Postage is receiving the serious attention of the Government.

One word must here be added. Some few points that I have raised may appear trifling, but I can testify that they frequently cause intense exasperation.

While we exercise our constitutional right of grumbling, we heartily recognise how much we owe to the fleet-footed messengers, the deft-fingered sorters, and the talented and devoted clerical staff of the Department. Only by marching abreast of public opinion, by moving with the times, and by seizing promptly on every opportunity of extending the benefit of its operations, can the Post Office adequately fulfil the great mission entrusted to it, and preserve unimpaired the confidence and gratitude of the British race.

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

JOHN WESLEY.

MARCH 2, 1891, is the centenary of the death of John Wesley. Many biographies of him have been written, and the minutest incidents of his life are familiar to the members of the religious community who are called by his name. Others are far less acquainted with his personality, and may not be sorry to be reminded what manner of man he was.

For, indeed, the reformers of Churches, the redressers of injustice, the reawakeners of dead consciences, the slayers of dragons and monsters, have in all ages been men marked out to their great work by similar characteristics. They who would beat down the hundred-headed hydra of inveterate evils must use the same Hercules-club of moral conviction and absolute self-sacrifice.

The father of John Wesley was the good Vicar of Epworth, and laboured for long years in poverty, disappointment, debt, and many trials, amid a rude, hostile, and heavy peasantry. John and his brothers and sisters in a numerous family had, to his own great advantage, to bear the yoke in their youth. Mrs. Wesley was an able, active, and deeply religious woman. She gave herself up, heart and soul, to her home duties and the right education of her children. We are told that she taught her children, even as infants, to cry softly, and trained the little boys and girls in habits of the finest Christian courtesy.

The discipline of those days was stern; but in the hands of a good and wise mother it probably erred far less in the direction of sternness than ours does in the direction of effeminacy. Mrs. Wesley set apart an hour every day to talk and pray with her boys in turn, and retained a powerful spell of influence over them, even to advanced age. She did much to mould Wesley's character. In spite of the opposition of

the commonplace curate of the parish, and the timid doubts of her own husband, when he was absent in London for the meetings of Convocation, she assembled the parishioners together in her kitchen to a service, which they found more profitable and blessed than the dry and soulless ministrations of the parish church.

The little John and Charles were present at these meetings, and we see in them the germ and spirit of their future work.

Brought up in such a home, John Wesley grew up so serious, so earnest, and so promising a child that even at the age of eight years his father admitted him to the Holy Communion. His impressions had been deepened by his remarkable escape from the burning ruins of his father's vicarage when he was six years old. Epworth parsonage was destroyed by fire. The children were all asleep, and John, left alone in the blazing nursery, was only snatched from death at the last moment, after the vain efforts of his father to reach the room. From that day his mother dedicated him to God, and regarded him as a child marked out for great ends. In one of his early publications a house in flames is represented beneath his portrait, with the words, "Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?"

He tells us that till the age of ten he was not conscious of having committed any grave sin, or of having lost the grace of baptism. At that age he was sent to school in London, at the Charterhouse. English public schools in those days were not only very rough training places, but were also scenes of much vice and godlessness. But though Wesley as a schoolboy lost some of his deep religious seriousness, he still continued to go to church, to read his Bible, and to pray both morning and evening. We hear of him as a "brave boy, a good scholar, learning Hebrew as fast as he can," and probably his faults were not more serious than such as rise from a natural buoyancy and hilarity of spirit, which thinks but little of religion in the glow and bloom of opening life.

In 1720 he went to Christ Church, Oxford. Although at first he did not recover his old piety, we hear of no fault except that he got into debt; and it was difficult for him to do otherwise with the slender allowance which alone his father could afford. The religious atmosphere of Oxford at that time was singularly cold and dead, as indeed was that of England, and the Church of England generally. But a decided change soon passed over him. Without extinguishing a natural cheerfulness which made him say that he could never remember being in bad spirits for a quarter of an hour all his life, a sense of religion awakened him to deep seriousness. Young as he was, he wrote to his mother, "Leisure and I have taken leave of one another. I propose to be busy as long as I live, if my health is so long indulged me."

After taking his degree, he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln, and

acquired much reputation as an Oxford tutor. Various books fanned the flame of his religious earnestness. Thomas à Kempis, by the "Imitatio Christi," woke in his mind the desire for a closer walk with God; and the purely monastic and ascetic elements of à Kempis's ideal were corrected by Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying." His soul was stirred still more deeply by Law's "Serious Call" and "Perfection." By these books, he says, "I was convinced more than ever of the impossibility of being half a Christian, and determined to be all devoted to God; to give Him all my soul, my body, and my substance."

He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Potter, and never forgot his advice: "If you wish to be extensively useful, do not spend your time in contending for or against things of a disputable nature, but in testifying against notorious vice, and in promoting real, essential holiness." Another remarkable sentence was addressed to him when he was ordained Priest. Dr. Hayward, Bishop Potter's examining chaplain, put to him a question on which he often pondered, and of which his whole after-history was an illustration: "Do you know," he asked him, "what you are about? You are bidding defiance to all mankind. He that would live a Christian priest ought to know that, whether his hand be against every man or no, he must expect every man's hand would be against him." He had already learnt by experience the truth of the remark, for his very goodness, his blameless morals, his efforts to help others, were made grounds for sneers and opposition.

To any one who looks a little below the surface, and watches the reception accorded in our own age, as much as in any other, to any line of conduct not purely conventional, this will not appear wholly strange. No one in these days would openly venture to taunt another in the House of Commons as "the honourable and *religious* gentleman," as one member of Parliament taunted Wilberforce; nor would many men make personal chastity a ground for depreciatory innuendoes, as in the eighteenth century they did to the younger Pitt. But when Wesley stood for election to his fellowship at Lincoln College, there were some who tried to ruin his chance by ridiculing his serious behaviour; and he wrote to his father to ask for his advice. The letter of his father was admirable. "Does any body think," wrote the Vicar of Epworth, "that the devil is dead, or asleep, or that he has no agents left? Surely virtue can bear being laughed at. The Captain and Master endured something more for us before He entered into His glory, and unless we track his steps, in vain do we hope to share the glory with Him." Yet we are astonished to read that in those days, at an Oxford College, to attend the Sacrament was to make oneself a target for all the polite students, and the practice of visiting the poor was an offence to be punished with the threat of expulsion. Indeed, so serious did the opposition gradually become, that Wesley again sought his father's counsel. His father wrote

that he rejoiced to have two sons at Oxford—for Charles had now joined his elder brother, John—"to whom God has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them. . . . Go on, then, in God's name, in the path to which your Saviour hath directed you; . . . walk prudently, though not fearfully. I doubt whether a mortal can arrive at a greater degree of perfection than steadily to do good, and for that very reason, patiently and meekly to suffer evil. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady."

In 1727 Wesley went to assist his father in the rude hamlet of Wroote, where he stayed till 1729. He tells us that he did not see much fruit of his labours, because, in his preaching, he neither laid the foundation of repentance nor of believing the Gospel, but rather assumed that his hearers were already believers and already penitent. In 1729 he returned to Oxford to find that his brother Charles had there founded a little brotherhood of students to encourage each other in the practice of a holy life. They met for prayer, self-examination, the study of the Scriptures and the Greek Testament. Later on they formed plans to visit the sick and the prisoners. They were nicknamed "the Holy Club," and Whitefield was one of the little band. They were also called by that name "Methodists," which still adheres to the Society of which they formed the earliest nucleus. The name Methodist had first been invented in the reign of Nero, for a school of physicians who thought that "all diseases could be cured by a specific method of diet and exercise."* Charles Wesley, who was of a more poetic, tender, and emotional cast of mind than John, had been the first leader in the movement, and he added a glow of warmer spirituality to the harder and more prosaic temperament of his brother. The numbers of this little Society were never large. Some of its members died early; others fell away before the discouragement and ridicule heaped upon them. But John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield—the organiser, the poet, the orator of the Wesleyan movement—went on until they had become the revivers in England of a dead and torpid religionism; the standard-bearers of what might well have seemed to be a forlorn hope; the voices which cried over the valley of dry bones, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live."

In October 1735, the two brothers sailed with General Oglethorpe to Georgia. John's object was to sacrifice himself, not only as a chaplain to the emigrants, but also as a missionary to the American Indians. This was probably the least fruitful and the least happy episode in the lives of the young evangelists. Both of them were still

* Auson, "Idyll," ix. 67: "Triplex quoque forma medendi Cui logos, et *methodos*, cuique experientia nomen."

"As many more
As *methodist* Musus killed with hellebore."

MARSTON, *Scourge of Villany*, 1599.

High Churchmen of the old Anglican school, with strong notions of discipline. John never scrupled to reprove any one, not only for notorious sins, but for anything—such as dress, or what he regarded as levity in conduct; and he excited deadly animosities by repelling from the Holy Communion any one who did not come up to his ideal standard, or who had not given him previous notice. His life, indeed, was as blameless and noble as it always was; but we see in his conduct a certain hardness and autocracy, and want of sympathy and tact. Yet, nothing could exceed his earnestness and self-sacrifice. He had but a small salary, he ate but little, he drank no wine, he limited his hours of sleep, he rose at four in the morning, he laboured incessantly at preaching, visiting, and teaching. The early colonists were of various nations, and therefore he read prayers to them in Italian, in French, and in German, as well as in English; and since he also taught the children of his schools, his Sundays were days of incessant and astonishing labour. “During his journeys in the colony he often slept all night in the open air, exposed to all the dews that fell. Sometimes he was wet through with dew and rain. He wore Indian shoes, and slept rolled up in a blanket. Though he travelled through places infested with wild beasts, he would never carry a weapon; he said that he had a cane to try the depths of the rivers through which he had to wade, but would not have a ferrule at the end of it lest it should look like a weapon.” One instance of his sincerity and self-denial is well worth recording. At Savannah he was told that some of the schoolboys were inclined to despise others who came to school without shoes and stockings. How was he to cure this? He did, what not perhaps one teacher out of a million would have thought of doing, he himself went barefoot to teach them! The boys could no longer look down on comrades who came to school without shoes and stockings, when their own teacher—clergyman, and scholar, and gentleman as he was—came to school shoeless and stockingless! They were amazed; but he kept them to their books, and before the end of the week had cured them of their vanity.

It is the custom to speak of Wesley's mission to Georgia as a failure. A failure it was *not*. Whitefield, who followed him to Georgia, even ventures to say “The good which Mr. John Wesley has done in America is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people, and he has laid a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake.” He felt, however, that he was flinging away his best years in a partial effort. He was driven to return to England, which he only reached in February 1738, after trying and dangerous adventures. He would hardly have survived the perils of this journey but for the fine health and unbroken cheerfulness which were the result and the reward of his habitual temperance, soberness, and chastity. By self-discipline he had strengthened a constitution so

naturally weak that, but for it, instead of living to eighty-eight, he would certainly have been cut off in early manhood.

This fine health and simple diet enabled him rapidly to get over the misery of sea-sickness in his homeward voyage, and during the six weeks that it occupied, his work was characteristically energetic. Overcoming his reluctance, he went among the sailors, and spoke individually to every one of them. He taught the cabin-boy. He instructed two poor negroes who were on board. To the single French passenger he talked in French, and every day explained to him a chapter of the New Testament; and all this while he continued his own personal studies.

Yet, among these noble, evangelistic, apostolical, self-denying labours, Wesley, in his own opinion, had not yet found the light. "It is now two years," he wrote, "and eight months since I left my native country to teach the Indians the nature of Christianity. But what have I learned myself in the meantime? Why, (what I the least of all expected) that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God."

His misgivings were the result of intercourse with simple, earnest, devout Moravians on his voyage out. He had consulted a Moravian minister named Spangenberg about his work. Spangenberg asked him a few questions. His first question surprised Wesley. It was, "Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" Wesley, a little astonished at the question, hesitated for an answer. "Do you know Jesus Christ?" said Spangenberg. "I know," said Wesley, "that he is the Saviour of the world." "True," said the Moravian, "but do you know that He has saved *you*?" "I hope," said Wesley, "He has died to save me." Spangenberg only added, "Do you know yourself?" "I do," said Wesley; "but," he adds at a later time, "I fear they were vain words."

He dated his full conversion from the time of his conversations with a young Moravian missionary, Peter Böhler, who taught him a simpler form of the Gospel, and brought home to him the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. "By him," says Wesley, "in the hand of the great God on March 5, 1738, I was clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith by which alone we are saved." He at once concluded that he was unfit to preach, but Böhler urged him to go on. "But what can I preach?" asked Wesley. "Preach faith till you have it," said his friend, "and then you will preach faith, because you have it." For a time he remained in uncertainty and heaviness, but on May 26, 1738, at five in the morning, he opened his New Testament at the words, "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises." That day, at St. Paul's, he heard the anthem, "Out of the deeps have I called unto Thee, O Lord," and in the evening he went to a little religious meeting, where some one was

reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. "About a quarter before nine," says Wesley, "while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

Shortly afterwards, at the house of his friend Mr. Hutton, in College Street, Westminster, Wesley surprised a little company of friends by telling them that five days before he had not been a Christian. "Have a care, Mr. Wesley," said Mr. Hutton, "how you despise the benefits received by the two Sacraments." "If you have not been a Christian ever since I knew you," said Mrs. Hutton, "you have been a great hypocrite, for you made us all believe that you were one." Wesley explained what he had meant. He said, "When we renounce everything but faith, and get into Christ, then, and not till then, have we any reason to believe that we are Christians." He considered that up to that time he had only had the faith of a servant, not the peace and assurance of a son.

In this narrative is contained the secret of all the mighty work of revival which Wesley lived to achieve in England. A gentleman, a scholar, a High Churchman, a presbyter of the English Church, a fellow of an Oxford college, there would have been nothing even in the sincerity of his piety to lead to the great work of his life—nothing to uplift him above the somnolent respectability of the ordinary easy-going Christian—if he had not learnt from the Moravians something of the depth of their convictions, and the flame of their devoted zeal. It is needless to follow the further incidents of his life. It was spent, without any intermission, in the fullest work of an evangelist to masses of his fellow countrymen, whom the Church of England for the most part neglected and ignored, and whom it was his mission to convert from the practical heathendom into which they had fallen.

His vast success was owing, first and foremost, to his inspiring conviction that he was doing the work to which God had called him, and doing it with God's visible benediction. But no small part of the supreme impression which he made upon his age was due to the character which has left to all time a luminous example. In his case, as in all cases, self-sacrifice was infinitely fruitful. That spirit of self-sacrifice inspired especially his generosity, his courage, and his high endurance.

i. The example of such generosity as Wesley's is not only rare, but almost unique. He rose completely superior to that mammon-worship and avarice which are the sunken reefs on which so many a vessel of human life is shattered, and most of all as it nears the close of its voyage. It was one of the principles of the Holy Club to give away

every year whatever of their income remained after they had provided for their own actual necessities. Wesley was foremost in this good work. "I abridged myself," he says, "of all superfluities, and many that are called necessities of life." When he had an income of £30 a year, he lived on £28, and gave away the rest. Next year he received £60, and gave away £32 in charity. The next year, still confining his whole personal expenses to £28, he gave away £62; and the year after £90. In other words, he gave away treble of what he spent, when his whole income was only £118 a year.

Wesley, on less than the income of many an artisan, was able to found a school of twenty children; to clothe some, if not all of them; and to pay the mistress. And he continued this principle all through his life. When he was sixty-three years old, a lady left him £1000, probably the largest sum he ever had in his possession. But in reference to it, Wesley simply said: "I am God's steward for the poor." To the poor it was so speedily distributed that when, a year later, his sister, who had been deserted by a worthless husband, applied for some of it, he wrote back: "You do not consider: money never stays with me; it would burn me if it did. I throw it out of my hands as soon as possible, lest it should find a way into my heart. You should have spoken to me before Miss Lewen's money flew away." Yet one of the numerous lies which religious wickedness, and irreligious wickedness was incessantly telling of him without a blush, was that he "made a good thing" out of Methodism!

A clergyman, who wrote one of the very numerous clerical pamphlets against Wesley, said "that after preaching so much against laying by money, he had put out £700 to interest." He replied; "I never put sixpence out to interest since I was born, and never had £100 of my own together since I came into the world."

He might have had thousands of pounds a year of his own, had he so chosen. The books he published in favour of Methodism were absolutely his own private property, and were very lucrative; but he gave all this money away. In one of his note books, when he was an extremely old man, he wrote: "For upwards of sixty-eight years I have kept my accounts exactly. I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction that I save all I can, and give all I can, that is all I have." In 1782, he spent £5 19s. for clothes, and gave away £738. Never a rich man, he gave away in his lifetime perhaps £40,000.

ii. Another great quality in Wesley's character was his heroic and unflinching courage. The world bestows a somewhat disproportionate admiration upon physical courage. But Wesley showed that highest form of physical courage which is not spasmodic, which is not only called out by a crisis, but which is required as a constant habit of life. And it was voluntary courage. It was courage in perplexing duties which

were not demanded of him. We might think it strange that the desire to preach the gospel of Christ should evoke such deadly opposition, alike of the so-called respectable and religious classes, and of the rude and ignorant multitude. Yet, so it was. Wesley, and those who worked with him, never had any other object than to offer the highest boon which earth can give to those for whom there was no love and no pity among the religious classes. Yet he was opposed with infuriated violence. Every form of opposition, we are told, was tried against him. "Mill-dams were let out; church bells were jangled; drunken fiddlers and ballad singers were hired; organs pealed forth; drums were beaten;" street-vendors, clowns, drunken fops, and Papists were hired, and incited to brawl or blow horns, so as to drown his voice. He was struck in the face with sticks, he was cursed and groaned at, pelted with stones, beaten to the ground, threatened with murder, dragged and hustled hither and thither by drinking, cursing, swearing, riotous mobs, who acted the part of judge, jury, and executioner. "Knock him down and kill him at once," was the shout of the brutal roughs who assaulted him at Wednesbury. On more than one occasion, a mad or a baited bull was driven into the midst of his assemblies; the windows of the houses in which he stayed were broken, and rioters burst their way even into his private rooms. "The men," says Dr. Taylor, "who commenced and continued this arduous service—and they were scholars and gentlemen—displayed a courage far surpassing that which carries the soldier through the hailstorm of the battle-field. Ten thousand might more easily be found who would confront a battery than two who, with the sensitiveness of education about them, could (in that day) mount a table by the roadside, give out a Psalm, and gather a mob."

iii. To face all this, and to face it day after day, and year by year, in England, in Scotland, in Wales, in Cornwall, in Ireland, required a supreme bravery, and persistence. Yet it needed even greater courage to meet hurricanes of abuse and tornadoes of slander. Wesley had to face this also on all sides. The most popular actors of the day held him up to odium and ridicule in lewd comedies. Reams of calumny were written against him; shoals of pamphlets, full of virulence and falsehood, were poured forth from the press. The most simple, the most innocent, the most generous of men, he was called a smuggler, a liar, an immoral and designing intriguer, a Pope, a Jesuit, a swindler, the most notorious hypocrite living. The clergy, I grieve to say, led the way. Rowland Hill called Wesley "a lying Apostle, a designing wolf, a dealer in stolen wares"; and said that he was "as unprincipled as a rook, and as silly as a jackdaw, first pilfering his neighbour's plumage, and then going proudly forth to display it to a laughing world." Augustus Toplady said, among floods of other and worse abuse, that "for thirty years he had been endeavour-

ing to palm on his credulous followers his pernicious doctrines, with all the sophistry of a Jesuit, and the dictatorial authority of a Pope"; and described him as "the most rancorous hater of the gospel system that ever appeared in England." Bishop Lavington, of Exeter, denounced the Methodists as a dangerous and presumptuous sect, animated with an enthusiastical and fanatical spirit; and said that they were "either innocent madmen or infamous cheats." Bishop Gibson, of London, actually made it one of his grounds of complaint against them that "they have had the boldness to preach in the fields and other open places, and by public advertisement to invite *the rabble* to be their hearers"; and he was indignant because Methodists thronged to the Holy Communion in such numbers that the clergymen had no time to dine before afternoon service! The revival of religion had to make its way among hostile Bishops, furious controversialists, jibing and libellous newspapers, angry men of the world, prejudiced juries, and brutal lies. And yet it prevailed, because "one with God is always in a majority."

Wesley's labours were marvellous. He is described as a man not well fed or of Herculean frame, but slight and frail;—as a man without indulgences, feeding for eight months every year chiefly at the tables of the poor; wifeless, childless, homeless, yet always cheerful, always happy, always hard at work, even to the age of eighty-eight flying with all the sprightliness of youth through the three kingdoms, preaching twice every day, indoors and out of doors, in churches, chapels, cottages, and sheds, and everywhere superintending the complex and growing interests of the numerous Societies which had sprung into buoyant being through the labours of himself and his godly helpers. Once show him the path of duty, and with a dauntless step he trod it. Nothing frightened him out of it. Nothing could allure him from it. However arduous the work, however great the privations, if his Master bade him go he went. "My brother Charles," he once remarked, "among the difficulties of our early ministry, used to say: 'If the Lord would give me wings, I would fly.' I used to answer: 'If the Lord bids me fly, I would trust Him for the wings.'" Happily he outlived years of hatred, and died in honour. His work began in an undergraduate's room at Oxford, and, when he died, there were 120,000 members of his Societies. There are now 5,250,000, under 33,000 ministers, and if children and general worshippers be counted, there are, perhaps, 25,000,000. Might he not say now, in the words which he chose for his text when he laid the foundation stone of the City Road Chapel, "This hath God wrought"? In Westminster Abbey thousands gaze with interest on the beautiful memorial which has been raised to him and his brother—the presentment of their faces in white marble not whiter than their lives. On it are carved three of his memorable sayings. One is: "I look on all the world as my

parish." Another is : " God buries His workmen, but continues His work." The third is his ejaculation : " The best of all is, God is with us." He uttered it on his death-bed, and then, once more, raising his arm and lifting his voice in grateful triumph, he emphatically repeated, "*The best of all is, God is with us !*"

Such was John Wesley. Exactly one hundred years have elapsed since his death, and now we can judge him aright. He was a man, and therefore by no means exempt from the faults and errors which spring from our human limitations ; but few men have been more supremely faithful to the best he knew. My object in this paper has merely been to sketch the outline of his life, and to indicate those conditions of his labour and of his character which secured to one who in genius was not equal to many of his contemporaries the supreme honour of evoking the dormant religious instincts of millions of human souls. It is not possible in this paper to describe the great revival which roused England from the general slumber and the wide-spread godlessness of the eighteenth century ; but the impulse which Wesley gave has not yet wholly spent its force, and the electric flash which he thrilled into drowsy hearts is still potent to kindle the phenomena and the reality of life. The Evangelical movement, the Oxford movement, even the recent enthusiasm of the Salvation Army, are traceable to his example, and to the convictions which he inspired. Faithfulness, energy, sincerity like his will never be ineffectual. He outlived the rage of the vicious whom he rebuked, and the jealousy of the neglectful who were shamed by his efforts and envious of his success. He has taken his secure place among the benefactors of mankind, and furnished one more illustration of the truth that

" Good deeds cannot die :
They with the sun and moon revive their light,
For ever blessing those that look on them."

F. W. FARRAR.

THE ECLIPSE OF JUSTICE.

Justice is lame as well as blind in this country."—*Venice Preserved*.

THE word justice, like many other words in the English language, is used to express several different meanings. It is used to indicate a personal characteristic, as well as to describe the principle that should regulate a man's dealings with his fellow-men, and also as a synonym for the administration of the law. Through its various significations there is, however, one underlying idea, namely—that of righteous impartiality. It is in relation to the administration of the law by the judiciary that the subject will be considered in the following pages.

There is, perhaps, no opinion more commonly held in this country than that the administration of the law by our judges is beyond suspicion, and that it is distinguished by general equity. Unhappily, this belief is far from being justified when brought to a practical test; for whilst it is undoubtedly true that, as a rule, our judges are distinguished by personal worth, and that they desire to act justly, yet partly from the defective state of the law itself, still more from the differing idiosyncrasies of individual judges, and most of all from the want of any guiding principle, generally accepted, in regard to the infliction of punishment, justice daily miscarries and grievous wrong is done. In considering this subject it is important to bear in mind that in every criminal trial there are three parties interested—first, the prosecutor or the person who has been wronged; secondly, the prisoner; and thirdly, the community, whose welfare is affected by every breach of those laws, on the proper enforcement of which its safety depends. The question of the guilt or innocence of a prisoner is one that is decided by the jury, and in criminal, though not so much in civil actions, the decision of a jury may generally be relied upon. It is after the verdict has been given, and in the sentences passed by

different judges upon those found guilty that justice miscarries; sometimes it is the prosecutor whose injury is ignored, sometimes it is the community that suffers, more often it is the prisoner.

The violation of justice in favour of the criminal is less frequent and less noticed; at the same time this form of injustice is probably the most injurious to the community. A great offender in this respect, acting no doubt with the best intentions, is Mr. Hopwood, the Recorder of Liverpool, on whose mind the sense of the injustice done to prisoners by excessive punishment seems to have made such an impression that he has run to the opposite extreme, and appears almost to have brought the judgment-seat into contempt. The following extract, quoted from the *St. James's Gazette*, will serve to show how serious has been the departure from justice in his court:

"At Liverpool Mr. Hopwood's sentences have attracted a great deal of attention, and were especially brought into prominence during the Assizes recently held there. In order to give some idea of the practical working of his theory, it may be well to specify a few of the more striking examples of it. One—which was found extremely moving in mercantile 'circles'—was the case of a clerk employed in a responsible and more or less confidential post. He embezzled or stole £5000, and Mr. Hopwood sentenced him to five months' imprisonment. A practically picturesque case was that of a man named Chandler. He was convicted of dishonestly obtaining a considerable sum of money, and the Recorder bound him over to come up for sentence at the next Sessions, expressing the opinion that he ought to use the term of grace so allotted to him in endeavouring to pay to the prosecutor the sum of which he had swindled him. When he came up for judgment at the next Sessions the prosecutor informed the Court that the prisoner had declined to repay any of the money, and suggested that it might be well to inflict some punishment upon him. The Recorder took another view and again set Chandler free, binding him in his own recognisance to come up for judgment when called upon. The use Chandler made of his liberty was to scrape acquaintance with a man who had come from Australia with a bill for £100, payable to bearer, in his pocket, and a project of patenting and selling any suitable little invention that he could find. Chandler declared that he had in his cellar a newly invented machine just such as this modest capitalist wanted. They descended to the cellar, which contained no machine, but was quite dark, and there Chandler hit his friend on the head with a hammer, and had nearly killed him when he heard some one approaching outside, and made off, without securing the £100. A mercifully disposed jury convicted him only of wounding with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and Mr. Justice Grantham was at least equally merciful in sentencing him to penal servitude for five years. At the same Assizes there were tried two habitual criminals who had undergone many sentences for acts of dishonesty, increasing in severity on the usual scale. Each of them had been recently convicted before Mr. Hopwood, and had been sentenced by him to six weeks' imprisonment or thereabouts. Each of them on his release remained at Liverpool, and prowled in unfrequented streets, assaulting and robbing any elderly and respectable passer-by who looked as if he or she had a watch. Each was presently apprehended and convicted on two or three charges of highway robbery. This is the sort of treatment of criminals advocated and practised by Mr. Hopwood, strongly resented by persons interested in the peace and good order of Liverpool, and vaguely

commended by eminent individuals who know nothing about the exact facts!"

It is true that Mr. Hopwood, in a public manifesto, claimed that the number of prisoners tried at the Sessions showed no increase, notwithstanding his system of inflicting inadequate sentences; but Mr. Justice Grantham pointed out, in answer to this statement, that there had also been no increase but a general decrease in crime in the rest of the country. Presuming, however, that the number of prisoners tried at the Sessions in Liverpool had diminished in comparison with other places, this fact would afford no proof of the efficacy of Mr. Hopwood's system in reducing crime. It might be accounted for by the fact that prosecutors declined to undertake the trouble and expense of prosecuting criminals, from the knowledge that even if convicted no adequate punishment would be inflicted on them. Undoubtedly if Mr. Hopwood would carry his system a little further and inflict no punishment at all there would be no criminals brought before the Sessions, for as prosecutors realised the utter futility of bringing criminals before him they would cease to prosecute, and would take the protection of their property into their own hands. Mr. Hopwood's system does in truth destroy the very groundwork of civilisation, which is the substitution of punishment by the law for private revenge.

It is very much the fashion at the present day to ignore the element of retribution in the punishment of criminals and to consider only deterrence or reformation, but any sound system of criminal law must take all these three elements into account. The man who is injured has a right to demand the just punishment of the person who has injured him, whilst the suffering inflicted should be such as to act as a warning to others, and also to deter the offender himself from repeating the offence, and as far as possible be morally improving.

The implied benefit of Mr. Hopwood's system as regards Liverpool does not appear justified by the present moral and social condition of the city, as represented by the following description taken from a pamphlet published by Mr. R. A. Armstrong, one of its citizens who is held in much esteem amongst the community. It rather points to a general laxity in regard to the administration of the law such as might be expected to result from the example set by the Recorder. Whatever may be the causes of the moral cataclysm, the condition of the city is certainly a disgrace to the civilisation and Christianity of the country:

"I came to Liverpool, a stranger, some six years ago, and was appalled by one aspect of the things here. The hordes of the ragged and the wretched surged up from their native quarters and covered the noblest streets like a flood; men and women in the direst grip of poverty, little children with shoeless feet, bodies pinched, and faces in which the pure light of childhood had been quenched. I was haunted by the gaunt faces of the poor, the

sodden faces of the abandoned. I can see now with terrible clearness that the pitiful poverty which wrung my heart, and much of the gorgeous wealth besides, is closely intertwined with a moral and social evil so enormous that no city of our empire, I think, can present a parallel. This evil is the knitting together of the liquor trade, of drunkenness, and of prostitution on an enormous scale in one vast compact interest, and the power which that interest has obtained within the governing bodies in Liverpool. The consumption of liquor in our city, apart from drunkenness, would be utterly insufficient to maintain our 2500 licensed houses. If prostitution were swept out of our streets the owners of many of these houses would feel at once a tremendous drop in their annual revenues, for prostitution on a scale so vast as to overwhelm with horror any man who realised it, is an essential element in building up the mighty fortunes which many of our public-house proprietors enjoy. A system of prostitution so substantial could not maintain itself without special facilities, and in Liverpool it is maintained at its fullest by giving up certain districts of our city specially to its requirements. Our police chief tells us that there are in Liverpool 443 brothels known to the police.

"In Manchester, Birmingham, and other great towns a life of prostitution has serious drawbacks from police interference. In Liverpool it has few, for the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, so far as it affects houses of ill-fame, is not administered, even for the protection of respectable females, as is shown by the following example: A young girl seeking a situation was invited by an apparently well-dressed lady to take some refreshments in a restaurant in Liverpool; after a glass of wine, a servant entered and told the pretended lady that she was wanted, and she accordingly left the room; the girl, feeling a strange drowsiness, tried to follow, but found the door locked, and the next thing she recollected was the finding herself in a house of ill-fame.

"In Manchester, in 1889, one publican was convicted for every 51 persons convicted of drunkenness; in Birmingham, one for every 789; in Liverpool, one for every 2873; thus the Liverpool publican could make 57 persons drunk at the same risk at which the Manchester publican could make one man drunk. In Manchester, in Glasgow, and in Sheffield, the streets are clean at night, and it is rare to meet with a recognisable prostitute; in all three together the police do not know of twenty houses of ill-fame: in the Liverpool streets it is difficult to escape solicitation. The difference between other large towns and Liverpool is that in those the laws are impartially and firmly administered, whilst in Liverpool they are largely kept in abeyance.

Within the last few months, at the opening of the December Assizes, Mr. Justice Cave remarked that he had gloomy tidings for the Liverpool grand jury: the calendar was nearly twice as long as that of Manchester, and the character of the offences far beyond the average in seriousness, a melancholy commentary on Mr. Hopwood's address to the grand jury at the February Sessions, in which, whilst advocating light sentences for criminals, he asserted that his lenient system had had a beneficial effect in reducing the violence of the prisoners and the seriousness of their crimes.

It has already been noticed that notwithstanding the popular feeling of the present time is on the side of light criminal sentences, and that such sentences are undoubtedly increasing, yet justice still more often miscarries by the infliction of unduly severe, often even of cruel sentences. At first sight, it might appear that

although individuals suffer from the undue severity of the sentences passed upon them, yet the evil ends there ; such, however, is not the case, for the community suffers also. It is well known to those who have carefully studied the subject that an unjust severity in punishing lesser offences, which leaves little margin of difference for the treatment of those of a more serious nature, actually tempts the criminal to the commission of more serious crimes where the anticipated gain may be greater. It also especially encourages those murderous attacks with deadly weapons upon policemen and others in order to avoid capture ; criminals naturally reason that whereas the smaller offences are so severely punished, little appreciable difference can be made whatever may be the enormity of their crime.

There is one strange fact that requires explanation—namely, that excessively severe sentences are generally, if not always, inflicted for offences against property, whilst excessive leniency is for the most part displayed in regard to offences against the person. A still more melancholy fact is that such leniency is too often shown in respect to crimes against the weak and helpless, whilst in the case of two or three of the judges there has been a determined attempt to avoid, as far as possible, carrying out two of the most beneficent acts recently passed—namely, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Act for the Better Prevention of Cruelty to Children. It seems almost incredible that so-called English gentlemen, clothed in the ermine and sitting on the judgment-seat, should do their best to protect scoundrels guilty of inflicting cruel injuries upon helpless young girls and innocent little children. That such a bias exists is, however, beyond question. Indeed, one of the judges had made himself so notorious in this respect, that notwithstanding the evidence had all been prepared, and a case was waiting for trial, the Secretary to the Child's Protection Society refused to proceed as soon as the name of the judge who was to preside was known, having been taught by experience that a trial before him under the recent Act would only result in bringing justice into contempt.

The following cases gathered from the records of the Howard Association not only show how often justice is perverted, but also this unhappy bias :—

UNJUST SENTENCES.

Of Excessive Harshness.

1. A man condemned for stealing a garden fork, to ten years' penal servitude.
2. A man condemned for stealing a cup, to five years' penal servitude.
3. A man condemned for stealing

Of Excessive Leniency.

1. A confidential clerk, for embezzling £5000, sentenced to five months' imprisonment.
2. Two youths, of bad character, sentenced, for stealing pocket-knives from a cutler, to one month's imprisonment.
3. A man sentenced for picking

some watercress and shell-fish, to eight years' penal servitude.

4. A man condemned for stealing some herrings and other provisions, to five years' penal servitude.

5. A man condemned for stealing a piece of canvas, to twelve years' penal servitude.

6. A man, for stealing a purse containing two guineas, condemned by Mr. Justice Lawrence, at Durham, to five years' penal servitude.

(All the above had been previously convicted.)

No cases of excessive punishment for offences against a person are to be found.

pockets, having been previously several times convicted, and having spent twenty years in imprisonment, to three months' hard labour.

4. A man, charged with violently assaulting his son, aged twelve years, by cruelly beating him with a coil of copper wire, sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

5. A man, sentenced by Mr. Justice Lawrence, for criminal assault on a girl of thirteen years of age, to nine months' imprisonment.

6. A man, for an attempted outrage on a girl, sentenced by Mr. Justice Lawrence to four months' imprisonment.

7. For assaulting a little girl of twelve years of age, throwing a weight at her, cutting her lip and loosening three of her teeth, sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

8. For kicking a woman in the mouth with an iron-tipped boot, and terribly gashing her lip, sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

9. An ex-convict, for stabbing a woman, sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

10. For ill-treating a little boy, aged six years, who was found in a shocking state, tied by a piece of rope to a bedstead, and who, the surgeon declared, would probably have died had he not been discovered at the time he was, bound over for six months to be of good behaviour.

It may be objected that in the above cases no distinction has been made between sentences passed by judges and sentences passed by magistrates. They have been presented thus indiscriminately for the purpose of showing that the same spirit of injustice prevails in all our courts of law, from the highest to the lowest; and this no doubt arises from the same cause—namely, the absence of any recognised principle sufficiently established to guide and control the minds of those on whom the duty of apportioning punishment devolves. It is altogether unnecessary to prove the existence of this prevalent injustice; it has been generally acknowledged by the judges themselves, and in the early part of last year Lord Herschell brought the matter before the House of Lords, and sought to obtain the appointment of a Royal Commission thoroughly to investigate the subject. None of the eminent lawyers who spoke in the debate attempted to deny the

existence of the evil, and the Government, through the Lord Chancellor, promised to consider the matter; and there unhappily the matter rests, and probably will rest, until public opinion is thoroughly aroused, and the nation realises the cruelties and follies which are now so often perpetrated under the name of law.

In considering the remedies necessary, it is of the greatest importance to bear in mind the causes of the present miscarriage of justice. Amongst these we must notice, first, the cumbrous procedure, with the verbose and puzzling forms of indictments at assizes or quarter sessions, instanced by the distinction between felonies and misdemeanours.

Secondly, the large number of statutes all dealing with similar crimes, yet in many cases providing different penalties for the same offence, as, for example, 24 and 25 Vict. c. 96, which enacts that "every one who commits a felony is liable, upon conviction thereof, to a maximum punishment of fourteen years' penal servitude, who steals any chattel, money, or valuable security from the person of another, or being a clerk or servant embezzles *any* money, &c." So that a clerk embezzling, say 5s., becomes liable to a sentence of fourteen years' penal servitude.

Thirdly, the want of any authoritative guidance as to the circumstances under which the lesser or greater penalties permitted should be inflicted. It would be a great mistake unduly to limit the discretion of the judge; the surroundings of each case must be borne in mind, and the type of each prisoner to be sentenced, whether sensitive or otherwise, repentant or hardened, whether of the criminal class or otherwise, whilst the previous career of the offender should always make a difference in the sentence. Moreover, the social position of a criminal should be taken into account, for penal servitude is a very different punishment to different classes of men; to a man of previous respectability the fact of being under the control as a slave of a comparatively ignorant man, the warder, dependent on such a person during every hour of his convict life, even for his marks, is absolute degradation and wretchedness; whilst, on the contrary, the warder is to the costermonger, or rough, a superior in all respects, and degradation has no place. One month to a man who had a home, a circle of friends to lose, possibly for ever, is as severe a punishment as twenty-four months to a man who lives in lodging-houses, has no status, no pride, and no desire beyond that of the passing moment. It is evident, therefore, that to tie down the judges to an absolute equality of sentence for every crime, irrespective of the surrounding circumstances and of the character of the person convicted, would be worse than even the present unsatisfactory state of things; but happily there is no necessity to go to this extreme.

The remedies that are needed are, first, the proper definition of crimes, and then, a general agreement among the judges as to

the rules which should in general regulate the apportionment of punishment. Before, however, any great progress can be made in this important reformation, a complete codification of the Criminal Law is absolutely necessary. It is a striking evidence of the unsatisfactory manner in which the government of the country is conducted, that as far back as 1838 Lord Brougham introduced into the House of Lords a Criminal Code Bill, which was not further proceeded with; that in 1878 a Commission was appointed, of which Lord Blackburn and Mr. Justice Stephen were members, and a valuable report was issued, which has been allowed to go out of print; that in 1880 a Code, drafted by Mr. Justice Stephen, admittedly one of the greatest of authorities on Criminal Law, was introduced into Parliament by Sir John Holker, then Attorney-General; ten years have since elapsed, and no step has been taken to pass the Bill, although it met with general approbation. Unhappily the question is of no party character, and therefore is pushed on one side for matters more important from a party point of view.

One of the points relating to criminals that provokes the greatest difference of opinion is in regard to the proper treatment of old offenders. Some judges treat previous convictions as such a grievous aggravation of the offence that they inflict the utmost penalty permitted, whilst others hold the view that the criminal having been already punished for his previous crime, no difference should be made on that account in his present punishment. Such divergence of opinion could not have taken place had the full intention of punishment been considered, both in its retributive, deterrent, and reformatory aspects; it is by taking only one or other of these views that the minds of the judges are so led astray. Regarding the punishment only in its retributive aspect, those undoubtedly are right who hold that previous convictions should not increase the penalty for the present crime; but if proper consideration is given to the importance of the sentence being sufficient, not only for retribution, but for deterrence and reformation, the error of this view is apparent. Short sentences having failed to reclaim, common sense dictates that longer seclusion from society should be tried.

This question requires to be settled before any satisfactory progress towards justice in punishment can be attained, for evidently whilst such a difference of opinion prevails on this point, that one judge refuses to take the fact of a previous conviction into account at all, while others allow it so to influence their minds that they add three, seven, eight, or ten years extra imprisonment, much improvement is impossible. The right rule in reference to the punishment of old offenders undoubtedly lies between these two extreme views. It is hardly open to question that under any proper system a first offender should be more leniently dealt with than a hardened rogue; on the other hand, it violates all natural sense of justice that a man, even

though an old offender, guilty only of stealing a brush, should suffer the same amount of punishment as a burglar who, in addition to his theft, may have maimed perhaps for life the constable who attempted his capture. Probably the most satisfactory plan would be that the punishment should be doubled on each conviction, and that, after a certain number of convictions showing that the offender was incorrigible, a long sentence should be passed, the greater part of which might, however, be remitted on proof being given of amendment, the offender remaining under supervision or his conduct being guaranteed by a surety.

Another much-vexed question is in regard to a Court of Criminal Appeal. That some appeal should be possible is almost universally recognised, especially in serious cases. At present the only method of obtaining reconsideration of a case is by rousing popular feeling and thus bringing pressure to bear upon the Home Secretary, probably the worst system possible. The chief objection that has been raised against a Court of Criminal Appeal seems to be that it would lead every convicted person to appeal, the criminal having nothing to lose and everything to gain, and that this would either result in every case being re-tried without a jury, or else the reconsideration would become a mere matter of form, and the Court would be guided only by the opinion of the judge who had originally tried the case. There is, however, a very simple method of avoiding this difficulty—namely, only to allow an appeal in those cases where either the judge gave his consent, or two of the jurymen who tried the case signed the application, either because they thought the sentence of the judge too severe, or else were not satisfied on further reflection as to the correctness of the verdict itself. It is also probable that some injustice would be avoided if all judges were required to delay their sentences in serious cases for twelve hours after the verdict had been given. It is practically impossible that sentences given on the spur of the moment should be always such as would be given on further reflection,—the foul atmosphere of a Court, or the irritating circumstances connected with the conduct of the trial, or a long wearying day, when the health of the judge may be imperfect, all these circumstances must affect the view taken and the sentence given, for judges are but men after all, and the views taken by a man are curiously and strongly influenced by physical causes.

In conclusion, the excessive inequality which exists in the punishment inflicted by different judges for crimes of similar guiltiness is an unquestionable evil which has been acknowledged by the judiciary. Unhappily, for want of sufficient popular interest, no real progress has yet been made in remedying this great evil, which is at once unjust to the prisoner, injurious to the community, and a disgrace to our country. This eclipse of justice arises from three causes, easily

remediable. First, the confusion and mystification of the criminal law, the result of unmethodical and confused legislation extended through several centuries; such confusion being made worse by the retention of obsolete forms of procedure. The remedy for this is the codification of the law by such a code as has long since been prepared by one of our ablest lawyers, and only waits the approval of the Legislature. Secondly, the eclipse of justice arises from the want of an authoritative guidance regarding the principles upon which the latitude allowed to the judges in their sentences should be exercised. This want would be met by an exposition agreed upon at a conference of the judges themselves, stating the principles upon which the length or shortness of sentences should be regulated, a copy being supplied for the use of every magistrate and judge. Thirdly, the eclipse of justice arises from the absence of a Court of Criminal Appeal. At present the extraordinary anomaly exists that the verdict in a trial involving the possession of a few hundred pounds, may, on application, not only be reconsidered by a fresh special jury—that is, a jury supposed to consist of persons of higher intelligence than a common jury, but even after a second decision may be carried through an unreasonable number of Courts of Appeal; whilst on the other hand, the verdict of a common jury, on which long years of penal slavery may depend, perhaps even the life or death of the prisoner, can never be reconsidered by another jury, and the person affected has no appeal whatever to any other Court. The simple statement of such a cruel anomaly should be sufficient in any right-minded community to immediately insure a remedy. It is a discredit to the English nation that the administration of the criminal law should for so long a time have remained in its present state of imperfection and injustice. It is a greater discredit to its Legislature, but most of all is it a disgrace to our judiciary, who could, without any difficulty, aided as they would be by popular sympathy, secure such legislation as would remedy existing imperfections, and make our Courts of Law in reality, what they are now only in name, Courts of Justice.

FRANCIS PEEK.

MR. KIPLING'S STORIES.

THE best of our fiction is by novelists who allow that it is as good as they can give, and the worst by novelists who maintain that they could do much better if the public would let them. They want to be strong, but the public, they say, prohibits it. In the meantime Mr. Kipling has done what we are to understand they could do if they dared. He has brought no mild wines from India, only liqueurs, and the public has drunk eagerly. His mission is to tell Mr. Grant Allen and the others that they may venture to bring their "Scarlet Letter" out of their desks and print it. Mr. Kipling has done even more than that. He has given the reading public a right not to feel ashamed of itself on second thoughts, which is a privilege it seldom enjoys. Now that the Eureka over his discovery are ended we have no reason to blush for them. Literary men of mark are seldom discovered; we begin to be proud of them when they are full-grown, or afterwards. True, every other season a new writer is the darling of London, but not by merit, and presently he is pilloried for standing on the pedestal where our whim placed him. Mankind has no mercy for the author about whom it has deceived itself. But here is a literary "sensation" lifted on high because he is worth looking at. Doubtless the circumstances were favourable. Most writers begin with one book, but he came from India with half a dozen ready, and fired them at the town simultaneously. A six-shooter attracts more attention than a single barrel. Alarming stories of his youth went abroad at the same time, and did him no harm among a people who love to say "Oh my!" and "Fancy!" over precocity. Many men have begun to write as early as Mr. Kipling, but seldom so boldly. His audacity alone might have carried him shoulder-high for a brief period. His knowledge of life, "sufficient to turn your

hair grey," would have sent ladies from the musical prodigies whom they fed on sweets, and the theatrical prodigies who (according to the interviews) play when at home with dolls, to the literary prodigy whose characters swear most awful. From the first only the risky subjects seem to have attracted Mr. Kipling. He began by dancing on ground that most novelists look long at before they adventure a foot. His game was leapfrog over all the passions. One felt that he must have been born *blasé*, that in his hurry to be a man he had jumped boyhood, which is perhaps why his boy and girl of "The Light that Failed" are a man and woman playing in vain at being children. The task he set himself was to peer into humanity with a very bright lantern, of which he holds the patent, and when he encountered virtue he passed it by respectfully as not what he was looking for. It is a jewel, no doubt, but one that will not gleam sufficiently in the light of that lantern. In short, he was in search of the devil (his only hero so far) that is in all of us, and he found him and brought him forth for inspection, exhibiting him from many points of view in a series of lightning flashes. Lightning, however, dazzles as well as reveals, and after recovering their breath, people began to wonder whether Mr. Kipling's favourite figure would look like this in daylight. He has been in no hurry to answer them, for it is in these flashes that the magic lies; they are his style.

"It would be a good thing," Mr. Mark Twain says, "to read Mr. Kipling's writings for their style alone, if there were no story back of it." This might be a good thing if it were not impossible, the style being the story. As well might one say, "It would be a good thing to admire a Rubens for the way it is painted alone, though there were no picture back of it;" or, "It would be a good thing to admire correct spelling, though there were no word back of it." Words are what we spell ideas with. Here, then, is the difference between style and matter. The ideas are the matter, and the spelling is the style. But style and matter, we have been saying, are one. So they are, even as the letters that make a word are the word. Unless we have the right letters arranged in the one way we do not have the word, and, similarly, without the right words arranged in the one way, we do not get the idea. Were we as capable at spelling ideas as at spelling words, we could estimate a writer as easily as a schoolmaster corrects a boy's exercise. Unfortunately, when we sit down to criticise we must write at the top of our paper, "But we don't know the way ourselves." The author under our lens is at the same time our teacher, for we only know how the idea he is putting together should be spelled after we have seen him spell it. So difficult is his task that he has done a big thing if the spelling is nearly right; if, that is to say, we can recognise the idea, as we know a word though there may be a letter missing or upside down. An idea correctly spelled

is so beautiful that we read the truth in its face. It carries conviction. How does Mr. Kipling spell his ideas? therefore, is a way of asking what is his style, which sums up his worth. Most will admit that of our living novelists Mr. Meredith and Mr. Hardy spell the greatest ideas best. Doubtless Mr. Stevenson is correct more often than any of his contemporaries, certainly a dozen times for Mr. Kipling's once; but, on the other hand, it should be said that the younger writer tries to spell the bigger ideas. While Mr. Stevenson sets his horse at ideas of one syllable and goes over like a bird, Mr. Kipling is facing Mesopotamia and reaching the other side, perhaps on his head or muddied. Still he has got through it, if not over it. He rides a plucky little donkey that shies at nothing and sticks in nothing. We have his style in that sentence in which Mulvaney wakes from a drunken bout and "feels as tho' a she-cat had littered in my mouth." This is not an idea perfectly spelled. *She*-cat is unnecessary; cats do not litter. But though it is by coarseness that Mr. Kipling gains his end, which is to make us feel suddenly sick, he does gain it, and so he is an artist. Some admit his humour, his pathos, his character-drawing, his wonderful way of flashing a picture before our eyes till it is as vivid as a landscape seen in lightning—in short, his dramatic power—and yet add with a sigh, "What a pity he has no style!" This surely is saying in one breath that he is and he isn't. These qualities they have allowed him are his style. They are his spelling of ideas. Nevertheless, he is to Mr. Stevenson as phonetic spelling is to pure English. He is not a Christian, but a Kristyān. His words are often wrong, but he groups them so that they convey the idea he is in pursuit of. We see at once that his potatoes is potatoes. It is not legitimate, but it produces the desired effects. There are sentences without verbs. He wants perpetually to take his readers by surprise, and has them, as it were, at the end of a string, which he is constantly jerking. With such a jerk he is usually off from one paragraph to the next. He writes *Finis* with it. His style is the perfection of what is called journalese, which is sometimes not on speaking terms with Lindley Murray.

He owes nothing to any other writer. No one helped to form him. He never imitated, preparatory to making a style for himself. He began by being original, and probably when at school learned calligraphy from copy lines of his own invention. If his work suggests that of any other novelists, it is by accident; he would have written thus though they had never existed. By some he has been hailed as a Dickens, which seems mere cruelty to a young man. A Dickens should never be expected. He must always come as a surprise. He is too big to dream about. But there is a swing, an exuberance of life in some of Mr. Kipling's practical jokes that are worthy the author of "Charles O'Malley." Rather let us say that

certain of Lever's roaring boys are worthy of Mr. Kipling. "The Taking of Lungtungpen" and "The Man who would be King" are beyond Lever; indeed, for the second of these two stories, our author's masterpiece, there is no word but magnificent. It is about two scamps, stone-broke, who, as they can get no other employment, decide to be kings. They borrow a map of India, fix upon their territory, and become monarchs after a series of adventures that make the reader's head swim. Finally, their weakness for women and liquor dethrones them, and the one is sent back to civilised parts with the other's head in a bag. Positively it is the most audacious thing in fiction, and yet it reads as true as "Robinson Crusoe." Daniel Dravot the First throws Mulvaney. I like to think that he was Mulvaney all the time. Thus should that warrior's career have closed. It is Mr. Bret Harte that Mr. Kipling most resembles. He, too, uses the lantern flash; Mulvaney would have been at home in Red Gulch and Mr. Oakhurst in Simla. Let us, in fanciful mood, suppose we presented a town to our novelists and asked each to write a book about the persons in it that interested him most. The majority would begin their novel as soon as they found a young man and woman who made forty years between them. Without mentioning names, we know who would wait for a murder as the beginning of all good things, and who would go to the East-end in search of a lady from the West, and who would stroll into the country and who would seek (and find) a Highlander, and who would inquire for a pirate with no female connections. But Mr. Harte and Mr. Kipling would discover their quarry in the ne'er-do-weels and treat them not dissimilarly. Mr. Kipling has one advantage. He is never theatrical as Mr. Harte sometimes is. Both are frequently pathetic, but the one ever draws back from bathos, while the other marches into it, and is fitly rewarded if we smile instead of weep. There is more restraint in Mr. Kipling's art. But Mr. Harte is easily first in his drawing of women. It is in their women that most of our leading novelists excel. No doubt (the sex tells us so) the women are all wrong, for no man really knows anything about women except that they are a riddle. It is enough, however, to put the riddle delightfully, as so many do, Mr. Harte among them. We are in love with his girls, and so all is well. Here, unfortunately, Mr. Kipling fails. Mr. Stevenson is in the same predicament, but that, one almost dares to conclude, is because he lacks interest in the subject; he cunningly contrives men who can get on without the other sex, and such is his fascination that we let this pass. The "duel between the sexes," however, is Mr. Kipling's theme (which increases his chances of immortality), and there is a woman in most of his stories. Yet who remembers her? The three soldiers' tales are often about women, and these wonderful soldiers you could not forget if you would, but the women are as if they had never been. The

author's own favourite is Mrs. Hawksbee, the grass widow, whom the "boys" love, and she is an adept at drawing back from the brink, while they go over or are saved according to her whim. She is clever and good-natured, and has a sense of humour, and that she is a pernicious woman is no subject for complaint. She belongs to the dirty corner, of which we have to speak presently. But she is drawn with little subtlety. We only know her superficially. We should forget her like the rest did she not appear so frequently. The real Mrs. Hawksbee is to be found in the works of other novelists. Yet she is better than the usually vulgar girls of Simla, to whom she occasionally restores a lover. Girlhood is what is wanted, and so far it has proved beyond him. In "The Light that Fails," Maisie, the heroine, is utterly uninteresting, which is the one thing a heroine may not be. We never know her, and this is not because she is an intricate study. She is merely offered as a nice girl, with an ambition to have her person and paint-brush described in the *Star's* fashionable column. But she is colourless, a nonentity. On the other hand, she has a friend called "the red-haired girl," whom we do care for, but probably only because we see her in three brief flashes. If she came into the light of day she might prove as dull as Maisie.

Some have taken Mr. Kipling's aim to be the representation of India as it is, and have refused to believe that Indian life—especially Anglo-Indian life—is as ugly as he paints it. Their premiss granted, few would object to their conclusion except such as judge England by the froth of society or by its dregs. But Mr. Kipling warns us against this assumption. In the preface to one of his books—a preface that might stand in front of all—he "assures the ill-informed that India is not entirely inhabited by men and women playing tennis with the Seventh Commandment. . . . The drawback of collecting dirt in one corner is that it gives a false notion of the filth of the room." The admission of his aim herein contained contracts his ambition into a comparatively little thing, but it should silence much of the hostile criticism. That he is entitled as an artist to dwell chiefly on the dirty corner of the room will surely be admitted. A distinguished American writer maintains that certain subjects taken up by daring novelists should be left to the doctors; but is not this a mistake? The novelist's subject is mankind, and there is no part of it of which he has not the right to treat. By his subject never, by his treatment of it always, should he be judged. If he does not go about the work honestly, so much the worse for him. If his motives are unworthy, nothing is surer in this world than that to-morrow, if not to-day, he will be found out. Many in England seem to have forgotten this, and Mr. Kipling has done noble work in reminding them of it by example. He refuses to be caged, and that is

all a novelist need do to be free. The dirty corner is Mr. Kipling's, to write about if he chooses, and he may do it with the highest motives, that is to say, as an artist, and according as he does it well or ill shall we esteem him. From all points of view but one he does it amazingly well. Assuredly we are made to see that dirty corner. We get it from north, south, east and west. But we are never allowed to estimate its size; there is no perspective; the blaze of light is always on the one spot; we never see the rest of the room. It is not enough for Mr. Kipling to say that he is only concerned with the corner, and so can keep the room in darkness. By all means let the corner be his subject; but we shall never know all about it until we can fit it into that of which it is a part. In other words, we must be shown the room in order to know the corner. Suppose an artist, instead of choosing the human figure for his subject, were to limit himself to the human hand, his work might be as fine as Mr. Kipling's, and yet it would be incomplete. We should not know whether that hand needed sixes or nines in gloves, unless we saw the person it belonged to, and the artist could not satisfy us by merely intimating that the figure is not all hand, as Mr. Kipling remarks that the room is not all dirty corner. We want to see the whole room lighted up that we may judge the dirty corner by comparison. No doubt it is this want of perspective that has made many uneasy about Mr. Kipling's work. He has startled them, and then left them doubtful whether it was done legitimately. There is something wrong, they feel, and they have a notion that they could put their finger on it if the stories were English instead of Indian, and long instead of short. Hence, apparently, has arisen a noisy demand for English novels from him. They are to be his test. In answer, one may conclude, to this request, he has written several English stories recently, one of them his "first long story." Mr. Kipling, having a respect for his calling, always writes as well as he can, and these stories, we are told, have been rewritten as many times as Mr. Ruskin would have lovers serve years for their ladies. It is, however, by the result alone that he is to be judged, and the result is not great. Those of the stories that deal with "Society" are more ambitious than the *feuilletons* of the Society journals, but merit no longer life. "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot" is much better; but it is merely a very clever man's treatment of a land he knows little of. We are only shown the conventional East-end, and there is something grim in Mr. Kipling become conventional. The only point the story has in common with the Indian sketches is that it makes straight for the dirty corner. But it has one inspired moment, when Badalia dances on the barrow. As for "The Light that Failed," one hasty critic finds not even cleverness in it; while another says it would

make ninety-seven ordinary novels, and proves his argument by pointing out that Mr. Kipling knows there are three kinds of soap. Mr. Kipling knows even more than this; but despite its vigour and picturesqueness, the story would probably have attracted little notice had it been by an unknown man, and such as it might have got would have been won by its almost brutal cynicism. High as the author stands as a writer of short stories, "The Light that Failed" proves that the moment he takes to writing novels he has many contemporaries to make up upon, as also that, if he is to do it, he must abandon some of his own methods in favour of some of theirs.

His chief defect is ignorance of life. This seems a startling charge to bring against one whose so-called knowledge of life has frightened the timid. But it is true. One may not often identify an author with any of his characters, but if Dick Helder had written instead of painted, or Mr. Kipling had painted instead of written, it would have been difficult to distinguish the one artist from the other. Dick gives us his views on art and life in "The Light that Failed," and his creator in that story and others, and they correspond. They are very smart views, and gaudy. Mr. Kipling is most tender in his treatment of Dick become blind. Such a man would not, we think, have fallen in love with Maisie the characterless, and instead of sitting in his blindness turning her letters over in his hand, and purring placidly when she is willing, in pity, to be his, he would probably have blown out his brains. But Dick and the letters make an affecting picture. There is something else in the story, however, far more touching; and the author is not aware of it, which adds greatly to the pathos. It is the revolting cynicism of Dick, who thinks he is at least a man, and is really anything but that. Though Dick had kept his eyesight, he could not have become a great artist without growing out of the ideas he was so proud of. He was always half blind to the best in life, just as Mr. Kipling is. Yet he was so brilliant, so honest, so streaked with good, that one does not sneer at his boyish cynicism, but is sad because he became blind before he ever saw properly. He is under the curse of thinking he knows everything. He believes that because he has knocked about the world in shady company he has no more to learn. It never dawns on him that he is but a beginner in knowledge of life compared to many men who have stayed at home with their mothers. He knows so little where is the fire in which men and women are proved that he has crossed a globe for it, which is like taking a journey to look for one's shadow. He is so ignorant of art as to think it the greatest thing in the world. Poor Dick comes to London, gloating over the stir he is to make, and thus addresses a row of semi-detached villas: "Oh, you rabbit-hutches! Do you know what you have to do later on? You have to supply me with men-servants and maid-servants"—here

he smacked his lips—"and the peculiar treasure of kings. Meantime I'll get clothes and boots, and presently I will return and trample on you." And why is Master Dick to trample on these people? Because they have not the artistic instinct. This is what it is to be a heaven-born artist according to Messrs. Helder and Kipling. We know it from scores of the stories. There is no sympathy with humanity, without which there never was and never will be a great novelist. Sympathy is the blood of the novel. True, Mr. Kipling has an affection for the Mulvaney type, but it is only because they, too, are artists in their own way. When full of drink and damns they are picturesque, they have a lordly swagger, they are saved by being devil-may-cares. But if they drank tea instead of whisky, if it was their own wives they walked out with, if they were not ashamed to live respectably in semi-detached villas, if they were grocers who thought almanacks art, or double-chinned professional men who only admired the right picture when they had an explanatory catalogue in their hand, if they were costermongers whose dissipation was the People's Palace, then would they be as cattle. Ninety-nine in every hundred of the population are for trampling on. With the mass of his fellow-creatures Mr. Kipling is out of touch, and thus they are an unknown tongue to him. He will not even look for the key. At present he is a rare workman with a contempt for the best material.

Should Mr. Kipling learn that he can be taught much by grocers, whose views of art are bounded by Adelphi dramas and Sunday-school literature, he may rise to be a great novelist, for the like of him at his age has seldom been known in fiction. His work of the past twelve months is a flat contradiction to the statement that he is written out. Some of the recent stories in *Macmillan's Magazine* rank among his best. It has been pointed out that "he cannot go on writing these sketches for ever," that they must lose in freshness, that all his characters will soon be used up. But this only means that we could not write them for ever, which is quite true, as we could not have written them at all. We have no right to demand long novels from him, we should be content to revel in the sketches, but if, as we have been led to believe, his intentions run in that direction, we know enough of him to be convinced that he should lay his scene in India. The cry for an English novel has been curiously unreasonable. The example our great novelists have set him is not to write of England, but of what he knows best. If by an accident it has usually been England with them, it is India by accident with him.

"The Light that Failed" is not much, but, like "The Story of the Gadsbys," it reveals the great gift of character-drawing by means of dialogue, and as a first attempt in a new method it is in one respect little short of a triumph. Hitherto he had always worked by means of the lantern flash. He took an hour of a man's life and

condensed it into a moment. What we were shown was less a printed page that had to be read than a picture which we could take in at once. He had it thus before himself. He could grip it all in his hand. He never required to wonder how one part should play into another. Not in this way can the novel be written. It does not aim at immediate and incessant effects. The chapter, which could swallow half a dozen sketches, is not considered by itself, but as the small part of the whole, and it is as a whole that the novel is judged. To forget this is to lose thought of symmetry. No doubt Scott wrote too quickly, but his speed was a real advantage in one way, for it kept his mind on the story as a whole. Having mastered the flash, one might have feared that Mr. Kipling had also become its slave. In "The Story of the Gadsbys" he uses it as much as in the short sketches. That tale is in eight chapters, but each is complete in itself. We get eight events in the Gadsbys' life squeezed into eight minutes, and the result is not a novel. It is only a series of fine pictures. But when he began "The Light that Failed," Mr. Kipling had realised that the novel in flashes will no more do than liqueurs in tumblers. He broke away from the old method, and he has produced a real novel, though not a great one. Here is proof that there are latent capabilities in him which may develop, and show him by-and-by grown out of knowledge. If he is as conscientious in the future as he has been in the past, and discovers that nothing lives in literature save what is ennobling, he may surprise us again.

J. M. BARRIE.

PESSIMISM AS A SYSTEM.

"CURSE God, and die." "Pity God—who is a miserable devil—and live to lessen his eternal wretchedness." Startling as they may appear, these conclusions of modern Pessimism are no products of capricious self-dissatisfaction. They do not necessarily bear witness to broken ideals, to adverse fortunes, or to embittered lives. They are rather the results of matured reflection upon the graver problems of metaphysics, ethics, and religion. "The still sad music of humanity" has indeed lost none of its sadness, but it is no longer still. Suggestion or *motif* now dominates accompaniment, and the recurring wail of isolated melancholy has swelled into an inharmoniously harmonious symphony of despair. The importance of contemporary Pessimism is partly to be gauged by the assurance with which its professors advance it as a working theory of the world. Schopenhauer supposed that he had superseded Kant, but Hartmann regards his "Philosophy of the Unconscious" as the last word of speculation. All that is valuable in Hegel and the idealists, no less than in Kant and Schopenhauer, is there brought to a unity. Nor are his co-workers—Bahnsen, Du Prel, "Mailänder," and Preuss, to name no others—less confident. Pessimism, in short, has not merely a history, and a *bizarre* theosophy, it puts in a claim to be *the* system of the universe. A modest pretension, some one will say. Yet it is not entirely devoid of reason. Moreover, as a system, Pessimism commits itself to certain definite issues, and the advantage of knowing that by these it must stand or fall is obvious.

History is the best witness to the reasonableness of Pessimism. It might conceivably be shown, that in the development of civilization there are periods when the apparent contradiction inherent in things imperiously commands attention. The joyousness of pre-Socratic

Greece or of Elizabethan England is seldom of long duration. One generation accepts life as a fact, the next must needs frame a theory of it. Loss of contentment usually accompanies reflection, and then heart-searchings arise. Nudity is without shame when it attracts no attention. But while this might be proved true of epochs, its application to individuals carries greater conviction. Similar ages do not occur so frequently as similar men, and the particular is more easily understood than the general. Even the happiest times have seldom lacked a Diogenes. The long roll of history furnishes a succession of thinkers, saints, and poets, for whom the prevalence of pain and sin was an insoluble or overwhelming mystery. The writer of Job, whose "days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and are spent without hope," and the author of Ecclesiastes, who saw "no profit under the sun," had a fellow plaintiff—a contemporary, perhaps—in the farther East. Kapila, the Brahmin evolution philosopher, announced that "the complete cessation of pain, which is of three kinds, is the complete end of man." At a later time, and under widely different conditions, Stoic and Epicurean optimism gave way beneath the pressure of circumstances. Suicide ended the wise man's quest for freedom. Once more, Gnosticism, concurring in the Platonic notion that matter is necessarily accompanied by evil, gave birth to the curious doctrine of God's fall. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain, because the Creator, by his very act of creation, committed sin. Manichæism and Augustinianism, each in its own way, sought to explain or to eliminate evil. The dualism of mediæval civilization was largely due to a protest against the world and the ills inseparable from it. And its implied conclusion, that "if creation was a blunder, procreation is a crime," strangely foretold some of the latest pessimistic deductions. But, cull illustrations as one may, the heart affliction and pitiful uncertainty on which despondency battens, did not assert themselves unmistakably till the eighteenth century was nearing its dramatic close. Rousseau was the herald of a widespread movement. His "Reveries" reveal a mental state through which many have since passed. Sensibility become morbid, egoism determined to be self-sustained, nature willing itself unnatural, these were his birthright and his legacy. Proclaiming himself the best of men, Rousseau deemed himself the most miserable. Yet he put forth no effort to discover his own contribution to his despair. It is easy to set about reforming the universe, but reformation, like charity, begins at home. Self-sophistication, with its attendant vanity, constitute Rousseau's importance as the initiator of the Byronic school. The individualism of the French Revolution was beforehand with it in him. His sorrow and self-praise, his broken-hearted peace, and his greed of that approval which the world did not then know how to give, formed the insoluble contradictions of his life. Continually looking for himself

in the wrong place, as it were, he as constantly found that he was in bondage to the "*gêne* and subjection which were insupportable to him." Little wonder that he waxed wrath with the world, and struggled to deliver himself from ill by striving to annul irritating, but inevitable, limitations of human life. He would have lost his significance had he been able to make Leopardi's confession: "I perceived that the more I isolated myself from men, and confined me to my own little sphere, the less I succeeded in protecting myself from the discomforts and sufferings of the outer world." Rousseau was either too introspective, or not introspective enough, to apprehend this. The French Revolution, which but embodied his doctrines in practice, was scarce well over, its wild dreams of an unobtainable freedom had hardly been dispelled, ere the disease of the age began to reassert itself, not indeed with fresh symptoms, but for new causes.

Byron in England, Leopardi in Italy, De Musset, Baudelaire, Gautier and Leconte de Lisle in France, Heine in Germany, Lenau in Hungary, Poushkin in Russia, bore witness to widespread disillusionment and unrest. The hoped-for heaven upon earth could be found nowhere, and these writers gave utterance to the universal disappointment. Differences among them there certainly were, from the self-obtrusion of Byron to the impersonality of Leconte de Lisle. But one and all protest against the cruel barriers to intellectual satisfaction inseparable from man's finite nature. The studied impassibility, which so many now deem essential to art, especially to literary art, is only another phase of Byron's *implora eterna quiete*. "I hope that whosoever may survive me, and shall see me put in the foreigners' burying-ground at the Lido, within the fortress of the Adriatic, will have those two words, and no more, put over me—'Implora Pace.'" Statuesque impassibility amid human woes, and the peace of the tomb, are impracticable ideals. Born of the so-called unintelligible, they reduce not one whit the unintelligibility of things. Sentimental Pessimism, whether in Ferrara seventy years ago, or in Paris to-day, seeks to assuage grief by the grievous. Impassibility is without pity, and the peace of death is no anodyne for the sorrow of life.

The Pessimism of the poets was not only unreasoned, but also subjective. Each writer gave expression to his own dissatisfaction, and sought relief for himself after the manner which best pleased him. But "the sadness which clings to all finite life" was then so universally felt as to demand a more systematic explanation. Byron and Leopardi were ill at ease; so were many others everywhere. The high-strung sensibility of the genius is racked by unavoidable evils; but does not talent go unrewarded, and is not hunger the labourer's lot? Pessimism, in short, is as reasonable for society at large as for a few of its more gifted members—that is, it has objective no less than

subjective validity; as such it cannot be compassed or mitigated by poetical caprice. A system is now necessary. If pain is not to reduce the world to moral and spiritual impotence, a reasoned account of it must be forthcoming. Leopardi's Icclander was opportunely devoured by a couple of famishing lions immediately after he had put his inconvenient question to Nature. The question still remained, and Schopenhauer was the first to attempt a systematic reply. "But since that which is destroyed suffers, and that which is born from its destruction also suffers in due course, and finally is in its turn destroyed, would you enlighten me on one point, about which hitherto no philosopher has satisfied me? For whose pleasure and service is this wretched life of the world maintained by the suffering and death of all the beings which compose it?" A theory of the ultimate reality of the universe is indispensable to the solution of this problem, and Schopenhauer was the first to formulate it on the given premisses.

Now Schopenhauer, being a philosopher, was affected by the speculations of previous thinkers, as were none of his poetic contemporaries. No doubt he lived throughout the "storm and stress" period, and gave its *weltschmerz* formal expression. But his thought, as distinguished from his standpoint, was largely determined by Kant. Add Indian rationalism, as formulated by Kapila, Plato, mediæval mysticism, and Schelling, and the main elements in his system are enumerated. Its peculiar doctrines were drawn from these sources; the diffused discontent, which found voice in the poets, called it forth; its aim was the diagnosis of misery and the prescription of a cure; reasoned Pessimism was its result. Schopenhauer professedly set out from the point where Kant stopped. In this he only followed his pet aversions, Fichte and Hegel. He saw, with characteristic acuteness, that Kant's system, rigorously interpreted, had finally explained reality neither on the side of things nor on that of thought. The unknowable "thing-in-itself," which actually exists, but is beyond man's ken, and the equally unknowable "self," which remains over and above all such manifestations of it as are given in imagination, memory, perception, and the like—these, as Schopenhauer said, are inexplicable *residua* for Kant. Accordingly he proceeded to attempt their explanation. The world, he would seem to have reasoned, is unquestionably a mere succession of representations conjured up by the intellect. But are my activities as a thinking being exhausted in such representations? Have I no other faculties? It is in the direction indicated by these questions that he seeks the way to the absolutely real. Continuous energizing, unwearied effort to assert himself is, he concludes, the ultimate in every man's nature. The thinker is not a mere machine for grinding out phenomenal representations, he is far rather a *subject who wills*. Will, the persistent and impelling

power in all acts, is thus that *ego* beyond experience which Kant failed to explain. The fact that I exist is consequent upon the fact that I will. I am I, because I will. So the unknowable "I" of Kant is abolished. Nor is this all. Will is not only *indirectly* cognised through the intellect, but is *directly* known in bodily movements, which are its manifestations. "The body is the objectification of the will." This doctrine enables Schopenhauer to remove another difficulty; for, he can constitute body the link between subjective personality—which is all compact of will—and the outer "thing-in-itself." If my body be my will, then by an obvious analogy the phenomena represented to me are each of them revelations of a Will. As my being is ultimately grounded on will, so too is theirs. Like me, they are will, both phenomenally and actually. Thus, by an easy transition, the elimination of the "transcendental ego" leads to the removal of the troublesome "thing-in-itself." Finally, by another convenient analogy, it is concluded that Will is the ultimate reality of the universe as a whole. If my body be identical with *my* will, and if all bodies be simply wills—and "all that we grasp offers resistance, because it has its own will that must be subdued"—then Will is the substratum of the universe. Phenomenal nature, including man, is therefore the visible manifestation of a Will. Whatever reality it may have proceeds directly from this all-essential volition. The mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms are different only in degree, in kind they are homogeneous. "There is not a smaller part of Will in the stone and a larger part in man, for the relation of part and whole belongs exclusively to space, and has no significance when we transcend this form of perception. The more and the less have only reference to the manifestation, that is, the visibility, the objectifying, of Will. Of this there is a higher grade in the plant than in the stone, in the animal a higher than in the plant; indeed, there are as many gradations in the Will's emergence into visibility as exist between the dimmest light of dawn and the brightest sunlight, between the loudest sound and the faintest echo."

How then does this Will necessitate pessimistic conclusions regarding the present life? Schopenhauer reversed the doctrines of previous thinkers, and especially of Kant. According to a general consensus of opinion, in which Socrates, Augustine, Duns Scotus, Kant, Schelling, and Hegel join, Will is a particular case of self-consciousness. It is the faculty which presides over practical or moral life, just as intellect directs subjective thought. At the same time, there could be no Will without consciousness. Willing is but the outer side of thinking. The individual who acts must will; he need not will in order to contemplate. But were he unable to contemplate, he could neither will nor act. Schopenhauer, on the contrary, regards the primal Will as an impersonal and unconscious force. Its one posi-

tive characteristic is that it is pregnant with undistinguishable desire. Like water in a reservoir, it would burst the dam if it could, and aimlessly realize its latent energy by rushing anywhere. Accordingly, Will is neither God nor devil, it contains no principle, nor is it subject to any law. It is a diffused potentiality, ready to take every direction for the sake of actualization, yet unable of itself to choose one. From this unconscious Something, Schopenhauer leaps to self-conscious man, to conscious animal, to living vegetable. Darkly striving Will first reveals itself—we are not told how—in the guises of mechanical force and chemical affinity. Then, still more inexplicably, it speeds from the sphere of dead matter into that of living beings.

“And vaguely in the pregnant deep,
Clasped by the glowing arms of light,
From an eternity of sleep
Within unfathomed gulfs of night,
A pulse stirred in the plastic slime,
Responsive to the rhythm of Time.”

Like Aristotle's “soul,” Will follows the ascending scale of plant, brute, and human life, attaining self-consciousness at length in man. The grandiose sweep of Schopenhauer's demonstration is fascinating. But it constantly suggests a difficulty. According to the theory, Will cannot manifest itself except under causal direction. Notwithstanding, Will is all from the beginning, there is nothing external to it. Whence, then, its motive to definite revelation? Here Schopenhauer falls back upon Platonic mysticism, upon the mythological and unsatisfactory part of Plato's philosophy. As it rises from lower objectivity, in gravitation, to higher, in organism and self-consciousness, Will is causally directed in each operation by archetypal ideas. Behind the imperfect phenomena known in the world are pure ideas. These correspond to the objects, and constitute their real perfection. Man's body, for example, is a manifestation of Will; therefore it is a “mere idea, as it is only the mode in which the Will represents itself in the view of the intellect.” It is unnecessary to do more than draw attention to the vicious reasoning involved here. Idea, as Schopenhauer very rightly points out, is a product of intellect, but intellect, he continues, is produced by the brain; and brain is a revelation of Will *directed by idea!* The contradiction is obvious, and vitiates the entire argument. Will is postulated as the sole original reality, yet it is attended by other realities, the abstract Platonic ideas. Schopenhauer's ontological scheme presupposes this contradictory doctrine, and is in turn the basis of his practical philosophy. By a species of ecstasy—a negation of the limits of reason, that is, of personality—artistic genius is able for a moment to identify itself with the archetypal idea, and thus to escape from the dominion of Will. Such supreme moments are few, and their fruition is only for the select. Yet they constitute the one joy of human life. Cancel

them, and this would be absolutely the worst of all possible worlds. Will, the ultimately real, is essentially fraught with pain and every sort of imperfection, because in its ceaseless and frantic effort to find perfect expression it is ever baffled. "Man's greatest crime is that he was born," said Calderon. And Schopenhauer, for the reason indicated, cordially endorsed the cheerful sentiment. In being born every individual of his own free act commits the unpardonable offence. He *ought not* to be born. For, reality or perfection is beyond the bounds of time. Man, the individual, is perfect, so be that he never becomes an individual—that he remains absorbed in the Will's eternal past. The perfection attaching to true reality flies for ever at the moment of birth. Life itself is an unreality, the supposititious past of the individual is a myth, and the same may be said, not only of his future, but also of that of mankind. Immortality is an illusion, because to gain perfection man must divest himself of his own selfhood, and be received back again into the unconscious reality of Will, where nothing is distinguishable. Thus existence, by the very fact that it is, is the most fearful of evils. Life, seeing that it possesses no inherent value, is worth living only in so far as it furnishes opportunity for regeneration by the extinction of self. "Curse God"—who is so constituted that he must have your existence, and that without incurring one iota of responsibility for its inevitable evil. "Curse God"—who can do nothing to redeem you from the sin into which his efforts have forced you. "Die"—because death, being the negation of individuality, is the one good in life. "Die"—for death alone can in any measure redeem you from the evil which is the very essence of your present life. Quietism, or the state in which "the will to live" has become utterly indifferent, is the acmé of morality. The absolute selfishness of self-annihilation is the regenerating grace which overcomes the relative selfishness of living. "A painless sympathy with pain" is the moral ideal—the most irrational entity in Schopenhauer's most irrational account of the world, we would add. "My doctrine therefore ends with a negation. It can only speak here of what is denied, surrendered; what is won, laid hold of instead, it can only describe as nothing; adding, by way of comfort, that it is only a relative nothing, not an absolute one."

Schopenhauer is often taken by critics as *par excellence* the representative of Pessimism. There are several plain reasons for this. To the public at large he is better known than any of his co-thinkers. Indeed, if von Hartmann be excepted, he alone is more than a mere name. Besides, optimists, especially of the utilitarian school, are well aware that his system may be pulled to pieces with little difficulty. But it ought to be remembered that Schopenhauer is no more the corypheus of Pessimism than is Fichte of Idealism. Von Hartmann is his severest critic, just as Hegel was Kant's. The comparative ease

with which he may be pulverized certainly has its attractions, but, so far as Pessimism is concerned, the victory thereby loses much of its significance. Truth to tell, Schopenhauer, for all his system, was not without the poets' limitation. They wrote to express their own sorrows; his philosophy was in large part a projection of his own diseased nature. As Epicureanism recommended itself to the sybarite, so did Pessimism appeal to him. I am jaundiced, therefore the world is altogether evil, wailed Byron, Lenau, and Leopardi. I have lost taste for life, sang Heine and Baudelaire, and De Musset, so no life can be worth living; and to Schopenhauer also the *argumentum ad hominem* applies. Given me, a suspicious, selfish, and cowardly man, what deductions must be drawn respecting the world as a whole? This was, to all intents and purposes, Schopenhauer's problem. Still, even were it conclusively shown that his system was a reproduction of his sentiments, this would be a narrow, not to say unfair, view to adopt. Indeed, the theory is so full of "miracles," inexplicables, and contradictions, that there is no necessity to press the unchivalrous personal argument against it. Even the most ardent pessimists admit that it stands in need of entire reconstruction, although none, so far as we know, point out, as they well might, that it falls to pieces from its own inner absurdity. Suicide by metaphysics is the end which it proposes to man; it is itself a metaphysical *felo de se*, and, as such, may be taken either for dead or unaccountable.

Superior to Schopenhauer in almost every respect, save in literary style, von Hartmann is much more representative of Pessimism. The earlier thinker, it may be admitted, responded to certain needs of his age, as well as to the calls of his own gloomy nature. He gave tolerably systematic form to the reaction from perfervid hope to blank despair which so many finer minds experienced after the French Revolution. Inflated expectations had been generated then, and the slow, but ceaseless, contraction was fraught with widespread spiritual misery. But even at this, "The World as Will and Representation" is little more than a loosely constructed outwork of the pessimistic citadel. Hartmann is often called a disciple of Schopenhauer, and many allege that his divergence from his reputed master is slight or superficial. It would be fairer to say that he is Schopenhauer's descendant. So far from being his disciple, he rather stands related to him as does Hegel to Kant. Indeed, the gulf between the two leading pessimists is wider than that between the two great idealists. For Hegel saw Kant through the medium of Fichte and Schelling—all four were of the same school; whereas Hartmann sees Schopenhauer refracted, as it were, through Hegelianism—that is, through a fundamentally different philosophy. Further, the new set of historical influences to which Hartmann was subjected have not been without influence upon his system. The *weltschmerz*, classically so called,

has died down; positive science has made "stupendous achievements;" population has increased, and, along with this, the rapid rise of the middle class and the incentives to a certain standard of education have crowded the "genteel" and often "half-cultured" professions; even among nations the struggle for existence is keener and military service or warlike credits press hard upon the people. These and other historical facts cannot but have given new direction to Hartmann's thoughts. But it can also be shown that the most important divergencies from Schopenhauer are in greater part due to the rich philosophical material which Hartmann found ready to hand. Indeed, from one point of view, it would be as correct to term him a follower of Hegel as of Schopenhauer. If he denounce the dialectic method of the one, he also scouts the blind Will of the other. If "The Philosophy of the Unconscious" be in some degree a commentary upon Schopenhauer, "The Phenomenology of the Ethical Consciousness" has Hegel for text. Nay, in the former Hartmann strays much further from Schopenhauer than he does from Hegel in the latter. Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to declare that Hartmann's system draws its strength from Hegel. Where it is weak one may mark the influence of Schopenhauer; where it is suggestive, and more particularly where it betrays strong historical sense, there Hegel is at work. Hartmann, then, is to be regarded as the protagonist of Pessimism, because philosophical progress has afforded him opportunities of which he has not been slow to take advantage, and because he has endeavoured, with remarkable originality, to unite evolutionary optimism with a theory of metaphysically decreed misery. Active effort to annihilate pain is the burden of his teaching. As a consequence, Schopenhauer's quietism becomes an absurdity. Redemption is to be universal, not individual; therefore it must be wrought out by ceaseless co-operation in the common cause. Passive contemplation can but retard Hartmann's final theocracy. For the gradual recognition by individuals of their essential unity with one another will reveal the long-veiled truth, that all participate in a pact to free God—and themselves—from pain by the annihilation of consciousness. "Real existence is the incarnation of Deity; the world-process is the passion-history of God made flesh, and at the same time the way to the redemption of Him who was crucified in the flesh. To be moral is to lend a helping hand in shortening this way of suffering and of redemption."

These indications partially prepare us for the main features of Hartmann's system, and only the barest outline of a scheme so vast can be given here. For "The Philosophy of the Unconscious," as too many opponents of Hartmann have been prone to forget, is itself but an outline. In his own words, taken from the Preface to the French translation, "*La philosophie de l'Inconscient n'est pas un système:*

elle se borne à tracer les lineaments principaux d'un système. Elle n'est pas la conclusion, mais le programme d'une vie entière de travail."*

In a summary sketch of Hartmann's philosophy, it is probably well to set out from the significant words which stand upon the title-page of his best known work. "Speculative results according to the inductive method of physical science." True to this motto, Hartmann begins by referring to a class of psycho-physical phenomena respecting which comparative ignorance prevails even to-day—and "The Philosophy of the Unconscious" was ready for press twenty-two years ago. Latent modifications, sleep and dreams, trance, "second sight," are still, for all our study of hypnotism and progress in physiological psychology, little better than "occult" phenomena. Hartmann, however, founding upon them, declares that man is unwittingly determined by a sub-consciousness over the manifestations of which he has no initiatory control. This is "the Unconscious," and, as its action is never suspended, it is the ultimate reality. In some respects it is by no means unlike Schelling's principle of Identity. But, whereas Schelling traced subject and object back to a *neutrum* in which both disappeared, Hartmann brings idea and reality out of the Unconscious. He rids himself of Kant's "thing-in-itself" by the *a priori* statement, that from the Unconscious—the Real—proceed two phenomenal modes. These are the objective appearances of nature and the subjective appearances of perception. Knowledge of the Unconscious may therefore be obtained either objectively or subjectively. Mysticism, which with Hartmann stands for deduction, and scientific induction are consequently the twin methods of philosophy. By the former the Unconscious is itself cognised—an allegation, by the way, which reminds one of Jacobi, the most unscientific among thinkers. The results thus obtained are thereafter "treated" by the second process. Application of the idea of development to man and nature, and particularly observation of facts that support it, lead to the discovery that, from eternity, the Unconscious must have consisted of Will and Idea. The former imparts momentum, as it were, the latter supplies the object moved. "No one can in reality *merely* will, without willing *this* or *that*: a will which does not will *something*, is not; only through the *definite content* does the Will obtain the possibility of existence, and this content is *Idea*." Hartmann is now in possession of a method, and of a first principle. Moreover, he has a theory of the world's genesis which has the advantage, that it offers an apparent explanation of the dualism between subject and object. What, then, does he make of them?

Something more than a reminiscence of Schelling may be traced in Hartmann's account of the origin of consciousness. Intellect was

* The principal works supplementary to "The Philosophy of the Unconscious" are "The Phenomenology of the Ethical Consciousness," "The Religious Consciousness of Mankind," and "The Religion of Spirit."

originally a servant of Will, doing its behests without murmur or question. But a time came when rebellion disturbed this harmony, and out of the friction so occasioned consciousness emerged. Thus the product is itself essentially a recognition that there is antagonism between its generative elements. This expository narrative of consciousness is not new. It is common to nearly all mystics. Böhme, for example, explicitly held by it, and the same may be said of Schelling, in his fantastic moods, as, indeed, of his many extravagant disciples. In fact, so far as this question is concerned, Hartmann has a great deal in common with Schelling, always taking Schelling at his worst. The view he adopts is important here, because it conditions his entire theory of the universe, and originates his doctrine of pleasure and pain. According to Hartmann, pleasure and pain are not names given to certain affections of the sensible organism. They are intimately connected with the opposition between Will and Intellect. When the designs of the former are fulfilled by the latter pleasure accrues, and *vice versa*. The distinction between them thus depends upon genesis, not at all upon constitution. Alike in pleasure and in pain the contingency of conflict is the essential factor. The immanent causality of the Unconscious from the first tended towards the development of this opposition. For, with consciousness, and its attendant antagonism between Will and Intellect, the possibility of emancipating the rational from the heavy yoke of the irrational appeared. The fact that this strife has begun is at once the kernel of Hartmann's ontology, and the *raison d'être* of his pessimism. While the conception that it exists for a purpose is the content of his idea of development, and the rationale of his ethics. His pessimism originates somewhat as follows: When Will, in its passionate desire for self-satisfaction, threw out the world, Intellect had not yet illuminated it. And, at a much later period, when Intellect—in consciousness—was so far freed from Will as to be able to view the universe, the only opinion which it could form was, "Behold, it is very bad." The greatest of evils is the world's existence. The clearer the consciousness, the more impressive unhappiness becomes. For, if opposition be the sole principle of organic life, unhappiness, despite the conventional distinction of pleasure and pain, can be its only result. Hartmann, true to his "speculative results according to the inductive method of physical science," proceeds to prove this proposition from common experience. It is good for the Unconscious that consciousness should supervene in the world—this, indeed, was the original intention. Consequently, in order to further its own ends, the Unconscious has surrounded man with illusions, which he generically terms happiness. Hitherto, the allegation is, educational and critical progress, and increase of culture, have ended towards the unmasking of these illusions. The early age of

Greece was the period of the first grand deceit. Mankind was then like a child. Full of high hopes for the future, peoples dreamt of a time when the present life should brim over with happiness. The answer to this anticipation was the Roman dominion, which in time itself embosomed terrific despair. Ere the age of Seneca, every art had been plied to conjure up a beatific freedom, every artifice had been employed to manufacture it, and without avail.

"On that hard pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell.
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell."

But as the hope that happiness might be realized on earth faded into thin air, it was succeeded by another. "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven." The world is very evil, but man has a home beyond the grave, where sin and misery will have no place. Thither he will go, body and soul, on the resurrection morn. The second stage of the illusion thus is, that "happiness is conceived attainable by the individual in a transcendent life after death." Christianity delivered dying paganism from deadly despair, but, save for this, it has no value. "The Christian theory of the world is simply incapable of rising to the complete resignation of happiness; even Christian asceticism is out-and-out selfish. . . . The Christian hope of blessedness rests on an illusion, that necessarily disappears in the further course of the development of consciousness." Consequently, in the Renaissance the third illusion, with its revived interest in things earthly, and its relegation of happiness to the future of the world, emerged. In bondage to this illusion we of the nineteenth century for the most part have lived, and are living. The magnificent optimism of the Hegelian philosophy is the highest expression of this stage. But, like its predecessors, it is doomed to extinction. There is happiness neither on earth now, nor in a heaven after death, nor yet for a perfected humanity in future ages. Those who have strength to bear this conviction will therefore, as a last resort, adopt Hartmann's ethics, and consciously embrace the pessimistic career. Now, of all ethical principles Purpose is the chief. The truly moral man is he who, recognising the purpose in the world, wittingly brings himself into line with it, and strives to advance it. What, then, is this Purpose, End, or Final Cause?

We have already seen that, at the beginning, Will and Intellect were both contained in the Unconscious; but the latter was so under the domination of the former, that it was unable in any measure to hinder such an exhibition of blind impulse, with its resultant misery, as the creation of the world. We have also learned that the Unconscious eternally aimed at the realization of consciousness, for only by this means could Intellect free itself from Will; but consciousness is itself ever a conflict, ever, that is, a source of wretchedness. So it cannot

be a final end, it must be relative to something beyond itself. Consciousness, in short, is the most important agency for the consummation of the world-process. As a result, Hartmann contends, those who fully appreciate the considerations just stated have already passed from the midst of the third illusion, and are fitted to see the tremendous verity face to face. The fearful truth, now to be unveiled, has two sides. So far as concerns humanity it is this: "After the three stages of illusion of the hope of a positive happiness it [humanity] has finally seen the *folly* of its endeavours; it finally foregoes all *positive* happiness, and longs only for *absolute painlessness*, for nothingness, Nirvana. But not, as before, this or that man, but *mankind* longs for nothingness, for annihilation." And, if a careful study of the facts lead inevitably to the conclusion that man was made to be miserable, with still greater force it brings home the second conviction, that in the eternal past God must have been, not blessed, but unblessed. Infinite distress—infinite, because pertaining to the Absolute Being—is the essential nature of Deity. Given, then, the immanent self-torture of God, and the designed misery of man, there can be but one account of the relation between creator and creature. The universe is "an agonising blister, which the all-pervading Being intentionally applies to himself, in the first place to draw out, and eventually to remove, an inner torture." Recognition of this overwhelming truth is the basis of moral life. Man, when he is thus instructed, will sympathise with God, and will lend aid to assuage the divine misery. The maxim of the truly pious will therefore be; Pity God—who is a miserable devil—and live to lessen his eternal wretchedness. "The principle of practical philosophy consists in this, TO MAKE THE ENDS OF THE UNCONSCIOUS ENDS OF OUR OWN CONSCIOUSNESS." Thus Hartmann, while absolute in his pessimism, is also unequivocal in his justification of life. In his eyes the asceticism and metaphysical suicide of Schopenhauer are the quintessence of folly. Does he seek deliverance, the righteous man must ever be up and doing. But doing what? Trying in his own measure to redeem God, who can only redeem the world when it has redeemed him. Finally, the redemption is to be on this wise: Selfishness, which is the product of Will, is the bane of all life. This it is that bids

"The strong to drink new strength of iron endurance,
The weak new terrors; all, renewed assurance
And confirmation of the old despair."

Only when Intellect has overcome Will can selfishness be cast forth. Consciousness is designated as the instrument of this triumph. The Unconscious erred in creating the world, though, strangely enough, the error was an integrally valuable one. The Conscious, by negating the cause of this arch-mistake, can ensure the ultimate painlessness of the Unconscious. Man alone can, at the last, bring God, and himself, back to a nothingness in which the absence of pain, or aught else, is

to be compensation sufficient for eternal self-torture and temporal woe. This thrice-blessed goal will be attained in the good time of a fine-wrought culture. Illumination, though always increasing pain, is the redeeming process here below. Redemption itself will be at hand whenever those conditions have been realized by advancing civilization. First, "that by far the *largest part* of the Unconscious Spirit manifesting itself in the present world is to be found in humanity; for only when the negative part of volition in humanity outweighs the sum of all the rest of the Will objectifying itself in the organic or inorganic world, only then can the human negation of Will annihilate *the whole actual volition of the world without residuum*, and cause the whole kosmos to disappear at a stroke by withdrawal of the volition, which alone gives it existence." Secondly, it is necessary "that the consciousness of mankind be *penetrated* by the folly of volition and the misery of all existence; that it have conceived so *deep a yearning* for the peace and the painlessness of non-being, and all the motives hitherto making for volition and existence have been so far seen through in their vanity and nothingness that the yearning after the annihilation of volition and existence attains resistless authority as a practical motive." Thirdly, "a simultaneous common motive" among the peoples of the earth is essential. Then human consciousness, being an overplus of all manifestations of the Unconscious, and so having control of the phenomenal, will one day decree self-destruction, and so bring about the annihilation of everything. The pain and misery, of conscious man and unconscious God alike, will thus be removed, and the blank nothingness of pre-cosmic Nirvana be restored to its pristine inanity.

No one will wonder that a callous and unrelieved atheism of this sort should have elicited many indignant protests and called down contemptuous references innumerable. But, after all, it is unnecessary to lose one's temper with Hartmann. He condemns himself out of his own mouth. For, in his recognition that the "dominant influence of life lies ever in the unrealised," he, *ipso facto*, renders his pessimism an absurdity. Granted the idea of development, the moral question comes to be, not so much one of happiness or unhappiness, as of the kind of life which is best suited to secure the full stature of human perfection. And, if all reaching forth towards a higher ideal—towards "the unrealised"—be good, then opposition, pain, nay, even death itself, may and do become instruments for the revelation of a character which humiliation can only exalt. The application of the idea of evolution in ethics shows that life is moulded into a unity by a moralising principle which is present at the outset, is the prime motive-force all through, and itself constitutes the *terminus ad quem*. It is thus that the conception of a *personal* God is embedded in any evolution theory of ethics. The Unconscious, as sketched by Hartmann, is not only unequal to the task he assigns it,

it is also a rational impossibility. Starting from it, he necessarily evades the whole point of ethical inquiry. For the question is, not into what place in the world does morality fit, but what is morality. To refer it to the Unconscious is to refer it to nothing—nay, it is to foreclose the only method whereby Hartmann himself could explain the teleology of which he makes so much. To say that life comes from nothing, and goes through misery back to nothing, is to suppress the fact, tacitly assumed, of its absolute value; and this is precisely what philosophy ought to explain fully. To show, no matter with what apparatus of proof, that the expected resolution of contradiction or healing of pain lies in the total annihilation of personality, is neither to account for the admitted fact that mind ever sets an ideal before itself, nor to alter the circumstance that the moral world circles round such an ideal.

It seems, then, that any moral theory which recognises the principle of development must be optimistic. It primarily has relation to an end, to a progress towards that end, and to an immanent cause fulfilling itself in these. Nor does Hartmann fail to see this. The peculiarity of his theory is, that he seeks to gain all the optimistic advantages of evolution, and, at the same time, to fit them into a pessimistic ethical scheme. In order to do this, he has, of course, to rid himself of the optimism implied in evolution. This he does by including "ethical optimism" in a so-called wider plan. Seeing that an immanent cause is traceable in the universe, it follows that the best *pessimistic* life is sought by the moral man. So far so good. But the assumption of pessimism is that deficiency and suffering are identical. He who strives to attain an ideal recognises his imperfection by comparison with it, and hence the advance in self-improvement. On the contrary, he who experiences suffering simply tries to get away from it. Here lies the rift in Hartmann's argument. Defect and suffering are not necessarily identical. The one implies a positive, the other a negative, future. Consequently, on the pessimist theory, moralisation, even taken as a whole, is not an all-inclusive process; it is only a means to something outside of itself. The end for which it is presumed to work is nothingness. But, according to the principle of development adopted by Hartmann, morality can be explained only by reference to itself. It already includes the end for which it exists. So that, in ridding himself of the indisputable optimism of ethics, Hartmann practically eliminates morality altogether. At all events, the question which he professes to answer does not concern the nature of morality. It has relation rather to a preconceived assumption, and the deductions to be drawn therefrom. If life be more painful than pleasurable, is it better to live or to die? Hartmann abolishes the optimism of ethics by conveniently altering the scope of his inquiry. He replies, it is better to die; and, with this in mind, tries to show how

morality may be subordinated to the desired end. Lastly, all this, in its turn, implies the presumption that human life *can* be appraised in terms of pleasure and pain. If some one will tell how my pleasure in drinking a glass of good wine is to be balanced against the pain of my neighbour who has just been bereft of a dearly loved mother, then there may be some reason for considering the pessimist assumption; till then it may be prudently concluded, both that the assumption is valueless, and that Pessimism can never be answered from the standpoint of sensationalism. The cumulative action of morality, having for chief illustration the influence of Jesus, is a standing fact, which neither Pessimism nor Eudæmonism can compass. The real sacrifice of the whole man to what heart and head recognise as the good character can neither be surmounted by Pessimism nor grounded on Hedonism. Far, rather, personal devotion to the perfecting of a society which includes self transcends alike the painful half-truth of Pessimism and the contemptible untruth of Hedonism. For the destruction of sin is to be accomplished neither by the cessation of pain nor by the positive satisfaction of sense.

R. M. WENLEY.

THE ANABAPTISTS AND THEIR ENGLISH DESCENDANTS.

THE Anabaptists are the pariahs of history, and the prejudice against them has had little chance of being removed, owing to the fact that their foes, being all-powerful, destroyed nearly everything they wrote, so that posterity has been mainly informed of what they thought and did by histories vehemently hostile. However, the world contains so many holes, corners, and neglected crannies that no one can ever be sure but that some ancient writing or document may be discovered to clear and justify dead men apparently crushed under irremovable piles of flinty lies. This is beginning to happen with regard to the Anabaptists, and one thing at least is certain—future historians will not be able to neglect the problem of Anabaptism, and the determined effort made in Europe to exterminate both its followers and their writings.

Anabaptism represented in the sixteenth century the stream of popular religious thought, feeling, and aspiration, which has never ceased to flow through the Christian centuries; and proofs of this, especially with regard to England, cannot fail to appear in the following attempt to trace the connection of Anabaptism with two religious societies existing to-day.

It is a well-known fact that in the seventeenth century the charge of Anabaptism was frequently brought against the English Baptist Churches. It was often done ignorantly or derisively, and at times even maliciously; but there was some truth in the charge with regard to the General Baptists, and even the Particular Baptists must have been aware that there were important links between them and the Anabaptists, and that in many places they had entered into their labours and inherited some of the results of their work.

Such a link was the practice of immersion, now so distinctive of

the Baptist denomination. Before 1633 English Baptists sprinkled, or affused according to the usual mode of the Dutch Anabaptists; but in that year a number of persons seceded from the first Independent Church established in London after the return from the exile in Holland, and proceeded to form a Baptist Church.¹ Thoroughly Puritan, they determined "not to receive or practice any piece of positive worship that had not precept or example in the word of God."² They were convinced that believers were the only subjects of baptism, and immersion the only mode, but the difficulty was to find an administrator, for they knew of no one in England who had been himself immersed.³ They learnt that a sect of the Mennonite Baptists, at Rhynsburg in Holland—the Collegianten—practised immersion, having received it from the Silesian Baptists, who had learnt it from the Swiss,⁴ among whom it arose, without any scruple occurring such as troubled the minds of these English Puritan Baptists. The latter sent one of their number to Rhynsburg, and he, being there immersed, returned to England to immerse the others. It is singular that the fathers, ritualistically speaking, of the English Particular or Calvinistic Baptists were themselves broad in theology and extremely tolerant in practice.⁵

This scruple about the administrator met with little sympathy among the Baptists in later times, but its existence in 1633 has served to make it historically certain that immersion was not practised by English Baptists prior to that time.

While, however, the introduction of the rite links the Particular Baptists with a portion of the Anabaptists, its non-use up to that time is still stronger proof of the unity of the Early Baptist Churches with the great body of Continental Anabaptists.

In 1626 five Baptist churches,⁶ belonging respectively to London, Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry and Tiverton, agreed to submit their differences to the Waterlander Mennonite Baptists at Amsterdam, the latter corresponding with them, and accepting members of English Baptist Churches to communion without any ceremony whatever.

In the "Baptist Handbook" ten Baptist Churches are named which claim to have been founded prior to 1633, the three oldest being respectively at Hill Cliffe, near Warrington in Cheshire,⁷ Eyethorne

¹ Crosby's "Hist. of the Baptists," vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

² Hutchinson, E., "Treatise concerning the Covenant and Baptism." Lond. 1676. Introd.

³ Crosby's "Hist. of the Baptists," vol. i. p. 102. Lond. 1738.

⁴ Dr. Keller says immersion was the mode in Augsburg. The men were dipped naked, the women covered with a gown. "Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer," p. 112. Leipzig, 1882.

⁵ Barclay's "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," pp. 89-92. Lond. 1877.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 73.

⁷ Dr. Clifford considers it likely that this church existed as early as 1357. "English Baptists," p. 7.

in Kent,¹ and Braintree in Essex,² each of which is said to have an origin not later than the middle of the sixteenth century. Other churches, now extinct, are known to have been in existence at the same period, so that it is certain that there were several, perhaps we may say many, churches in England in the early part of the seventeenth century practising affusion or sprinkling, a proof that they were of the same order as the Continental Anabaptists who, with the exception of those already named, never practised immersion.³

An interesting episode, much dwelt on by those who have tried to elucidate the facts of the connection between the Anabaptists and the English Baptists, is the history of John Smyth, who, together with a large company of his friends, was excluded, in 1608, from the Church of the English Puritan refugees in Holland for troubles raised on several points, among others infant baptism.⁴ They formed a Baptist Church, from which Smyth and his friends soon withdrew, finding themselves more in harmony with the views held by the Mennonites than with those of their English brethren. The latter published a Confession⁵ of their own, dated 1611, which shows that they were still under the influence of the Calvinistic sentiments in which they had been trained. No wonder, therefore, that they considered that Smyth had forsaken the Lord's truth,⁶ and had "fallen from grace," when he published a Confession of 100 articles,⁷ in which he showed himself in accord with Arminian and Anabaptist sentiments. It was contrary, however, to Anabaptist ways of thinking to formulate their doctrine in creeds or confessions, though sometimes, as in this case, individuals did so for the satisfaction of their judges or critics. Anabaptists founded their societies on the belief that the Holy Spirit was with the Church of Christ *now*, and would lead it into all truth, the Scriptures being subordinate to and helpful to this end, a kind of school-book in its spiritual education.

Another proof of the close unity of the English Baptists and the Anabaptists is found in the doctrines they preached and the methods they adopted. Any one who will read Dr. Keller's valuable account of Hans Denck, entitled "An Apostle of the Anabaptists," will

¹ Goadby's "Bye-paths of Baptist History," p. 23.

² Strype's "Life of Cranmer," p. 334. Bocking and Braintree, only separated by the high-road; the church in both said to be the same. Goadby, p. 37.

³ Keller, "Ein Apostel," &c., p. 112.

⁴ Smyth's career was very short, but to get at the exact order of the facts is a matter of some difficulty. Barclay, in his "Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," App. ch. vi., gives them very fully, and reprints a Tract, lately found in York Minster Library, containing several interesting documents. But both Dr. Clifford in his "English Baptists," and Dr. Dexter in his "True Story of John Smyth," disagree with this account, and still more with each other.

⁵ "Confessions of Faith," published by the Hanserd Knollys Soc., and edited by E. B. Underhill. Lond. 1884.

⁶ Dexter quotes a beautiful testimony to John Smyth's character and influence by those who regarded him as "fallen from grace."

⁷ In Barclay's "Religious Societies of the Commonwealth" this confession is given *in extenso*. App. ch. vi.

find that as early as 1525-1530 Anabaptists held the doctrines of universal salvation, no election of persons, free will, the voice of God in the conscience the guide of life, justification dependent on obedience to the law of Christ—a system of doctrine more or less held by the Early Baptists, as is evidenced by the errors with which they are charged by all sorts of opponents during Tudor and early Stuart times. And further, nearly every account of the Continental Anabaptists and the English Baptists represents them as holding that no Christian man could bear arms, become a magistrate or a ruler, take an oath, or go to law, that the Scriptures were not of equal value, but that the Old Testament was largely abrogated by the New, that ministers could not be made by man and might not receive stipends, that only those who were awakened ought to be baptised, and that no Christian should call anything his own, or even be rich (charity, indeed, had rather all things were common); finally, they taught that the soul slept with the body until the day of judgment.¹

Further proof of the complete identity of the English Baptists with the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century may be found by tracing the references to Anabaptism in the works of writers of the time. Not to be prolix, we limit ourselves to those which show a consecutive connection ascending from the times already referred to until about the date of its appearance in Germany. In 1597, John Payne, a writer unfriendly to the Baptists, states that there were many Anabaptists in England at that time;² in 1573, a congregation was discovered at Ely, almost certainly Anabaptist;³ in the same year a congregation of foreign Baptists were found just outside Aldgate Bars.³ Twenty-eight persons, men and women, were arrested and tried in St. Paul's by the Bishop of London. Five were induced to recant, which ceremonial they went through at Paul's Cross. On Whitsun Eve eleven were condemned to be burnt. After lying some days in expectation of their end, the authorities put about fifteen of the prisoners on board a ship; not, it is said, without hinting to the captain that he need fear no inquiry if any accident happened. The five remaining were condemned the same day to death. Thrown into a deep and noisome dungeon, one died. A preacher came occasionally to visit them, who, falling on his knees, cried out loudly, "Sirs, be ye converted," and then exorcising the devil within them, he exclaimed, "Hence, depart, thou evil fiend!" John Foxe, the martyrologist, ashamed that reformers should lay themselves open to the charge of shedding the blood

¹ Most of the above points are denounced as Baptist errors again and again by their opponents. See "Heretical Opinions," condemned in 1530; Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae," vol. iii. pp. 728-735; Strype's "Whitgift," vol. i. pp. 70-73; Jessop's "Errors of the English Baptists," 1623; Edwards' "Gangrena," 1646; and Lewis's "History of Anabaptism in England," 1738.

² "Hist. Introd. to Records of a Church of Christ meeting at Broadmead, Bristol, 1640-1687," Hunsard Knollys Soc., 1847. By E. B. Underhill.

³ *Ibid.*

of Christian men, besought Elizabeth to show mercy, but she obdurately persisted in making an example of two—Jan Pieters and Hendrik Terwoort, who were burnt July 16. Just as the memory of Huguenot martyrs was enshrined in simple ballads called "complaints," so the memory of these two Anabaptists was commemorated in a ballad, entitled "Two Friends." Given both in Dutch and English, it is a touching souvenir of the times, and of the unity of even the poorest men of divers tongues and lands in a common faith.¹

A proclamation of 1568 refers to the arrival of a great number of fugitives² from the terrors of Alva's Blood Council, who had "set up secret conventicles in London, by which means many English people, especially in London, had been corrupted," and the Queen having no intention "to harbour such sort of persons," ordered, by another proclamation, "search to be made, not only of foreigners, but of home-born subjects, who had conceived any manner of such heretical principles as the Anabaptists do hold," and if they would not be reconciled they were to leave the kingdom in twenty days.³ These secret conventicles thus set up were no doubt the germs of Baptist Churches.

In 1550, the existence of Anabaptists in Kent and Essex so troubled the terrorists in power, that they appointed a Commission, containing Cranmer, Latimer, and other bishops and noted reformers, with special powers to correct and punish all Anabaptists.⁴ It is little in harmony with the creation and setting in motion of such a powerful machine as an Ecclesiastical Commission, composed of the most influential Churchmen in the realm, and armed with special powers, to learn at the same time that those against whom it was directed were only "cowherds, clothiers, and such like mean people," and that nothing could be found against them, but that they met to talk about the Scriptures, and that they had not been to Communion for two years. This example of the old fable, the mountain in

¹ Dexter, in his "True Story of John Smyth the Se-Baptist," p. 163, gives the English version thus:

There were gathered very many celebrated	It was like the other.
Professors highly esteemed	They also propounded to them:
The Bishop as the strong one	May a Christian publicly
And other people of consideration	Cause his children to be baptized quickly
They proposed four questions:	Give us the right interpretation?
The first item where he came	They replied, without anger,
From, Christ they said	We have not read it.
If he had taken his flesh	[it Yet after this they asked,
From Mary sweet; we do not understand	Is a Christian allowed
As you say it.	To be a magistrate
Still with questions they plagued them	And to serve as such?
Is then taking an oath a crime?	And he be saved; understand me well,
Listen to the answer	Give us the right explanation of this.

² In 1566 there were 30,000 Netherlanders established in Sandwich, Norwich, and other places which Elizabeth had assigned to them. Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," vol. i. p. 504.

³ Strype's "Life of Grindal," pp. 180, 181.

⁴ Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials," Ed. VI., p. 385.

labour bringing forth a mouse, is only explicable on the supposition that "a great gulf was fixed" between the governors and the governed, and that the latter sympathised with the Anabaptists, and refused the ring of despots in power the slightest assistance.

The seizure of these mean people took place in January 1550; in May of the same year the Royal Council determined to burn Joan Boucher,¹ a brave Anabaptist woman, who had been kept in custody a whole year in the Lord Chancellor's house, and constantly worried by Cranmer and Ridley. It is hardly uncharitable to suppose that her execution at this moment was intended to strike terror; it is evident from her historic title, Joan of Kent, that she was a power in that county. Tradition says that she was a member of the Church at Eyethorne;² certain it is that she had been diligent in her efforts to introduce Tyndale's Bible to the ladies of the Court of Henry VIII., and that she was a friend³ of another noble Englishwoman, "Anne Ascue," also an Anabaptist.⁴

In this history there is no mention whatever of foreign Anabaptists, all being English, a sufficient refutation, even if not supported by the statements of various proclamations, of the assertion made later on to the authorities and the public that English people were not infected by this madness. In truth, it was just the reverse; and the more the matter is studied the more it will be seen that its interest in Anabaptist teaching England was only second to Germany and the Netherlands. The incongruity of the final fate of Joan Boucher, and the opprobrium cast on her memory by the believers in things as they were,⁵ with the way she was really regarded, even by those who put her to death, suggests that she was the victim of an effort to terrorise a hidden power felt to be particularly strong in Kent. Three years earlier we find Ridley and Gardiner united in an Anabaptist inquisition in Kent,⁶ and nearly a century later Laud told Charles I. that the Kent variety of Baptist was so deeply rooted that it was impossible to pluck them out all of a sudden.

As we pursue the Anabaptists up the stream of English history, we always find the authorities stating that their appearance in England was only recent. "Anabaptists which be lately come into this realm," is the stereotyped phrase. However, in two proclama-

¹ Joan Bocher, or Boucher, "National Biography." Crosby's "History of the Baptists," vol. i. pp. 57-69.

² "Bye-paths of Baptist History," J. J. Goadby, p. 23.

³ Joan Bocher, or Boucher, "Nat. Biogr."

⁴ Mr. Barclay says the latter had embraced Melchior Hoffman's opinions. She was the great-grandmother of Margaret Fell, the friend of George Fox, and so we have a link between the Anabaptists and the Quakers. "Relig. Soc. of the Commonwealth," p. 267.

⁵ See Becke's "Rhyming Pamphlet on Jhone Bucher's Burning, M.D.L.," published in Collins' second volume of "Illustrations of English Literature."

⁶ Strype's "Eccles. Mem." vol. ii. part 1, p. 107. Ed. VI.

tions, issued as early as 1534,¹ they are denounced by name, and as being both of foreign origin and English subjects, and accused of "arguing and disputing in open places," and "lurking secretly in divers corners and places."

One result of this proclamation was the arrest, in May 1536, of nineteen Dutchmen, who were seized and imprisoned, and fourteen, "persisting in the damnable errors which they drew from their indiscreet use of the Scriptures," were burnt in various places. Besides these martyrs, Foxe speaks of ten who suffered in the previous year as Anabaptists. Latimer, referring to these executions, says: "The Anabaptists that were burnt here in divers towns in England, as I heard of credible men—I saw them not myself—went to their death, even *intrepide*, as ye will say, without any fear in the world, cheerfully; well, let them go."² And this courage, as well as the union between them and their followers, is shown by the fact that, in the teeth of these proclamations and of these persecutions, the English Anabaptists sent deputies to a great gathering of all sections of Anabaptists, held at Buckholt, in Westphalia, in 1536, the year after the fall of Munster, Jan Mathias, of Middleburg, afterwards burnt in London, being one.³

In an ecclesiastical condemnation, dated May 24, 1530,⁴ we find nearly all their doctrines stated in quotations from certain books called "The Sum of Scripture," the "Wicked Mammon," and "The Revelation of Antichrist." Then come the proclamations, already mentioned, of 1534; in 1536, Convocation made complaints, evidently referring to Anabaptist opinions; in 1538,⁵ a Commission was issued to Cranmer and others to proceed against the Anabaptists, and they were again denounced in a proclamation of the same year.

All this shows that during the sixteenth century Anabaptism was regarded by the authorities in England just as it was by those on the Continent, as something to be stamped out by every means. Which was not surprising, seeing that its preachers—and every man and woman amongst them tended to be such—announced a doctrine irreconcilable with any form of society established in Christendom. And this attitude gave them a readiness for, and a joy in, martyrdom, in itself a power more formidable than all the mercenary armies brought together to crush them. "We must love death, and more desire to die than fear death;"⁶ such was one of the heresies authoritatively denounced in 1530.

Mostly artisans, they travelled over Europe by means of their trade

¹ "Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae," pp. 776-779.

² Van Braght, "A Martyrology of the Baptists," vol. i. pp. 154, 155.

³ Barclay's "Relig. Societies of the Commonwealth," note, pp. 77, 78.

⁴ "Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae," vol. iii. pp. 703-733.

⁵ Burnet, "Hist. Reform," Pocock's ed., 1865, vol. iii. p. 282.

⁶ See also "Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer," von Dr. L. Keller, p. 9.

guilds, especially addressing themselves to the poor.¹ They were humbly clad in coarse cloth and broad felt hats, and carried no weapon of any kind. Their pious, godly, and innocent manners,² and stern reproof of pride and gluttony "gave them," according to Archbishop Whitgift, "a great position with common and ignorant people."³ The wanderings of the first Anabaptists were the result of persecution rather than set determination. A scene in Swiss Baptist history is typical of what took place in various parts of Europe. It is the year 1515; a number of men, prepared as for a journey, are in the market-place of Zurich, preaching conversion, a new life of holiness, and brotherly love, and speaking in the tone and manner of prophets; they conclude with the cry, "Woe! woe! to Zurich," and the wail in the market-place echoes through the city.⁴ Thus hundreds quitted their homes for other lands, describing themselves as leaving Egypt and its lusts, and as setting their faces towards Canaan.⁵ Sometimes they hovered long in the neighbourhood of their native cities; as, for example, Felix Mantz, who, driven from Zurich, preached in the fields and woods, the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in his hands. Finding him incorrigible, the authorities, with the approval of Zwingli, drowned him in 1526.⁶

It was the attitude of the German ruling classes towards the peasants in their cries for justice, and the consequent insurrection in 1525, defeated with wholesale slaughter and punished with ferocious vengeance, that caused the rapid spread of Anabaptism all over Europe during the next quarter of a century.⁷ Cities and districts, which formerly would have nothing to do with Luther, now became Anabaptist,⁸ and many thousands of the artisans who followed Luther went over *en masse* to the Anabaptists.⁹ Sebastian Franck, a sympathetic contemporary but not an Anabaptist, says, "The course of the Baptists was so swift that their doctrine soon spread over the whole country, and they quickly obtained a great body of adherents, baptised many thousands, and also drew to their side many well-meaning souls. They were thrown into prison," he continues, "and tortured with branding, sword, fire, water, and divers imprisonments, so that, in a few years, some 2000 or more are estimated to have been put to death."¹⁰ It is, says Dr. Keller, just from the trust-

¹ A. Weill, "Hist. de la Guerre des Anabaptistes," pp. 95, 96.

² "Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer," Keller, quoting (p. 65) Johannes Gessler, who knew the St. Gall Anabaptists personally.

³ Strype's "Whitgift," vol. i. p. 54.

⁴ "The Anabaptists in Switzerland," H. S. Burrage, p. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 111.

⁶ G. Brandt, "Hist. of the Reformation in the Netherlands."

⁷ "Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer," p. 9. Keller here quotes the opinion of Ritschl, "Geschichte des Pietismus."

⁸ Keller, p. 9. Also "History of the Anabaptists," by Guy de Brea, 1565, p. 5. "Thousands baptised by Hubmeier in Switzerland," H. S. Burrage, p. 209.

⁹ Keller, p. 25, quoting again the opinion of Ritschl.

¹⁰ Quoted by Dr. Keller, "Ein Apostel," &c., p. 10.

worthy numbers that have come down of those executed that we get an approximate idea of the spread of Anabaptism at this time."¹ Up to the year 1531, a contemporary chronicler estimates those killed in Tyrol and Görz at 1000, at Ennisheim 600, in Linz 73. In the Palatinate about the year 1529, 350 men were executed by the command of the Emperor; in 1527, 12 were put to death in Switzerland, and 3 at the Hague, the men in the latter case being roasted rather than burnt to death.² Seven were executed at Munich, and others at Augsburg and Strasburg, while numerous executions also took place in Suabia, Brunn, Znaim, and Olmutz, at Bruck in Styria, and at Schwäbisch Gmünd,³ and among the victims were persons admitted on all sides to be the best of men. The "Chronicle of the Anabaptists" accused the Austrian Government of itself stirring up rebellion and then beheading those taken on the high road and hanging on the door-posts those taken in the villages.⁴ The state to which this Reign of Terror drove the popular mind is seen in the fact that legendary stories at once became current concerning miraculous occurrences attending certain executions.⁵ The force and extent of the movement is further shown by the fact that the authorities made use not only of wholesale executions, but the still more wicked tyranny of delivering up the peasants into the power of their mercenary troops. "From 1528 the Suabian League sent to scour the districts under their rule 400, later 800 and 1000, armed troopers, and the leaders of the companies were given authority at once, and *without law or trial*, to put to death the fanatics they caught and to hunt them like wild beasts."⁶ In Bavaria, where the Anabaptists were very numerous, the Duke ordered that those who recanted should be beheaded, and those who did not should be burned.⁷ It was evidently determined, at any cost of human blood, to stamp out these very inconvenient believers in a Christ who knew what He meant and meant what He said. But instead of suppressing them, it simply turned men burning with indignation into enthusiasts, enthusiasts into fanatics, fanatics into moral lunatics. The Munster kingdom was the outcome of all this harrying of sincere, earnest souls.

Buckle in his "History of Civilisation"⁸ says, "By 1546, 30,000 persons had been put to death for Anabaptism in Holland and Friesland alone." It is true that the Netherlands became the centre of the exterminatory storm which raged over the greater part of Europe in

¹ Keller, "Ein Apostel," &c., pp. 11, 12. Erasmus, quoted by G. Brandt, "Hist. of the Reformation," vol. i. p. 58. (1529.)

² G. Brandt, "Hist. of the Reformation," vol. i. p. 57; also p. 53.

³ Keller, p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13.

⁵ Van Braght, "Martyrology of the Baptists," vol. i. p. 26.

⁶ Keller, p. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 13.

⁸ Vol. i. p. 189.

the sixteenth century; but it must not be forgotten that those who directed that storm were rulers of every form of established religious opinion, from the Zwinglian Switzer to the Dominican Spaniard. Historians avoid the evident conclusion, allowing their readers to suppose it simply arose from religious bigotry. Even Dr. Keller, to whom I owe the figures showing the extent of the slaughter of the Anabaptists in Germany, does not sufficiently emphasise the fact that Anabaptism did not simply mean a reformation of religion, but that it also meant reformation social and political. He attributes the attitude of the authorities in Germany to the Peasant War, but the insurrection of the peasants was brought about by the same causes which produced Anabaptism, and owed much of its origin and inspiration to the Anabaptists, of whom Munzer is the best known representative.

Reference has already been made to the many Anabaptists who fled to England during Alva's Reign of Terror in the Netherlands, and to the different reception accorded them by the authorities and the people. If, in the Netherlands, the history of the Anabaptists from 1530 to 1566¹ is identical with that of the Reformation, we may fairly conclude that it was so to a large extent in England. A long tradition of material suffering, a long tradition of outraged conscience, and now an evergrowing instinct that the oppressed throughout Christendom were one, and that God through them was about to set up His Kingdom of eternal justice and truth—this lay at the bottom of the wonderful willingness that came upon English men and women, especially the poor, mean people, to bear every torture, even the most cruel of deaths, rather than submit their consciences to authority, civil or religious. Where had the noble army of martyrs in the Marian persecutions, and their immediate precursors and successors, Protestants and Catholics, learnt this solemn awe of the voice of conscience, that rather than swerve one hair's breadth from what they conceived to be its teaching, on points to us hopelessly obscure and of no practical interest, they went cheerfully to the stake: where, but from these despised Anabaptists, who filled the air with the doctrine *that each man had within himself a Divine Teacher who would lead him into all truth and whose voice he must obey, let the cost be what it might?* "This I know," said Hans Denck, "in myself certainly to be the truth; therefore I will, if God will, listen to what it shall say to me; him that would take it from me, I will not permit."² And this Hans Denck was, according to Dr. Keller, the Anabaptist teacher who, between 1525 and 1530, possessed the greatest and most widespread authority.³

Half a century of propaganda by writing, preaching and suffer-

¹ De Hoop-Scheffer, Dutch Church historian, quoted by Keller, p. 10.

² "Ein Apostel," &c., Keller, p. 49.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 6, 7.

ing, crowned by the Catholic Terror of 1555-58, bore fruit in England in a purer religious and political ideal, and the desire to realise it grew stronger and stronger as time advanced. Not only was this seen by those in authority, but they also saw that the animating force which created both the ideal and the desire to realise it was the Anabaptist sentiment, which refused to be satisfied with anything less than the reign of Justice. Thus Whitgift, defending the prelatical form of Church Government against the Presbyterian or Puritan party, tried to show that their views were merely the first step towards Anabaptism.¹ Exactly the same argument was used by Dr. Some, in his attack on Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry in the days of James I.² And when the Presbyterians themselves came into power they were continually charging Independents, Separatists, Baptists, and others with Anabaptistical tendencies.³ Thus we must think of Anabaptism as representing a vast deal more than the question of adult baptism. This point, probably fastened upon by their opponents as the one most likely to bring them into disrepute with a people brought up to believe that an infant's salvation depended on its being baptised, was of minor import to Baptists themselves. It is certain the earlier leaders thought little of it. Munzer never baptised, and it is doubtful if he was ever rebaptised himself. Cellarius, who was one of the very first group, while defending Baptist opinions, had his children sprinkled, probably on the same grounds as Paul had Timothy circumcised. If, then, we look at Anabaptism in its spirit, general tendency, and the ideas accepted by all its sections, rather than in the light of the doctrine and practice of its two extreme and opposing expressions—the Munster Kingdom and the Mennonites—we shall find that it existed in widespread forms in every country in Christendom, and that its history had been almost exactly anticipated in England and in Bohemia; that, in fact, it might claim, through Hus,⁴ Wiclif as its greatest and most powerful teacher.

In the whole history of the Church superstition has never met with a foe at once so learned and so thorough as Wiclif. No reformer ever cut away more determinedly at the root of the tree. In his great work, "*De Civili Dominio*,"⁵ he sweeps away the very basis of every unrighteous government and of every unjust social arrangement. Nothing, he asserts, has any right to exist which is not

¹ Strype's "Life of Whitgift," vol. i. p. 54.

² "Godly treatise wherein are examined many execrable fancies," &c., by Robert Some, 1589. The calling men Anabaptistical who practised infant sprinkling shows it was not the rite of baptism but a certain body of doctrine that gave the name.

³ Edwards' "Gangrena." "The Book of Common Prayer vindicated from the aspersions of all Schismatics, Anabaptists, Brownists, and Separatists, &c." Lond. Printed for John Thomas. 1641.

⁴ Lechler and W. Berger and others recognise Hus as the most important representative of the Wiclifian tendency, and the whole Hussite movement as a consequence of Wiclif's teaching.

⁵ Believed to exist only in a single manuscript in two volumes. Vienna. Ed. by R. L. Poole, M.A., and published by the Wiclif Society in 1885.

founded on righteousness.¹ Inheritance,² or actual possession, cannot make good the claims of unrighteous rulers.³ Nor can they transfer or transmit their authority to others.⁴ There is no basis for lordship of anything except its exercise in righteousness;⁵ and in harmony with this doctrine his itinerant preachers proclaimed the right of the people to call to account rulers failing to do their duty.⁶ Again, he asserts the sufficiency of Christ's law for this life as well as that which is to come;⁷ he denies that any man is Christ's disciple who does not keep Christ's counsel; he affirms that nothing is to be followed that is not plainly taught in Scripture, but at the same time the written Word is not to be worshipped.⁸ Baptism does not save infants or confer grace; oaths should not be taken in bargains or contracts. Wiclif's simple priests, and the Lollard preachers, who were often laymen,⁹ put these ideas into plain English, and showed their application to evil priests, bad lords, war, oaths, and litigation, and such was their acceptance that their opponents complained that "every second man one meets is a Lollard."¹⁰ Thus, before the end of the fourteenth century, the mass of the English people were indoctrinated with the ideas which, more or less, have ever since been at the basis of their religion.

As long as there appeared a possibility of these ideas being realised, the hopes of the people were directed to a truly grand Reformation which would cover all that was meant by "Church and State;"¹¹ but when it became clear that the ruling powers did not intend to permit anything of the sort, efforts commenced to separate the Kingdom of Heaven from the kingdoms of this world, and to form communities in which a life might be led in accordance with the pure doctrine of Jesus Christ, and which should be centres from whence His kingdom should extend over the earth.¹² Dr. Keller, in his sketch of the

¹ "De Civili Dominio," cap. i.

² *Ibid.* cap. iii.

³ *Ibid.* cap. i.

⁴ *Ibid.* cap. xxxvi.

⁵ *Ibid.* cap. i.

⁶ Archbp. Courtney's Mandate 1382, Fasciculi Zizaniorum. Shirley, p. 280.

⁷ "De Civili Dominio," cap. xvii.

⁸ *Ibid.* cap. xxv.

⁹ "John Wiclif and his English Precursors." By Prof. Lechler. Vol. i. pp. 308-9.

¹⁰ Green's "Hist. of the English People," vol. i. p. 490.

¹¹ Such was the meaning of the "Vision of Piers Plowman," of the Sermons of Savonarola, of the first movements of the Reformation in France, and of the Twelve Articles, in which the German peasants set forth their complaints. In East Central Europe this development of things occurred earlier. The people, led by Hus and Liska, having failed to turn Bohemia into a Kingdom of Heaven, Peter of Chieicky (1457) preached a doctrine akin to that of Menno Simons, and his disciples gathered themselves in a community called Brethren of the Law of Christ, or the United Brethren. Thus the Moravians originated in the same way as the Baptists. See "Poor Man's Gospel," CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, vol. xiv. p. 815.

¹² "These little Christian societies thought," says Barclay, "that if Christianity were allowed full scope it would supersede civil government." ^a And a modern German author is quoted as saying: "The object of the community of believers was held to be 'the perfection of one and all by means of a complete Christocracy carried out into life.'"^b Exactly; the Anabaptists being the depositaries of the tradition of Wiclif's doctrine: "The Law of the Gospel is sufficient for all the purposes of human life without the addition of any other law."^c

^a "Inner Life of Relig. Societies of the Commonwealth," p. 486.

^b "Geschichte der Protestantischen Sekten in Zeitalter der Reformation." Erbkum.

^c Wiclif, "De Civili Dominio," cap. xvii.

career of Hans Denck, has given us some idea of how such an Anabaptist Church was founded at Augsburg in 1525. In a year or two it numbered 1100 members, and from this centre the Anabaptist propaganda was successfully carried on until, its example being followed, similar communities were formed in other places.¹ A people maintaining as a fundamental principle that each man has a divine light within himself, must necessarily allow free scope for every variety of opinion, seeing that this light shines through all sorts of media, producing various impressions of truth, even to the extent of apparent contradictions. This they did not always themselves sufficiently recognise, and their opponents hardly at all, leading the latter to attribute to the Anabaptists various opposing doctrines. No one can study the whole tendency of their doctrine, especially as put forward by themselves, and not see that it was as much opposed to that of Luther and Calvin as it was to that of the Roman Catholic teachers. For the Anabaptists denied all privilege in religion.² They had not a doubt of the absolute justice of God, or of the dignity of human nature, and they were quite sure that God dealt out equal measure to all men. They declared that all infants,³ and all the heathen who possessed the Spirit of Jesus Christ, would be saved, though they never had heard the Gospel.⁴ Some were even accused of thinking that all, even the wicked, would finally be restored.

A very influential party among them also believed Christ to have been entirely a spiritual being, and not to have taken flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary.⁵ They believed in His absolute identity with all who possessed His life and truly obeyed His commandments, and in the solidarity of the whole human race. Thus they were accused of saying, "All Crist's glory is ours; we have as great right and as moche to heven as Criste;" and "The woorst Turke lyving hath as much right to my goodes as his nede, as my owne househole or I myselfe."⁶

They claimed to be able to prove all they held from Scripture, but

¹ Denck, coming to that city, found affairs morally and socially going to ruin. Grieved at the state of the people, he determined, as he phrased it, to enlist for an embassy; and to collect into a "fellowship of saints" those of his fellow citizens who not only *believed* in the merits of Christ, but who also *followed Him in their lives*. In 1526 he was joined by Balthasar Hubmeier, a leader in the Church Reform party, calling themselves "Apostolic Brethren," but by their opponents styled "Anabaptists." The Ideal which Denck and Hubmeier thought of setting up in the New Fellowship was not only the renewal of the Faith and of the Church, but above all the renewal and the purification of the moral man. Conversion to righteousness and brotherly love, self-abnegation, and imitation of Jesus Christ were the main tenets of their belief. Keller, "Ein Apostel," &c.

² Jessop's "Errors of the Anabaptists," 1623; Edwards' "Gangraena" in many places.

³ Smyth's "Confession."

⁴ Jessop's "Errors," &c.

⁵ This view is attributed to Melchior Hoffmann; and the early Baptists in England were mostly of this opinion.

⁶ "Heresies condemned in 1530."

at the same time they declared that the written Word of God was not to dominate over the inner or spoken word of God.

They were in the sixteenth century the representatives of thought and action free, but profoundly religious. In their world there would be no laws but Christ's laws, no prisons, no scaffolds, no armies nor policemen, no judges nor hangmen,¹ no kind of punishment except excommunication, which in some cases, and under very extraordinary circumstances, might have to be from this world altogether.

Where did they get these ideas? Probably many amongst them said, like George Fox, that they were revelations, but Mr. Barclay's suggestion that even Fox only meant "that he had appropriated by the assistance of the Holy Spirit an idea originally received through ordinary sources,"² is a true explanation of the genesis of Anabaptist doctrine.

In the first days of the Reformation there was a new and revived interest in those German mystics who represent that tone of religious thought which desires to understand and know God, not only through the Scriptures and by the aid of the intellect, but also with the heart—Luther, Munzer, Denck, all were for a longer or shorter time under their influence.³ Tauler was the teacher by whom Munzer and Denck appear to have been impressed, and Tauler followed the lessons of one of the most influential doctors of the fourteenth century, the Dominican Eckart. "God is all and in all;" this is the leading idea of Eckart's theology. "All is coming from God or returning to Him." Repose in God; this is the end to which all the tendencies of the soul aspire, and the torment of life consists in being ever driven by this tendency to seek God in terrestrial things and not finding Him. Each man may discover God in himself, for there is in the human soul an uncreated spark—the scintilla of God. This spark is not a power of the soul; it is its very being, the image of the Divine nature and the image of all creatures, it is essentially identical with them. Union with God can only be attained by self-renunciation. Then in following the interior way the will of God will be manifested. To attain these heights, it is sufficient, so these teachers are said to have taught, to have a strong will.⁴

Eckhart complained that few people understood him; nevertheless he represented a widespread tendency of his time. His doctrines were already in spirit professed by the Beghards, and they had been

¹ In the views of the early Anabaptists may be found the germ of all prison reform. One of the heresies condemned in 1530 said: "The temporall lawe must obey the gospels and them that we may amend by warning, we may not correct them by justice."

² Barclay, p. 213.

³ "Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer," pp. 30, 31.

⁴ "Études sur le Mysticisme Allemand au xiv^e Siècle," par Charles Schmidt, tome ii., 1847. "Essai sur le Mysticisme Speculatif de Maître Eckhart," Jundt, A. Strasbourg. 1871.

very numerous for more than half a century at Cologne, where he preached. The Beghards, in fact, were spread all over the Flemish Netherlands, and in the very towns in Switzerland, the Rhine, and in Germany, where we afterwards meet the Anabaptists, of whom they appear to have been the spiritual ancestors. The Beghards conceived of their own times as the age of the Holy Spirit, and said that men were henceforth to live directly under His guidance; they lived in a simple and free form of community, preaching to the poor, over whom, by their devotion and disinterestedness, and probably by the very fact of their persecution, they had great influence. Their spirit of fraternity evolved certain associations more or less secret and widely spread: the Brethren of the Free Spirit and the Brothers and Sisters of Voluntary Poverty.

Similar societies maintained the general tradition of mystical theology in the fourteenth century, such as the "Friends of God," of which there were two sections: Roman Catholic and Vaudois, and between the members of each there were friendly relations. The Brethren of the Common Life were again the offspring of the powerful stock of German mystical theology. Gerard Groot got his idea at Groendal, where Ruysbroek was the prior, and Gerson declared that Ruysbroek's mystical doctrine of immediate intuition was that of the Beghards,¹ as it certainly was of the Anabaptists. The most widely spread work resulting from the mystical tendencies in the Netherlands, during the thirteenth and fourteenth century was one long claimed as the work of Gerson himself: the Imitation of Jesus Christ, the whole thought of which is deeply interwoven with Anabaptist teaching.

A profound sympathy for all the sorrows and griefs of men, separated from God and tyrannised over by rulers equally separated from God, and each seeking his own interest and pleasure, was instinct in a faith which recognised God to be the only Being, and that each individual man was His temple. When the Anabaptists looked around them, and saw the mass of men so weighted that they could give no thought to anything but how to preserve themselves in existence, while the few, living on the labour of the working class, were equally lost in trying to get rid of their superfluous wealth; when they saw God in man thus pressed down as a cart under a heavy load of sheaves,² their hearts were inflamed with pity and indignation, and at the sight of this God, awakening in the hearts of the masses, and, according to the glorious vision of the prophet Habakkuk, going forth for the salvation of His people, and the destruction of those whose rejoicing it was to devour the poor secretly, they heard in their hearts the cry "Who will go to the help of the Lord against the mighty?" and the time appeared to have come when the word was: "Let him that hath no

¹ Schmidt.

² Amos xi. 13 (a favourite quotation).

sword sell his cloak and buy one." It was some such flow of feeling that led Munzer and other Anabaptists to take up the cause of the German peasantry in 1525, and inspired the followers of Hus in Bohemia and the Lollards in England to do the same with regard to the great popular uprisings in those countries.

Defeated, according to the Christian law which gives victory only through suffering and death, these glorious efforts were followed by attempts to carry on the work within strictly spiritual lines, which met with a certain success as long as they were continued under the old conditions, the prison and the gallows, and with the same essential aim—the establishment on earth of the Kingdom of Heaven.

In opening this paper I spoke of tracing the connection of Anabaptism with two existing religious societies. But so far I have only shown it with one. The Baptist denomination springs from the first stage of Anabaptism, the Society of Friends from its last. In its early days Anabaptism was hopeful, aggressive, confident that in due time the Kingdom of Heaven, the Kingdom of Justice and Truth, would be established here on earth. But half a century of terrible experiences, the most disheartening it was possible to conceive, ended in the greater number relinquishing their earthly hopes and fixing their thoughts supremely on spiritual things. It is from Anabaptism renouncing the sword and all hope of establishing an earthly kingdom of Christ that the Society of Friends proceeds,¹ whereas the English Baptists originated in the earlier form, and seem to have been especially influenced by Melchior Hoffmann. This is a consideration which throws much light on the different characteristics of the two societies, and explains why, in the seventeenth century, the Baptists threw themselves with such ardour, not only into the religious but also into the political struggles² of the time, whereas the Quakers confined themselves entirely to the former.

This premised, the common parentage of the Baptists and the Quakers is evident in the many resemblances which existed between them when the latter first made their appearance. In the religious meetings of both, free utterance was permitted to all who felt themselves moved to speak, women being allowed to prophesy equally with men. The Bible was not read as part of an order of service,³ nor was there any congregational singing.⁴ At the same time, if any

¹ We are compelled to view George Fox as the unconscious exponent of the doctrine, practice and discipline of the ancient and stricter party of the Dutch Mennonites, at a period when, under the pressure of the times, some deviation took place among the General Baptists from their original principles. Barclay's "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," p. 77.

² "Leveller's design discovered, or the Anatomie of the late Unhappy Mutiny," by Henry Denne, London, 1649, affords an illustration.

³ Barclay, pp. 106, 107, 402, 541.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 108, 452, 453. In this they did not resemble the Continental Anabaptists, who sang hymns, some of which are given by Dr. Keller, who gives a touching account of a little worn-out Anabaptist hymn-book he possesses.

brother or sister wished to express themselves in this way, it was permitted.¹ There was also a close likeness in their organisation and discipline.² Both communities had very complete arrangements for itinerating the country by means of a travelling ministry. There can be little doubt that the first societies founded by Fox and the early Friends were either constituted on the principles of the early English General Baptist Churches, or that all three had a common Anabaptist origin. Neither Baptists nor Quakers had the least idea of a birthright membership, no one being admitted to membership whose faith and conduct did not harmonise with the standard each set up. Here, of course, they differed, but not so greatly as in subsequent times.³ Mr. Barclay remarks the striking coincidence between the teaching of the early Friends and the Confession of John Smyth of Amsterdam,⁴ after he had joined the Mennonites. Thus, by their doctrine, "the Children of Light," as these first Quakers called themselves, were directly allied with the Amsterdam Waterlander Mennonites; and what renders it probable that the latter were the channel of their junction with the Anabaptists is, that this particular Mennonite Church was imbued with the principles of Caspar Schwenkfeld,⁵ a Silesian teacher of the period of the Reformation, who taught in a way cognate to that of the Anabaptists, but on such points as the observance of the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper tended to views such as those afterwards held by the early Friends.⁶

However, on the most important points of Quaker doctrine, the early Friends were anticipated by the Anabaptists quite as much as by Schwenkfeld. In Denck's works there is nothing he dwells upon more frequently than the Inner Word, which speaks in every man's heart. He asserts that "there is an instinct present in every man urging him to do good;" and again, that "this desire to do good is that spark of the Divine Spirit which God has given us."⁷ On such questions as the place of Scripture, Free Will, Predestination, Justification, the Communion and Worship, the views of Denck,⁸ and therefore of the early Anabaptists, would, I believe, be considered, by those best acquainted with the subject, to be in striking harmony with those of the early Friends.

The more, indeed, the subject is studied, the more it will be found that everything peculiar to the Quakers was taught or practised a

¹ Barclay, p. 352.

² *Ibid.* pp. 352-358.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 359, 360, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 322.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 223-248.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 235-237. It is certainly clear that the General Baptists maintained more ritual than the Quakers. They practised not only Baptism and the Lord's Supper, but had love-feasts and washed one another's feet. In this they maintained the Anabaptist tradition, as may be seen in the frontispiece to Mr. Barclay's book, which represents the Flemish Mennonites at Zaandam practising the rite, and which looks like a Quaker meeting of to-day as regards the style of the rooms and general arrangements.

⁷ "Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer," pp. 79, 81, 126, 131, &c.

⁸ *Ibid.* throughout.

least by some section or other of the Anabaptists, even such matters as sitting in silence, remaining covered before kings and magistrates, and calling themselves a "Society of Friends" rather than a "Church." It may be that the use of *thee* and *thou* is another mark of their Anabaptist origin.

No one can thoroughly examine the matter and avoid the conclusion that the Baptists and the Quakers are to the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century what the Howards and the Stanleys are to the old historic families whose names they bear. At the same time, to judge of Anabaptism by what Baptists and Quakers are to-day, would be misleading. In losing the great ideas of immediate inspiration, of the inner light, and of the struggle for Social Justice in the establishment—now and in this present world—of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Baptists have become almost innocuous in the eyes of the rulers of this world. While in some degree treading the same path, the same may be said of the Quakers; their holding to the truths just named has resulted in their Society taking a prominent part in some of the great modern efforts in favour of human dignity and the rights of man. Failing, however, to continue the old Anabaptist witness against Christians living to make wealth, and in favour of every man and woman personally labouring for their own support, they have long lost their influence with the people, and have been gradually dwindling away for nearly two centuries, and are more and more outwardly assimilating to a world with which they have so many links through the medium of their commercial and financial operations. The Anabaptists existed to witness for a kingdom which covered the whole of life, all other kingdoms being tyrannies, to which they submitted under protest. They were crushed, and their successors confined themselves to witnessing for a purely spiritual idea of the Kingdom of Heaven. And the fate of these successors has been that of all who hold half or emasculated truths. Being men, and not disembodied spirits, they soon came to live in two worlds—to live, in fact, a double life; and so to be open to the suspicion of hypocrisy. That this charge is not levelled to-day is owing to the fact that the confusion between the two kingdoms is so complete that every religious sect, and almost every religious person, is open to it. A tacit understanding exists, but the universal conscience admits the fact, deploras it, and sees no way of escape. However, Wiclif, in the fourteenth century, explained the true constitution of Christian society. Lollards, Hussites, Anabaptists, preached his doctrine, and for doing so were slaughtered in thousands. A great idea is not driven out of the world like that. Anabaptism will rise again.

RICHARD HEATH.

A SCENE FROM IBSEN'S "BRAND."

THE great satiric tragedy which Ibsen, after the most momentous crisis of his life, launched at his country from his Italian coign of vantage, has been described and discussed by innumerable pens. It has, however, remained, except in the merest fragments, inaccessible to English readers. The prose dramas, upon which the popular conception of Ibsen is mainly based, in no way represent either the poetic brilliance or even the passion and the pathos of the author of *Brand*. The following pages are an attempt to give the English reader the means, in some degree, of forming his own judgment upon Ibsen under this less familiar aspect.

The "Scene" which has been chosen for this purpose represents the culminating moment of the drama, but is nevertheless easily understood without a direct knowledge of what precedes.* The terrible Reformer, whose watchword is, "Give All or Nothing," has already in obedience to it sacrificed his child by remaining in defiance of climate at his post. A harder task is here laid upon him. Step by step he forces his broken-hearted wife to sacrifice the memories and the relics by which alone she lives—and then discovers, in his agony, that the sacrifice means, just—her life.

It only remains to add that the translation represents the original, as a rule, line for line, but without always following the order of the rhymes, which is there quite capricious; and that it has been revised, with characteristic thoroughness and scholarship, by Mr. W. Archer, to whom many felicitous lines and couplets, as well as the greater portion of the description of the Storm (p. 3), are due.

* For an account of the entire work the reader may be referred to Jæger's "Life of Ibsen" (Eng. trans.), pp. 142-162.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

BRAND.

AGNES, *his wife*.

A GIPSY-WOMAN.

SCENE.—*A Norwegian Mansc. Christmas Eve. The room is dark. Garden door in the background; a window on one side, a door on the other. AGNES, in mourning, stands at the window and gazes out into the darkness.*

AGNES. Still he comes not! Comes not yet!—

Oh, how hard, with gloom beset,

Still to wait and still to cry,

Winning never a reply!

Fast they fall, the softly sifted

Snowflakes; in a shroud-like woof

They have swathed the old church roof—

[*Listens.*

Hark! the garden latch is lifted!

Steps! A man's step, firm and fast!

[*Hurries to the door and opens it.*

Is it thou? Come home! At last!

[*BRAND comes in, snowy, in travelling dress, which he removes during what follows.*

AGNES (*throws her arms about him*). Oh, how long thou wast away!

Go not from me, go not from me;

All alone I cannot sway

The black clouds that overcome me;

What a night, what days have been

These two—and the night between!

BRAND. I am with thee, child, once more.

[*Lights a single candle, which throws a pale radiance over the room.*

Thou art pale.

AGNES. And worn and sad.

I have watched and longed so sore;

And this little leafy bough—

Little, it was all I had,

Saved from summer until now

To bedeck our Christmas tree,—

I have hung it there, Brand, see!

His the bush was, so we said;

Ah, 'twas *his*—it crowned him dead!

[*Bursts into tears.*

Look, from out the snow it peers

Yonder, *his*—O God—

BRAND.

His grave.

AGNES. O that word!

BRAND.

Have done with tears.

AGNES. Yes—be patient—I'll be brave !
 But my soul is bleeding still,
 And the wound is raw and new—
 Sapped is all my strength of will.
 Oh, but better shall ensue !
 Once these days are overworn,
 Thou shalt never see me mourn !

BRAND. Keep'st thou *so* God's holy Night ?

AGNES. Ah ! Too much thou must not crave !
 Think—last year so sweet and bright,
 This year carried from my sight ;
 Carried—carried—

BRAND (*loudly*). To the grave !

AGNES (*shricks*). Name it not !

BRAND. With lungs that crack

Named it must be, if thou shrink—
 Named, till echo rolls it back,
 Like a billow from the brink.

AGNES. Ah ! The word gives thee, too, pain.
 How-so passionless thou boast thee !
 On thy brow I see the stain
 Of the agony it cost thee !

BRAND. On my brow the drops that lie
 Are but sea-spray from the storm.

AGNES. And that dewdrop in thine eye,
 Has it fallen from the sky ?
 No, ah ! no, it is too warm,
 'Tis thy heart's dew !

BRAND. Agnes, wife,
 Let us bravely face the strife ;
 Stand together, never flinch,
 Struggle onward inch by inch.
 Oh, I felt a man out there !
 Surges o'er the reef were dashing ;
 Horror of the storm-lit air
 Still'd the sea-gull ; hail was thrashing
 Down upon the boiling sea.
 In my skiff, that mid-fiord quivered,
 Mast and tackle creaked and shivered,
 Tattered sails blew far a-lee,
 Scarce a shred of them remaining,
 Every nail and stanchion straining !
 From the beetling summits sundered,
 Down the avalanches thundered ;
 Stiff and stark, with corpse-like faces
 Sat the rowers in their places.

Then the soul in me waxed high ;
From the helm I ruled them all,
Knowing well that One thereby
Had baptised me to His call !

AGNES. In the tempest to be strong,
Eager in the stress of fight,
That is easy, that is light ;
Think of me, who, all day long,
Still must croon without relief
The low swallow-song of grief ;
Think of me, who have no charm
For the tedious pain of life ;
Me, who, far from war's alarm,
Lack the fiery joys of strife :
Think, oh think, of me, who share not
Noble work, but brood and wait ;
Me, who to remember dare not,
And who never can forget !

BRAND. Thou no noble life-work ! Thou !
Never was it great as now.
Listen, Agnes ; thou shalt know
What to me our loss has brought.
Oftentimes my light is low,
Dim my reason, dull my thought,
And there seems a kind of gladness
In immeasurable sadness.
Agnes—in such hours I see
God, as at no other, near ;
Oh, so near, it seems to me
I could speak, and He would hear.
Like a lost child then I long
To be folded to His breast,
And be gathered by His strong
Tender Father-arms to rest !

AGNES. Brand, oh see Him so alway !
To thy supplication near—
God of love and not of fear !

BRAND. No ; I may not bar His way,
Nor run counter to my call ;
I must see Him vast, sublime
As the heavens—a pigmy Time
Needs a giant God withal !
Oh, but *thou* mayst see Him near,
See him as a Father dear,
Bow thy head upon His breast,
There, when thou art weary, rest,

Then return, with face aglow
 From His presence, fair and free,
 Bear His glory down to me
 Worn with battle-thrust and throe !
 See, my Agnes ; so to share
 Is the soul of wedded life :
 His, the turmoil and the strife,
 Hers the healing and the care ;
 This and this alone, the true
 Wedlock, that makes one of two.
 Since thou turnedst from the life
 Of the world to be my wife,
 Boldly cast thy lot with me,
 This the work appointed thee :
 Mine the stir and stress of fight,
 Battle in the burning sun,
 Watching in the winter night ;
 But for thee, when all is done,
 To my parching lips to hold
 Love's full wine-cup, and to fold
 'Neath the breastplate's iron stress
 The soft robe of tenderness.

[After a prolonged resistance, AGNES catches his exaltation. She will bury the past, turn away from her "little world of dreams," and forget the mother in the wife. She goes out to prepare for their lonely Christmas festivity, which she will by no means forego ; and BRAND is left to his solitary reflections. They are cut short by the visit of an influential neighbour, the most powerful opponent of his work, who, by certain malicious disclosures of no immediate relevance to this scene, plunges him into the deepest gloom. Ignoring his visitor's exit, he remains once more alone.]

BRAND. Yes, God is above all things just,
 And retribution is His goal ;
 Only by sacrifice the soul
 Achieves redemption from the dust ;
 Hard truth, our age appalled descries,
 And, therefore, stubbornly denies.

[*Walks up and down the room.*]

To pray ? Ah, pray—a word that slips
 So easily from all men's lips ;
 A coin by all men lightly paid.
 What's prayer ? In storm and stress to shout
 Unto the vague Unknown for aid,
 Upon Christ's shoulders beg a place,
 And stretch both hands to Heaven for grace—
 While knee-deep in the slough of doubt.
 Ha ! if there needed nothing more
 I might like others dare to raise

My hand and batter at His door
 Who still is "terrible in praise."— [Pauses and reflects.
 And yet in uttermost despair,
 In shuddering sorrow's deepest deep,
 When Alf at last had sunk to sleep,
 And all his mother's kisses vain
 Won not the lost smile back again—
 What felt I—if it was not prayer?
 Whence came that trance, that ecstasy,
 That rushing music, like a blast,
 That sang afar and hurried past,
 Bore me aloft and set me free?
 Was it the ecstasy of prayer?
 Did I with God hold converse there?
 My anguish—did it reach His ears?
 Did He look down and see my tears?
 I know not. Barred is now the door,
 The darkness deeper than before,
 And nowhere, nowhere any light!
 Yes, She—who, darkling, yet hath sight— [Calls in anguish.
 Light, Agnes—light, if light thou hast!

[AGNES opens the door and enters with the lighted Christmas candles; a bright glow falls over the room.

BRAND. Light!

AGNES. See, the Yule light, Brand, at last!

BRAND (*softly*). The Yule light! Ha!

AGNES (*putting them on the table*). Have I been slow?

BRAND. No, no.

AGNES. Thou must be cold, Brand!

BRAND (*loud*). No!

AGNES (*smiling, fills the stove*). How stern! It is thy pride of will,

That scorns the darkness and the chill.

BRAND (*walking up and down*). H'm, Will!

AGNES (*to herself as she decks the room*). Here must the candles stand.

Last year he stretched his tiny hand
 After the glancing, dancing light:
 He was so joyous and so bright;
 He started from his little chair,
 And asked me if a sun it were. [Moves the candles a little.
 See! now the candle's glow falls—*there*!
 Now from his bed my boy can see
 The window gleaming cheerily;
 Now can he peer out of the gloom
 Silently into our lit room—

But, ah! the glass is dim; stay, stay—

I'll wipe that dew of tears away

And make it smile—

[*Dries the pane.*]

BRAND (*softly as he watches her*). When in this breast

Will the wild waters sink to rest?

To rest they must!

AGNES (*to herself*). How bright the glow!

It seems as though the sundering wall

Had sunk; the low room grown a hall,

The murky world of ice and snow

Sudden become a sheltered nest,

Where cosily my child may rest.

BRAND. What dost thou, Agnes?

AGNES.

Peace, I pray!

BRAND (*nearer*). Why didst thou ope the curtain?

AGNES.

Nay,

I dreamt, and knew not what I did!

BRAND. Snares in that dream of thine lie hid,

Close it again.

AGNES (*pleading*). Brand!

BRAND.

Close, I say!

AGNES. Oh, be not harsh, it is not right.

BRAND. Close, close!

AGNES (*drawing it*). Now all is close and tight;

Yet in my heart I scarce can deem

God injured if, at sorest need,

In the brief respite of a dream

I tasted comfort.

BRAND. No, indeed!

He is a feeling Judge and kind,

And will indulgently forbear,

If in thy service He should find

Some idol-worship here and there.

AGNES (*bursts into tears*). Oh, say, *when* will He cease to crave?

My wings are weak—I faint and fall—

BRAND. He gives to the devouring wave

Who in his giving gives not *all*.

AGNES. I *have* given all; I have no more!

BRAND (*shakes his head*). Yet other gifts remain behind.

AGNES (*smiling*). Ask: I've the courage of the poor!

BRAND. Give!

AGNES. Take! Ah, Brand, thou'lt nothing find!

BRAND. Thy memories and thy moans thou hast,

Thy longings and thy sinful sighs—

AGNES (*despairingly*). I have my heart of agonies!

Tear, tear it from me!

BRAND. Thou hast cast
Thy offerings in the yawning deep
For nothing, if thou count them losses.

AGNES (*shudders*). Narrow is thy Lord's way, and steep.

BRAND. That way *Will* cannot choose but keep.

AGNES. And Mercy's is——

BRAND (*peremptorily*). Beset with crosses.

AGNES (*gazes before her ; then, trembling*). Now manifest and
open lies,

Abysmal as the depths of space,
That mystic Word.

BRAND. What Word?

AGNES. *He dies*

Who sees Jehovah face to face.

BRAND (*throws his arms about her and clasps her close*). O look
not on Him! Close thine eyes!

Hide thee, O hide thee!

AGNES. Must I?

BRAND (*lets her go*). No!

AGNES. Thou sufferest, Brand.

BRAND. Thou art so dear.

AGNES. Thou lov'st me, but thy love I fear.

'Tis stern.

BRAND. Too stern?

AGNES. Ask not; whereso

Thou goest, I will also go!

BRAND. Think'st thou without design I won thee
Out of thy gladsome gay content,
Or, half in earnest, laid upon thee
The call to self-abandonment?
Woe to us both; too dear we paid,
Too vast a sacrifice we made;
Thou art my wife: I crave thee *all*
To live according to our call.

AGNES. Crave; only leave me not.

BRAND. Indeed

I must; for rest and peace I need.
Soon shall the great new church arise!

AGNES. My little church a ruin lies.

BRAND. It was a blessed wind that blew
And thy heart's idol overthrew! [*Clasps her as if in dread.*
Peace be upon thee—and, through thee,
Peace also upon mine and me! [*Goes towards the side-door.*

AGNES. Brand, may I softly set ajar
One hateful window barrier,—so?
Only a little? May I?

BRAND (*in the doorway*). No. [*Goes into his room.*]

AGNES. Closed, all closed with bolt and bar!

Seals on every passion set!
Sealed to sorrow and to sigh,
Sealed the grave and sealed the sky,
Sealed to feel—and to forget!
I will out! I gasp for breath
In this lonely house of death.
Out? Oh, whither? Angry eyes
Glare upon me from the skies!
Can I, flying, high or low,
Bear my treasure where I go?
Can I from my breast unsphere
The mute vacancy of fear?—
Loud he reads; he cannot hear.
There's no comfort! There's no way!
God is busy; lists to-day
But to song and praise and blessing
Of the happy, child-possessing,
Richly-gifted of the earth.
Christmas is the feast of mirth.
Me He sees not, nor takes heed
Of a lonely mother's need.—
Shall I draw the curtain back,
Till the clear and kindly ray
Chase the horror of night away
From his chamber bare and black?
Nay, he is not there at all.
Yule's the children's festival,
He hath got him leave to rise,
Haply now he stands, and cries,
Stretches little arms in vain
To his mother's darkened pane.
Was not that a baby's voice?
Alf, I've neither will nor choice!
All is barred and bolted here.
'Tis thy father's bidding, dear!
Alf, I may not open now!
An obedient child art thou!
We ne'er grieved him, thou and I.
Oh, fly home then to the sky,
There is gladness, there is light,
There thy merry comrades stay
Till thou come to join their play.
Oh, but weep not in their sight,
Nor to any soul betray

[*Listens at BRAND's door.*]

[*Goes cautiously to the window.*]

That thy father bade me lock,
 When thy little hand did knock.
 Years bring sterner, sadder stress
 Than a little child may guess.
 Say, he sorrowed, say, he sighed;
 Say, he wove the garden's pride
 All into a wreath for thee.
 'Tis his doing! Canst thou see?

[Listens, starts, and shakes her head.]

Oh, I dream! Not bar and wall
 Only from my love divide me.
 When the purging fire hath tried me
 In its anguish, then alone
 Shall the parting barriers fall
 And the mighty bolts be battered,
 And the vaulted dungeons shattered,
 And the prison hinges groan!
 Much, oh, much is to be done
 Ere we parted twain be one.
 I with silent, toiling hands
 Still will labour on, to fill
 The abyss of his commands;
 I shall nerve me, I shall will.
 But it is the Feast this eve—
 Last year's how unlike! And wait!
 We will honour it in state.
 I will fetch my treasures forth,
 Whereof the uncounted worth
 Best a mother can conceive,
 To whose spirit they express
 All her life-lost happiness.

[She kneels down by the cupboard, and takes various things out of a drawer. At the same moment, BRAND opens the door, and is about to speak, when he observes her occupation, checks himself and remains standing. AGNES does not see him.]

BRAND (*softly*). Haunting still the mortal mound,
 Playing in Death's garden-ground.

AGNES. Lo, the robe, the veil that clad
 At the font my little lad.
 Under it his cloak I've laid—*[Holds it up, gazes at it, and laughs.]*
 Lord, how brave it looks and bright!
 Ah, he was a bonny sight
 In his festal robes arrayed!
 Here's the scarf, the cape he wore
 When the keen wind first he bore;

Longer was it than was meet
 Then, but quickly grew too spare—
 I will lay it with them there.
 Gloves and stockings—(Oh, what feet!)
 And his hood of silken fold
 That had fenced him from the cold,
 All unused and clean and sweet.
 Oh, and there the wrappings warm
 That should shield his little form
 For the journey, from the storm;
 Weary unto death was I,
 When again I laid them by!

BRAND (*clasps his hands in anguish*), Mercy, God! I strive
 in vain!

Shatter her last idol-shrine
 By some other hand than mine!

AGNES. Did I weep? Behold, a stain!
 Oh, my treasure! Jewell'd prize,
 Bathed in floods from aching eyes,
 Lit with fires of tortured Will,
 Holy Crowning-vesture, worn
 By a child to Death's font borne,
 Oh, what riches have I still!

[*A sharp knock at the outer door; AGNES turns with a cry, and at the same moment sees BRAND. The door is burst open, and a WOMAN, raggedly dressed, enters hastily, with a child in her arms.*]

WOMAN (*looking at the child's clothes, calls to AGNES*). Thou
 rich mother, share with me!

AGNES. Thou art richer far!

WOMAN. I see,

Thou art of the common breed,
 Crammed with words, and void of deed.

BRAND (*approaching her*). Tell me what thou seekest.

WOMAN. Thee,

Troth, I do not seek, at least!
 Rather to the wind and rain
 Will I hurry out again,
 Than be sermon'd by a priest;
 Rather to the wild sea fly,
 Drown and rot beneath the sky,
 Than I'll hear the black man tell
 How I'm on the way to hell;
 Can I help, the devil take me,
 Being what God chose to make me?

BRAND (*to himself*). Voice and feature pierce me still

With a dim and icy dread.

AGNES. Thou shalt warm thee, if thou'rt chill ;
And—thy hungry child be fed.

WOMAN. Where there's warmth and where there's light,
Brats of gipsies may not stay ;
We must haunt the lone highway,
Hill and forest, heath and height ;
We must wander, we must roam,
Leave to others house and home.
I must swiftly from this place.
Dogs of justice are behind me,
Sheriff, bailiff, all in chase,
Hungering to catch and bind me !

BRAND. Here thou shalt have shelter.

WOMAN.

Here !

Roof'd above and wall'd about ?
No ! The winter night is clear,
And the breezes blithe without.
But a rag to wrap the child !
That were something ! Sooth, its wild
Rascal brother fled, and bore
With him all the clouts it wore.
Look, it lies half naked—blue,
Stiff and stark and frozen through,
By the storm-wind's icy breath.

BRAND. Woman, on the road to death,
Free thy infant from thy doom ;
Free him from thy grief and gloom :
Of his birth I'll blot the brand.

WOMAN. Much, sooth, *thou* dost understand !
Such a wonder none on earth
Can, nor shall do, though he can !
War on you that set the ban, —
Wot ye where it was, that birth ?
In a ditch-side, on the ground,
Gamblers drank and shouted round—
Christened in the sleety slime,
Crossed with charcoal ashes-grime,
Suckled with a spirit flask ;—
When his mother bore him first
There were some stood by and cursed,
Who could they be, do you ask ?
Bless you ! Why, the baby's father,
Or,—the baby's fathers rather !

BRAND. Agnes ?

AGNES.

Yes.

BRAND. Thy duty's clear.

AGNES (*shuddering*). Never! never! Brand, to her!

WOMAN. Give me, give me! Give me all!

Silk and brodered jacket small!

Nought's too good, and nought too bad,

If 'twill warm my starving lad.

He'll be going by-and-by.

Thaw his body ere he die!

BRAND (*to AGNES*). Choice is calling! Hear'st thou now?

WOMAN. Store enough of clothes hast thou

For thy dead child: hast thou none

For my death-doomed living one?

BRAND. Is not this a warning cry

Importuning bodefully?

WOMAN. Give!

AGNES. 'Tis sacrilege blood-red!

Desecration of the dead!

BRAND. Vainly given to death he was

If thou at the threshold pause.

AGNES (*crushed*). I obey. My heart's quick root

I will trample under foot.

Woman, come thou and receive,

I will share it with thee.

WOMAN. Give!

BRAND. *Share* it, say'st thou?—Agnes; *share* it?

AGNES (*wildly*). I will rather die than spare it

All! See, inch by inch I've bent

To thy will; my force is spent!

Half's enough; she needs no more!

BRAND. Was the whole too much before,

When for *thy* child it was meant?

AGNES (*gives*). Woman, take; in this was clad

At the font my little lad.

Here the scarf, cloak, mantle, good

For the night air, here the hood

Warm for winter; take this last—

WOMAN. Give me!

BRAND. Is that *all* thou hast?

AGNES (*gives again*). Take the crowning vesture worn,

By the child to Death's Font borne!

WOMAN. So! I see there's nothing more.

I'll clear out without delay,

Dress my baby at the door—

Then with all my pack away!

[*Goes.*

AGNES (*in violent inner conflict; at length asks*). Is it reason,

Brand, to lay

Further bidding on me ?

BRAND. Say,
Didst thou with a glad heart go
To thy task of giving ?

AGNES. No.

BRAND. Then thy gift is vainly willed
And His bidding unfulfilled.

[*Going.*

AGNES (*remains silent until he is near the door, then calls.*)
Brand !

BRAND. What wilt thou ?

AGNES. I have lied—

See, I'm humbled, I am grieved.
Never knew'st thou nor believed,
Anything was left beside.

BRAND. Well !

AGNES (*takes a folded child's cap from her bosom*). See, one I
thought to hide—

One !

BRAND. The cap ?

AGNES. Yes, tear-bewet,
Clammy with his mortal sweat,
There in my beating bosom set !

BRAND. In thy idol-bonds abide.

[*Going.*

AGNES. Hold !

BRAND. What wilt thou ?

AGNES. Thou dost know.

[*Holds out the cap to him.*

BRAND (*approaches and asks, without taking it*). Gladly
given ?

AGNES. Gladly !

BRAND. So.

At the door she lingers yet.

[*Goes.*

AGNES. Shivered, shattered—plucked away—
All that bound me to the clay !

[*Stands awhile motionless ; by degrees her face assumes
an expression of radiant gladness. BRAND re-
turns ; she flies joyously towards him, flings her-
self about his neck, and cries.*

I am free, Brand, I am free !

BRAND. Agnes !

AGNES. Night is fled from me !

All the terrors that oppressed
Like an incubus my breast,
In the gulf are sunk to rest !
Will hath conquered in the fray,
Cloud and mist are swept away ;

Through the night, athwart the Dead,
Streaks of morning glimmer red.
Graveyard! Graveyard! By the word
Now no more a tear is stirred;
By the name no wound is riven,
Risen is the child to heaven!

BRAND. Agnes! Thou hast conquered now!

AGNES. I indeed have conquered. Yes;
Conquered death and bitterness!
Oh, look up, look heavenward, thou!
See, before the throne he stands—
As in old days—radiant, glad,
To us stretching down his hands!
Though a thousand mouths I had,
Leave to ask, and to obtain,
Never one of them should pray
For his coming back again.
O how wond'rous is God's way!
By that sacrifice, so grievous,
Won from bondage is my soul;
He was given us but to leave us,
Died, to lure me to the goal.
Thanks be to thee that thy hand
Stoutly strove, and firmly led—
Ah, I saw thine own heart bled.
Now it is for *thee*, instead,
In the vale of choice to stand,
Now for *thee* to hear the call
Of the awful "Nought or All."

BRAND. Agnes, this is darkly said;—
Vanquished, lo, our sorrow lies!

AGNES. Thou forget'st the word of dread:
Whoso sees Jehovah, dies!

BRAND (*starts back*). Woe upon me! What a light
Thou hast kindled! Never! No!
I have stalwart hands for fight,
And I will not let thee go!
Tear all earthly ties from me,
All possessions I will lose,
Only never, never thee!

AGNES. At the cross-way stand'st thou: choose!
Quench the kindled light I brought,
Fence the fountain of my thought,
Give me back my idol treasures,
(Still she lingers by the door),
Give me back the earthly pleasures

Of the bright, blind days of yore ;
 Thrust me back into the pit
 Where till now I soothed my sin,
 Deeper, deeper thrust me in—
 Thou canst lightly compass it ;
 Clip my wings and check my flight,
 Load my feet, and drag me bound
 Down, down from thy dizzy height
 To my lowly native ground ;
 Let me lead the life I led
 When the darkness yet was dread ;
 If thou darest thus to lose,
 Then, as ever, I am thine ;
 At the cross-way stand'st thou : choose !

BRAND. Woe, if such a choice were mine.

Ah, but in some place afar,
 Where no bitter memories are,
 Death and darkness thou shalt brave !

AGNES. Hast thou *here* thy work forgotten,
 Holy work—and holy grave ?
 And the thousands sin-besotten,
 It is *here* thy task to save—
 Those thou guidest for God's sake
 To the Fountain that renews ?
 At the cross-way stand'st thou : choose !

BRAND. Then I have no choice to make.

AGNES (*throws herself on his neck*). Thanks for that, and
 thanks for all !

Thou the weary one hast led ;
 Over me the dank mists fall,
 Thou wilt watch beside my bed.

BRAND. Sleep ! Thy day's work now is done.

AGNES. Done, and now the lamp alight.
 I have fought out all my might,
 I am weary of the sun.
 Oh, but praising God is best !
 Brand, good night !

BRAND. Good night !

AGNES.

Good night !

Thanks for all. Now I will rest.

[*Goes.*

BRAND (*clenches his hands against his breast*). Soul, be patient
 in thy pain !

Triumph in its bitter cost.
 All to lose was all to gain ;—
 Nought abideth but the Lost !

C. H. HERFORD.

A HOME FOR THE DYING.

THE inquiry of the Lords' Committee into the constitution and management of our leading hospitals has brought to light various weak points and anomalies, though not perhaps so many as were expected; but although the Committee has now been sitting for many months, and has asked hundreds of questions, relevant and irrelevant, of scores of witnesses, it has not yet discovered what is perhaps the weakest point in our whole hospital system—a missing link, for want of which our multiplying charities still fail to relieve hundreds of our fellow-creatures in the hour of their sorest need and suffering. It is certainly hard to believe that, with all our general and special hospitals, whose name is legion, for every form of curable disease and every system of treatment, with our British Home for Incurables, and our palace on Patney Heath, there is not to be found any refuge, home, or hospital but the workhouse for the man who is neither curable nor incurable, but actually dying.

If a man will only live, Christian charity will do much for him; if he can be made strong and well, in our hospitals, if he remain ill, in the Homes we have alluded to; only he must *live*, for the very obvious reason, in the latter case, if there were none other, that to get into either of the two "Incurables" he must wait some six, twelve, or eighteen months. But if, on the other hand, he is marked for death, the charity of the nineteenth century knows him not. It has provided no single Home in the whole metropolitan area for his reception, where his last sufferings can be relieved and his dying spirit cheered. The solitary exception to this extraordinary state of things is the tiny hospital of which we shall speak.*

In Dublin there has been a "Hospital for the Dying" for twelve years. Let us hear what is said of it:—

* There is a single ward in the Middlesex Hospital where cancer patients (but none others) are received till they die; and I hear that some dying patients are allowed to remain at a Nursing Home at Kilburn. If any other provision exists it is unknown to the writer and to the physicians he has conferred with.

"Whether or not it is true—and I do believe it is a fact—that no such institution as a 'Hospital for the Dying' is to be found anywhere but in our own marvellously charitable land, certain I am that in no part of the known world, except Ireland, would one see on the public high-road a great brass plate affixed to a gateway and bearing the title I have just now named. Anywhere else the mere letter of the superscription would be considered as unendurable as a vision of a 'bare-ribbed death' or an invitation to 'come and sit upon the margent of our graves.'"

Such are the words with which in 1880 the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity in Ireland introduced to the public their new effort. Deeply impressed with the need in Dublin of a Home into which could be received—

"not sufferers from a temporary illness who might, under good treatment, be restored to health; nor persons afflicted with incurable diseases, who yet might linger for months or years; but those on whom the hand of death was manifestly laid, and who for that very reason were not admissible into the existing hospitals;"

they opened the "Hospital for the Dying" on December 9, 1879. Gloomy though the name sounds and the circumstances of the sufferers appear, the surroundings and atmosphere of the place are wonderfully cheerful; the house being full of cosy rooms instead of cheerless wards, while without the birds and trees and sunshine do their best to brighten the scene. At the time this Home was founded the effort was unique; no such institution existing in the three kingdoms. A visit soon shows the value of the work. In the men's ward you may see a fire-brigade man dying of consumption caused by the wet, the burning heat, the steam, and the chilly wind endured night after night while attending fires. Next is a soldier dying from a chest disease caught on foreign service; then an aged policeman, an old family butler, a young clerk, whose wife with her baby is sitting by his side; all of whom but for this institution would have had to go to the overcrowded "Poorhouse," or die in circumstances of the greatest privation and want.

A Home similar in object, if not in creed, was opened in the North of London in 1885, and is still in 1891, as far as I know, the only "Hospital for the Dying" in the whole metropolis. It seems almost incredible that until 1885 no such institution existed, and that our hospitals have for years *daily* turned away from their doors "unsuitable" cases, without the slightest provision being ever made for those unhappy sufferers, who, too ill to be cured, had to die as best they could, and where they could,—until a Scotch lady, at her own expense, opened the first eight beds of "Friedenheim." Unaided, she stepped into the gap unfilled by charity, and by the devotion of her life and means, aided by help from a few private friends, she has single-handed kept this tiny port of refuge open for five long years. Of a firm yet tender disposition, blessed with a happy and serene tempe-

rament, and sustained by a deep and ardent faith and a whole-hearted love of her work, she has stood the amazing strain of carrying on a work that contained no element of human hope, and whose only reward was the consciousness of the supreme value of her task, and the comfort of alleviating the last sufferings and brightening the dying moments of dying men.

This latest development of the Medical Mission movement, doubly blest in that it cares for not souls alone, but the whole man, soul and body, received during the first two years of its existence sixty-two sufferers. It was then enlarged to ten beds, five for men and five for women, which remain the only ten beds,* we repeat once more, our metropolis can boast outside the workhouse, where a man can be received suffering from mortal illness, and die in peace.

Let it be clearly understood that no blame whatever attaches to the hospitals or their system. The beds they contain are all too few for the needs of those who can be cured, and are indeed in many cases actually engaged beforehand, and it would be unwise to seek to relax the rule that bars the hospital door against hopeless and dying cases. Nevertheless, this does not lessen the hardship of the arrangement, and the unhappy sufferer who is refused, or the still more unhappy one who, having been admitted to a cosy ward and a comfortable bed, has after a few weeks to be sent away, as incurable and slowly dying, to the sore anxieties and the wretched surroundings from whence he came. As we have said, there is no escape from this position, for our hospitals are built and supported to save life and restore health. Turning to the special disease of consumption, of which some 8000 persons die annually in London alone, the need of some further provision appears all the more urgent, not alone for the comfort of the dying, but for the safety of the living. By the necessary rules of our large institutions for consumption, only those whom there is a reasonable prospect of curing are admitted, and even then, if this prospect fades away, the doomed sufferer must make room for some more hopeful case. The proper carrying out of these rules has long been one of the most painful duties of the visiting physicians. What is the future of these cases? If penniless they must go to the workhouse infirmary, which, though an undoubted boon to many, is nevertheless a hardship almost worse than death itself to others, who, as is so often the case with consumptive patients, may be of gentle birth, and have often occupied useful and honourable positions in society. Consider for one moment the anguished heart of the young dressmaker or governess, who, having just exhausted her little savings in her lodgings, has been admitted into a hospital only to be removed after a few weeks to the nearest workhouse.

Again we repeat—not one word is to be said against these institu-

* Except those already named.

tions, which are now most excellently managed; for without them the misery of the poor would indeed be unbearable; but they were never intended for the reception of numbers who, owing to the great want of a hospital for the dying, have nowhere else to go. But supposing the sufferer has a little money, and perhaps a wife and family. In this case he returns to them; and while, on the one hand, in the close atmosphere of one or two rooms he spreads the fatal disease amongst his children, who already have an hereditary tendency to it; their noisy play, on the other hand, and the want of needed comforts, greatly add to his closing sufferings. From the testimony I have already received, it is clear that to the doctors as well as the patients at our chest hospitals, a hospital for the dying would be a special boon.

One or two instances from real life may place the need and want of such hospitals in a still clearer light.

A young orphan girl without friends, in one of our large business houses, was stricken with incurable consumption. Her pathetic remark when she had to leave the business was, "I must hire a little room to die in." This she did; and suffered and died alone, but for occasional visits from her few friends, for no "Friedenheim" existed then. A respectable clerk from the City, being discharged from a chest hospital, returned to live at home for a week, and then, his means exhausted, with a broken heart prepared for removal to the workhouse, when he heard of Friedenheim. Those who have never been in such circumstances can hardly understand what a load was lifted off his heart.

Another girl, a young dressmaker and ladies'-maid, who had saved £40, after spending it in two years' illness, was left with nothing before her but the workhouse. Fortunately, she heard of this hospital and was admitted, and thus saved from surroundings to her worse than death itself. Cold critics in their armchairs may condemn such feelings as unreasonable, but at least they are human, and far more common than is generally known.

Miss Davidson, whose name I have kept back till now, the untiring head of this work, could furnish many more incidents, if such were required, to show the widespread need to which this hospital ministers. I will give but two, the first well illustrating Miss Davidson's special capacity for this trying work. An ex-member of the police, brought in one Saturday night far gone in consumption, insisted on the Monday on going out to post a letter; though this was against the rules, nothing would keep him back, so Miss Davidson went out too. She saw him post a letter, and then go straight to the public-house. She followed him in, and entreated him to come back. Not, however, until he had drunk the whisky would he listen to her, and return quietly to bed. Next day he expressed his sorrow, and in a week he died in peace, profoundly impressed to the last with a love that neither his

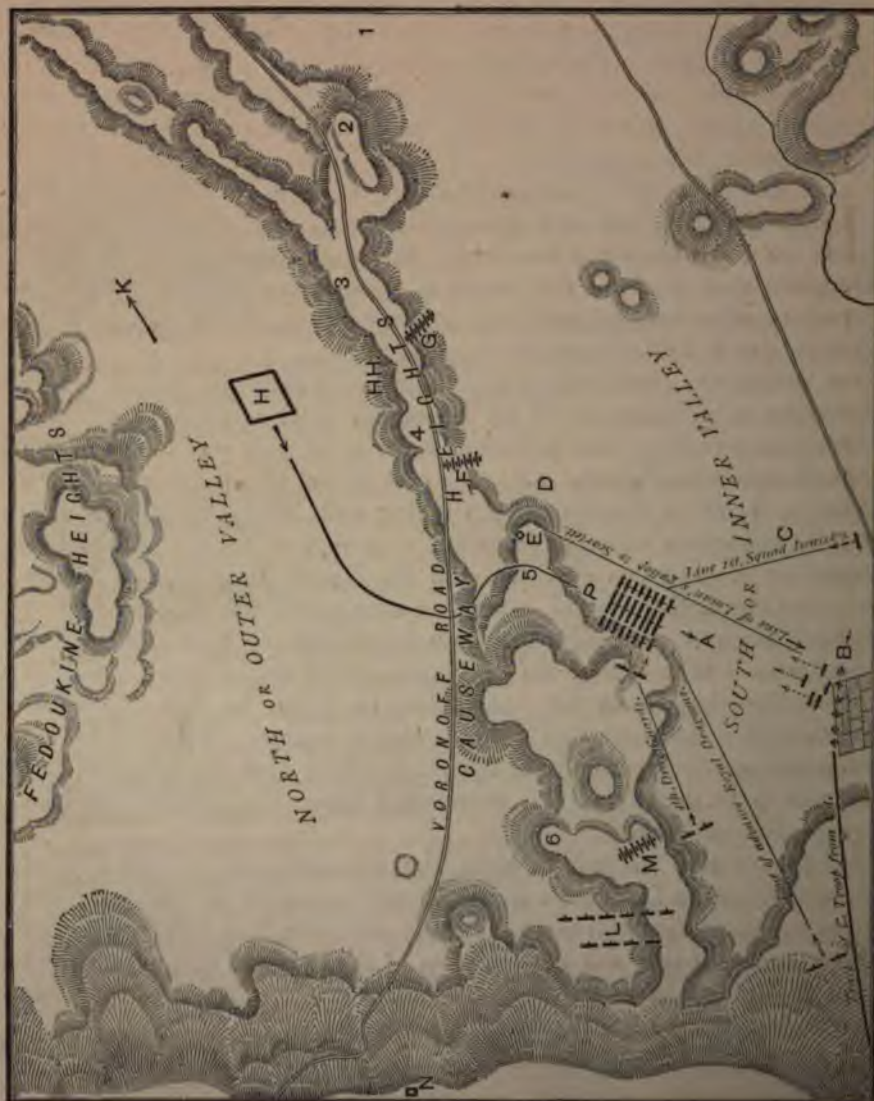
gross offence nor a broken bye-law could quench. The other case is a striking one. On Friday, the 13th of last month, a young waiter, about twenty-five, was brought by a "mate" (who paid his cab for him) to one of our Consumption hospitals, and left to be seen by the doctor. He had been discharged as incurable from the Middlesex Hospital, after being there five months, and for three weeks his "mate" had taken him in, and provided for him. The doctor found the man too far gone to be received, and told him so. In an agony he threw up his hands and said, "Good God! what shall I do?" On account of his distress he was allowed to remain over Sunday before being taken to the workhouse. A nurse, knowing of Friedenheim, determined to find out if there was a vacancy. Alas! she was too late! On Saturday afternoon, after passing a bad and restless night, the nurse having just crossed the passage, the man got hold of a razor, and in his despair cut his throat, and when the nurse returned he was quite dead. Of course it was very wrong of him, and showed a very improper frame of mind not to be thankful for the shelter our Poor Law authorities would have afforded him; but can we not understand as we read this story something of the blank despair that must fill the hearts of dying men, rejected in turn by hospital after hospital, and finding that for them, at any rate, no hand of charity is stretched out to save?

Besides the direct work for the dying, Friedenheim has at times, by the wise judgment of its directress, been allowed to afford a temporary resting-place to chronic sufferers on their way to one of our large Incurable Homes. One such case is that of a policeman, known to me in the F Division, who, slipping and falling through a skylight one snowy night, so injured his spine that he was completely paralysed. He was admitted into St. Mary's Hospital, and kindly kept there until he could be kept no longer, and was then brought to Friedenheim. Had these ten beds not existed, he must in all probability have been sent to the workhouse, which would have disqualified him for the Home for Incurables, to which he was afterwards admitted. Although this Home is almost unknown, from 200 to 300 cases are refused every year, against the forty that are accepted, and there is no doubt that if it were better known the position would be still more distressing.

I have said enough to show the pressing need of this form of charity. Miss Davidson's Home is now about to be enlarged; but no one institution will meet the case; and these lines will have served its purpose if they call the attention of the living to this urgent need of the dying, and of the charitable public to a new demand upon their sympathies and their purses.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD.

MAP OF BALACLAVA PLAIN.



Type Engraving Co. So.

EXPLANATIONS.

Figures 1 to 6 indicate Redoubts.

A. Point of collision.

B. "C" Troop R.H.A.'s position during combat, in support Heavy Cavalry.

C. "C" Troop in action against fugitive Russian Cavalry about D., range about 750 yards.

E. Lord Lucan's position watching advance of Russian Cavalry mass.

F. Position "C" Troop when approached by Cardigan and Paget after Light Cavalry charge.

G. Position "C" Troop in support Light Cavalry charge.

H. Russian Cavalry mass advancing at trot up "North" valley.

HH. Russian Cavalry General and Staff trotting along Causeway heights, with view into both valleys.

K. Line of Light Cavalry charge.

L. Light Brigade during Heavy Cavalry charge.

M. "I" Troop R.H.A. during ditto.

N. Lord Raglan's position (approximate).

O. Scarlett's five squadrons beginning their advance.

P. Russian Cavalry mass halted.

THE BATTLE OF BALACLAVA.

REFERRING to a particular phase of this memorable combat, Mr. Kinglake wrote: "The question is not ripe for conclusive decision; some of those who, as is supposed, might throw much light upon it, have hitherto maintained silence." It was in 1868 that the fourth volume—the Balaclava volume—of Mr. Kinglake's History was published. Since he wrote, singularly few of those who could throw light on obscure points of the battle have broken silence. Lord George Paget's Journal furnished little fresh information, since Mr. Kinglake had previously used it extensively. There is but a spark or two of new light in Sir Edward Hamley's recent compendium. As the years roll on the number of survivors diminishes in an increasing ratio, nor does one hear of anything valuable left behind by those who fall out of the thinning ranks. The reader of the period, in default of any other authority, betakes himself to Kinglake. There are those who term Kinglake's volumes romance rather than history—or, more mildly, the romance of history. But this is unjust and untrue. It would be impertinent to speak of his style; that gift apart, his quest for accurate information was singularly painstaking, searching, and scrupulous. Yet it cannot be said that he was always well served. He had, perforce, to lean on the statements of men who were partisans, writing as he did so near his period that nearly all men charged with information were partisans. British officers are not given to thrusting on a chronicler tales of their own prowess. But *esprit de corps* in our service is so strong—and, spite of its incidental failings that are almost merits, what lover of his country could wish to see it weakened?—that men of otherwise implicit veracity will strain truth, and that is a weak phrase, to exalt the conduct of their comrades and their corps. No doubt Mr. Kinglake occasionally

suffered because of this propensity; and, with every respect, his literary *coup d'œil*, except as regards the Alma, where he saw for himself, and Inkerman, where no *coup d'œil* was possible, was somewhat impaired by his having to make his picture of battle a mosaic, each fragment contributed by a distinct actor concentrated on his own particular bit of fighting. If ever military history becomes a fine art, we may find the intending historian, alive to the proverb that "onlookers see most of the game," detailing capable persons with something of the duty of the subordinate umpire of a sham fight, to be answerable each for a given section of the field, the historian himself acting as the correlative of the umpire in chief.

It is true that the battle of Balaclava was fought to "a gallery" consisting of the gazers who looked down into the plain from the upland of the Chersonese. But of close and virtually independent spectators of the battle's most thrilling episodes, so near the climax of the Heavy Cavalry charge that they heard the clash of the sabres, so close to the lip of the Valley of Death that they discerned the wounds of our stricken troopers who strewed its sward, and could greet and be greeted by the broken groups that rode back out of the "mouth of hell," there was but one small body of people. This body consisted of the officers and men of "C" Troop, Royal Horse Artillery. "C" troop had been encamped from October 1 until the morning of the battle close to the Light division, in that section of the British position known as the Right Attack. When the fighting began in the Balaclava plain on the morning of the 25th, it promptly started for the scene of action. Pursuing the nearest way to the plain by the Woronzoff road, at the point known as the "Cutting" it received an order from Lord Raglan to take a more circuitous route, as by the more direct one it was following it might become exposed to fire from Russian cannon on the Fedoukine heights. Pursuing the circuitous route, it came out into the plain through the "Col," then known as the "Barrier," crossed the "South" or "Inner" valley, and reached the left rear of Scarlett's squadrons formed up for the Heavy Cavalry charge. Here it received an order from Brigadier-General Strangways, who commanded the Artillery, with which it could not comply; and thenceforward "C" Troop throughout the day acted independently, at the discretion of its enterprising and self-reliant commander. What it saw and what it did are recorded in a couple of chapters of a book entitled "From Coruña to Sevastopol."* This volume was published some years ago, but the interesting and vivid details given in its pages of the Balaclava combats, and the light it throws on many obscure incidents of the day have been strangely overlooked. The author of the chapters was an officer in the Troop

* "From Coruña to Sevastopol": The History of "C" Battery, "A" Brigade (late "C" Troop) Royal Horse Artillery. W. H. Allen & Co.

whose experiences he shared and describes, and is a man well known in the service to be possessed of acute observation, strong memory, and implicit veracity. The present writer has recently been favoured by this officer with much information supplementary to that given in his published chapters, which is embodied in the following account, throughout which the officer will be designated as "the 'C' Troop chronicler."

The "Plain of Balaclava" is divided into two distinct valleys by a low ridge known as the "Causeway Heights," which bisects it in the direction of its length, and is everywhere easily practicable for all arms. The valley nearest to the sea and the town of Balaclava has been variously termed the "South" and the "Inner" valley; it was on the slope descending to it from the ridge that our Heavy Cavalry won their success; the valley beyond the ridge is the "North" or "Outer" valley, down which, their faces set eastward, sped to glorious disaster the "noble six hundred" of the Light Brigade. On the north the plain is bounded by the Fedoukine heights; on the west by the steep face of the Chersonese upland, whereon was the allied main position before Sevastopol during the siege; on the south by the broken ground between the plain and the sea; on the east by the River Tchernaya and the Kamara hills. Our weakness in the plain invited attack. At Kadiköi, on its southern verge, Sir Colin Campbell covered Balaclava with a Scottish regiment, a Field battery, and some Turks. Near the western end of the South valley were the camps of the cavalry division. Straggled along the Causeway heights was a series of weak earthworks, whose total armament consisted of nine iron guns, and among which were distributed some three or four battalions of Turkish infantry. At daybreak of October 25, the Russian General Liprandi, with a force of 22,000 infantry, 3300 cavalry, and seventy-eight guns, took the offensive by driving the Turkish garrisons out of these earthworks in succession, beginning with the most easterly—No. 1, known as "Canrobert's Hill." The Turks holding it fought well, and stood a storm and heavy loss before they were expelled. The other earthworks fell with less and less resistance, and the first three, with seven out of their nine guns, remained in the Russian possession.

During the morning, while the Russians were taking the earthworks along the ridge, our two cavalry brigades, in the words of General Hamley, had been manœuvring so as to threaten the flanks of any force which might approach Balaclava, without committing themselves to an action, in which they would have been without the support of infantry. Ultimately, until his infantry should become available, Lord Raglan drew in the cavalry division to a position on the left of redoubt No. 6, near the foot of the Chersonese upland.

While it was temporarily quiescent there, Liprandi was engaging

in an operation of enterprise rare in the record of Russian cavalry. General Ryjoff, at the head of a great body of horse, started on an advance up the North valley. Presently he detached a regiment to his left, which moved toward where Sir Colin Campbell was in position at the head of the Kadiköi gorge, was repulsed without difficulty by his fire, and rode back whence it had come. The main body of Russian horse, computed by unimaginative authorities to be about 2000 strong, continued up the valley till it was about abreast of redoubt No. 4 (*), when it halted; checked apparently, writes Kinglake, by the fire of two guns from a battery on the edge of the upland. The "C" Troop chronicler states that in addition to "a few" shots fired by this battery (manned by Turks), the guns of "I" troop R.H.A., temporarily stationed in a little hollow in front of the Light Brigade (*) fired rapidly one round each, "haphazard," over the high ground in their front. General Hamley assigns no ground for the Russian halt, but mentions that just at the moment of collision between our Heavies and the Russian mass, "three guns" on the edge of the upland were fired on the latter. From whatever cause, the Russian cavalry wheeled obliquely to the leftward, crossed the Causeway heights about redoubt No. 5, and began to descend the slope of the South valley. Kinglake heard of no ground for believing that the Russian horse, thus wheeling southward, were cognisant of the presence of the Heavies in the valley they thus entered. But the "C" Troop chronicler states that as the Troop was crossing the plain, a few Russian horsemen were seen by it trotting fast along the top of the ridge (*), who, when almost immediately afterwards the head of the Russian column showed itself on the sky-line, were set down as the General commanding it and his staff.

Kinglake observes that the Russians have declared their object in this operation to have been the destruction of a supposititious artillery park near Kadiköi, while some of our people imagined it to have been a real attempt on Balaklava. But up the centre of the North valley was neither the directest nor the safest way to Kadiköi, much less to Balaklava. Is it not more probable that the enterprise was of the nature, merely, of a sort of "snap-offensive," while as yet the allied infantry visibly pouring down the slopes of the upland were innocuous because of distance, and while the sole occupants of the plain were a couple of weak cavalry brigades and a single horse battery? Ryjoff on the ridge could see in his front at least portions of the Light Brigade: its fire told him the horse battery was thereabouts too, and there were those shots from the cannon on the upland. Is it not feasible that, looking down on his left to Scarlett's poor six squadrons—his two following regiments were then some distance off—and seeing those squadrons as yet without accompanying

(*) See map.

artillery, he should have judged them his easier quarry, and ordered the wheel that should bring his avalanche down on them?

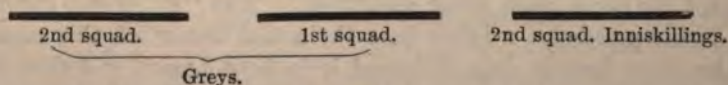
Kinglake recounts how, while our cavalry division yet stood intact near the foot of the upland, Lord Raglan had noticed the instability of the Turks under Campbell's command at Kadiköi, and had sent Lord Lucan directions to move down eight squadrons of Heavies to support them; how Scarlett started with the Inniskillings, Greys, and Fifth Dragoon Guards, numbering six squadrons, to be followed by the two squadrons of the Royals; how the march toward Kadiköi was proceeding along the South valley, when all of a sudden Elliot, General Scarlett's aide-de-camp, glancing up leftward at the ridge, "saw its top fretted with lances, and in another moment the sky-line broken by evident squadrons of horse." Then, Kinglake proceeds, Scarlett's resolve was instantaneous; he gave the command "Left wheel into line!" and confronted the mass gathering into sight over against him. Soon after Scarlett had started, Lord Lucan had learned of the advance up the North valley of the great mass of Russian cavalry, which he had presently descried himself, as also its change of direction southward across the Causeway ridge; and after giving Lord Cardigan "parting instructions" which that officer construed into compulsory inactivity on his part when a great opportunity presented itself, he had galloped off at speed to overtake Scarlett, and give him directions for prompt conflict with the Russian cavalry. Thus far Kinglake.

The testimony of the "C" Troop chronicler differs from the above statement in every detail. He significantly points out that Kinglake does not, as is his custom, quote the words of Lord Raglan's order directing the march of Heavies to Kadiköi. His averment is to the following effect. When the cavalry division after its manœuvring of the morning was retiring by Lord Raglan's command along the South valley toward the foot of the upland, it was followed as closely as they dared by some Cossacks, who busied themselves in spearing and capturing the unfortunate Turks flying from the ridge toward Kadiköi athwart the rear of the British squadrons. Eventually the Cossacks reached the camp of the Light Brigade, and set about stabbing and hacking at the sick and non-effective horses left standing at the picket-lines. Lord Raglan from his commanding position on the upland saw those Cossacks working mischief in our lines, and sent a message to Lord Lucan "to take some cavalry forward and protect the camp from being destroyed." The "C" Troop chronicler has in his possession a letter from the actual bearer of this message, to the effect that he duly delivered it to Lord Lucan, and that consequent on it his lordship moved forward some heavy cavalry into the plain toward the picket-lines. Testimony to be presently noted will indicate the importance of this statement. The chronicler denies that

Lord Lucan, as Kinglake states, galloped after Scarlett after having given Lord Cardigan his "parting instructions." No doubt he did give those instructions, when apprised by Lord Raglan's aide-de-camp of the threatening advance of Russian horse. But what he then did, assured as he was of the stationary attitude of the heavy squadrons sent out to protect the camp, was to ride forward along the ridge-line to discern for himself where, if indeed anywhere, the Russians were intending to strike. He most daringly remained at a forward and commanding point of the ridge,* until actually chased off his ground by the van of the Russian wheel, and he then galloped straight down the slope to join Scarlett drawing out his squadrons for the conflict with the Russian mass, whose leading files Elliot's keen eye had discerned on the sky-line.

If Kinglake were right as to his alleged movement of the Heavies toward Kadiköi, and its sudden arrestment because of Elliot's discovery, "C" Troop, as it approached them, would have seen the squadrons still in motion. But the chronicler testifies that "C" Troop, while moving to the scene of action, and when still more than a mile and a half distant (at least fifteen minutes at the pace the weakened gun-teams travelled), had a full view of the South valley. And it then saw five squadrons of heavy cavalry thus early halted in the plain near the cavalry picket-lines, fronting towards the ridge, apparently perfectly dressed—the Greys (two squadrons deep) in the centre, recognised by their bearskins; a helmeted regiment (also two squadrons deep) on the left (afterwards known to be the 5th Dragoon Guards); and one helmeted squadron on the right (2nd squadron Inniskillings). A sixth squadron (1st Inniskillings) was visible some distance to the right rear, and it was also fronting towards the ridge. This force, so and thus early positioned, consisted, avers the chronicler, of the identical troops which Kinglake erroneously describes as straggling hurriedly into deployment under the urgency of Scarlett and Lucan, to cope with the suddenly disclosed adversary.

When "C" Troop and its chronicler reached the rear of the formed up squadrons, they were found in the same formation as when first observed, but the whole had in the interval been moved somewhat to the right, further into the plain, with intent no doubt to be clear of obstacles on the previous front. Kinglake speaks throughout of the force that first charged under Scarlett—"Scarlett's three hundred," as consisting of three squadrons ranked thus:



and, although his words are not so clear as usual, he appears to believe

* See Map.

that the 5th Dragoon Guards, whom in his plan he places some little distance to the left rear of the Greys, were actually the last to move to the attack, of all the five regiments participating in the heavy cavalry onslaught. The "C" Troop chronicler, noting details, be it remembered, from his position immediately in rear of the cavalry force which first charged, describes its composition and formation thus :

Front squad. 5th Dr. Guards.	1st squad. Greys.	2nd squad. Inniskillings.
Rear squad. 5th Dr. Guards.	2nd squad. Greys.	

in all five squadrons, instead of Mr. Kinglake's three. Nor, according to the chronicler, did the three squadrons in first line start simultaneously, as Kinglake distinctly conveys. The leading squadron of the Greys moved off first, and just as it was breaking into a gallop, was temporarily hampered by the swerving of the horse of Colonel Griffiths, who was struck in the head by a bullet from the halted Russians' carbine fire. Next moved, almost simultaneously, the 2nd squadron Inniskillings and the front squadron 5th Dragoon Guards; thirdly, the 2nd squadron Greys, and finally the rear squadron 5th Dragoon Guards. Lord Lucan is represented as having been "personally concerned in or approving of everything connected with the five squadrons at this moment," galloping to each in succession, giving orders when and in what sequence it was to start, what section of the Russian front it was to strike, and exerting himself to the utmost to have everything fully understood. His errors were in omitting to call in the outlying regiments of the brigade, and either now—or earlier before he left the ridge, specifically to order Lord Cardigan to fall on the flank of the Russians at the moment when their front should be *aux prises* with Scarlett's heavy squadrons. "C" Troop's position was such that it could command, over the heads of the stationary Heavies, the gradual slope up to the Russian front, and every detail of the charge was under its eyes. Scarlett's burnished helmet and plain blue coat were conspicuous in front. The Troop also had the opportunity of making a deliberate study of the Russian cavalry both before and during the combat.

Its front had the appearance of three strong squadrons; its formation was either close or quarter distance column—probably the former, since the column could in no way be seen through from front to rear; its depth halted was about the same as its breadth of front; its pace across the ridge was a sharp trot, and its discipline was indicated by the smartness with which it took ground to the left. Kinglake describes the serried mass as encircled by a loose fringe of satellites, but the "C" Troop chronicler saw neither skirmishers, flankers, nor

scouts; and no guns were discerned or heard, although General Hamley says that as the huge cohort swept down, batteries darted out from it and threw shells against the troops on the upland. No Lancers were seen with the column, certainly none with pennons. The "partial deployment" of which Kinglake speaks, consisting of "wings or forearms," devised to cover the flanks or fold inwards on the front, did not make itself apparent to any observer of "C" Troop; and indeed the present writer never knew a Russian who had heard of it, the species of formation adumbrated, so far as he is aware, being confined to Zulu impis. It was noticed, and this is not rare, that on the halt the centre pulled up a little earlier than the flanks, so that the latter were somewhat prolonged and advanced. The halt was quite brief, and a slower advance ensued without correction of the frontal dressing. Presently there was another halt, and some pistol or carbine fire from the central squadron on the advancing first squadron of the Greys. Kinglake makes the Russian front meet our assault halted, but the "C" Troop chronicler declares that when the collision occurred the mass were actually moving forward, but at "a pace so slow that it could hardly be called a trot." General Hamley describes "the impetus of the enemy's column carrying it on, and pressing our combatants back for a short space," and the chronicler speaks of the Russians as surging forward after the impact, but without bearing back our people.

It is extremely difficult for the reader of a detailed narrative of a combat that may become a landmark in the military history of a nation, to realise that it may have been fought and finished in no longer time than it has taken him to read the few paragraphs of introductory matter. Mr. Kinglake has devoted a whole volume to the battle of Balaklava, and four-fifths of it deals with the two cavalry fights, Scarlett's charge, and the charge of the Light Brigade. The latter deed was enacted from start to finish within the space of five-and-twenty minutes; as regards the former, from the first appearance of the Russian troopers on the sky-line to their defeat and flight, a period of eight minutes is the outside calculation. General Hamley, an eye-witness, says "some four or five minutes." During those minutes "C" Troop R.H.A. under Brandling's shrewd and independent guidance, was moving slowly forward on the right of the ground that had been covered by the charging Heavies. There was no opportunity for its intervention while the melley lasted. Even when the Russian squadrons broke it could not for the moment act, while the red-coats were still blended with the grey. But Brandling saw that his chance was nigh; he galloped forward to the point marked C on the map, unlimbered, and stood intent. Kinglake states that the fugitive Russians, hanging together as closely as they could, retreated by the way they had come, and Hamley describes

them as vanishing beyond the ridge. Kinglake also says that "I" troop R.H.A. (accompanying the Light Brigade) fired a few shots at the retreating horsemen, against whom Barker's battery, from its position near Kadiköi, also came into action. The "C" Troop chronicler traverses those statements. His testimony is that the Russian line of retreat was by their left rear, along the slope of the South valley, and not immediately over the ridge; that the mass was spread over acres of ground; and that their officers were trying to rally the men, and had actually got some ranks formed, when "C" Troop opened fire from about point C in the general direction of point D. "I" troop was out of sight, he says, and Barker out of range; neither came into action, but "C" Troop, whose presence in the field Kinglake apparently was unaware of, fired forty-nine shot and shells, broke up the attempted rally, and punished the Russians severely. The range was about 750 paces.

At the time when the Light Brigade started on its "mad-brained" charge down the North valley, "C" Troop was halted dismounted on the slope of the South valley, a little below redoubt No. 5. In rear of it was the Heavy Cavalry Brigade, halted on the scene of its recent victorious combat. Lord Lucan was some little distance to the front. "C" Troop presently saw him trot away over the ridge in the direction of the Light Brigade, a scrap of paper in his hand at which he kept looking—doubtless the memorable order which Nolan had just brought him—and a group of staff officers, among whom was Nolan, behind him. Out of curiosity Brandling with his trumpeter rode up to the crest, whence he commanded a view into the North valley. By-and-by, some of the Heavies were moved over the crest, no doubt the Royals and Greys, which Scarlett was to lead forward in support of the Light Brigade. All was still quiet but for an occasional shot from a Russian battery about redoubt No. 2, when suddenly Brandling came galloping back, shouting "Mount! Mount!" and telling his officers as he came in that the Light Cavalry had begun an advance on the other side of the ridge. But that he had happened to ride to the crest, the charge of the Light Brigade would have begun and ended without the knowledge of "C" Troop. No order from any source reached it, and Brandling, acting on his own initiative, took his guns rapidly to the front along the inner edge of the ridge, and unlimbered at point G. He durst not fire into the bottom of the North valley, where our light horsemen were mixed up with the enemy; all the diversion he could effect was to open on the Russian cannon-smoke directly in his front, about redoubt No. 2. Even from this he had soon to desist, being without support and threatened by the Russian cavalry, and he retired by the way he had advanced, to point F, where the troop halted near the Heavies, whose advance Lord Lucan

had arrested, resolving that they at all events should not be destroyed. These regiments had been moved toward the ridge out of the line of fire in the North valley, and were kept shifting their position, and gradually retiring, suffering frequent casualties from the Russian artillery about redoubt No. 2, until they finally halted near the crest in the vicinity of "C" Troop's latest position at point F.

At this point only the left-hand gun of "C" Troop was on the crest, with a view into the North valley; the other guns were on the southern slope. But little had been previously seen of the terrible and glorious experiences of the Light Brigade; and now what was witnessed was not the glory but the horror of battle. For the wounded of the charge were passing to the rear, shattered and maimed, some staggering on foot, others reeling in their saddles, calling to the gunners and the Heavies to look at a "poor broken leg," or a dangling arm. Brandling and his officers held their flasks to the poor fellows' mouths as long as the contents lasted. The "C" Troop chronicler, whose narrative I have been following, tells how Captain Morris, who commanded the 17th Lancers, was carried past the front of the troop towards Kadiköi, dreadfully wounded about the head, and calling loudly: "Lord, have mercy on my soul!" Kinglake gives a wholly different account of Captain Morris's removal from the field; but the "C" Troop chronicler is quite firm on his version, and explains that the 17th Lancers and "C" Troop having lain together shortly before the war, all the people of the latter knew and identified Captain Morris.

Balaclava is rather an old story now, and some readers may require to be reminded that the Light Brigade charged in two lines, the first line being led by Lord Cardigan, the second by Lord George Paget; that the first line rode into the Russian batteries considerably in advance of the second, the latter having advanced at a more measured pace; and that the second line, with sore diminished ranks, and accompanied by a couple of groups rather than detachments of the first, came back later than did the few survivors of Cardigan's regiments other than the groups referred to. The aspersion on Cardigan was that he returned prematurely, instead of remaining to share the fortunes of the second line of his brigade, and this he did not deny. Kinglake's statement is that, "he rode back alone at a pace decorously slow, towards the spot where Scarlett was halted." He adds that General Scarlett maintained that Lord Lucan was present at the time; but Lord Lucan's averment was that Lord Cardigan did not approach him until afterwards, when all was over. Kinglake relates further that when Lord George Paget came back at the head of the last detachment, some officers rode forward to greet him, one of whom was Lord Cardigan. Seeing him approach composedly from the rear, Lord George exclaimed: "Halloa, Lord Cardigan, weren't you there?"

to which, according to one version of the story, Cardigan replied: "Wasn't I, though? Here, Jenyns, didn't you see me at the guns?"

The reasonable inferences from Kinglake are that Cardigan's first halt was made and earliest remarks were uttered when he reached Scarlett, and that he and Paget met after the charge for the first time when the alleged question and answer passed.

The "C" Troop chronicler's narrative of events is right in the teeth of these inferences. While the troop was halted at point F, and after a great many wounded and disabled men had already passed it going to the rear, Lord Cardigan came riding by at a "quiet pace," close under the crest. He had passed the troop on his left for several horse-lengths, when he came back and halted within a yard or two of the left-hand gun, the only one fairly on the crest. He was not alone, but attended by Cornet Yates of his own old regiment, the 11th Hussars, a recently commissioned ranker. "Lord Cardigan was in the full dress *pelisse* (buttoned) of the 11th Hussars, and he rode a chestnut horse, very distinctly marked and of grand appearance. The horse seemed to have had enough of it, and his lordship appeared to have been knocked about, but was cool and collected. He returned his sword, undid a little of the front of his dress and pulled down his underclothing under his waistbelt. Then, in a quiet way, as if rather talking to himself, he said, 'I tell you what it is: those instruments of theirs,' alluding to the Russian weapons, 'are deuced blunt; they tickle up one's ribs!' Then he pulled his revolver out of his holster as if the thought had just struck him, and said, 'and here's this d—d thing I have never thought of until now.' He then replaced it, drew his sword, and said, 'Well, we've done our share of the work!' and pointing up toward the Chasseurs d'Afrique in our left rear (ignorant of their opportune service), he added, 'It's time they gave those dappled gentry a chance.' Afterwards he asked, 'Has any one seen my regiment?' The men answered, 'No, sir.'" Brandling was holding aloof; and his lordship turned his horse and rode away further back.

Just then a cheer was raised by some Heavies who had lately formed in front of "C" Troop. Cardigan, so the chronicler tells, looked backward to see the occasion, and saw the cheer was in compliment to the 8th Hussars coming back, with Colonel Sewell in front and Colonel Mayow, the Brigade-major, behind on the left. Cardigan wheeled, trotted back towards the 8th, turned round in front of Colonel Sewell, and took up the "walk." Then occurred something "painful to witness. It was seen from the left of 'C' Troop, that the moment Cardigan's back was toward the 8th, as he headed them, Colonel Mayow pointed toward him, shook his head, and made signs to the officers on the left of the Heavies, as much as to say, 'See him; he has taken care of himself.'" Men in the ranks of the 8th also pointed and made signs to the troopers of the Heavies as they were

passing left to left. There was, as well, a little excited undertalk from one corps to the other. Colonel Sewell neither saw nor took part in this wretched business; and, of course, Cardigan did not know that he was being thus ridiculed and disparaged while he was smiling and raising his sword to the cheers of the Heavies and the gunners.

Immediately after this episode, the returning 4th Light Dragoons came obliquely across the North valley at a sharp pace, but fell into the "walk" as they came within a hundred yards of "C" Troop. Lord George Paget, who led what remained of the regiment, rode up to the flank of "C" Troop, and halted on the very spot where Cardigan had stood a few minutes earlier. Lord George had the look of a man who had ridden hard, and was heated and excited. He exclaimed, in rather a loud tone, "It's a d—d shame; there we had a lot of their guns and carriages taken, and received no support, and yet there's all this infantry about—it's a shame!" Meanwhile Lord Cardigan had come back, and was close behind Lord George while he was speaking, without the other knowing it. He called out, "Lord George Paget!" and, on the latter turning round, said to him, in an undertone, "I am surprised!" and "tossing his head into the air, added some other remark which was not heard." Lord George lowered his sword to the salute, and, without speaking, turned his horse and rode on after his men. The "C" Troop chronicler is positive that both officers visited "C" Troop, before going to any general or to any other command, and that they met there for the first time after the combat. Neither, so far as I am aware, left any record of the incident.

When Lord Raglan came down from the upland after all was over, the "C" Troop chronicler says that he went straight for Lucan, then in front of the Heavy Cavalry brigade, having first sent for Cardigan to meet him. After a few moments the latter repassed the troop on his way toward the remnant of his brigade. "Then Lord Raglan took Lucan a little forward by himself, out of hearing of the group of staff officers, and his gesticulations of head and arm were so suggestive of passionate anger, that the onlookers did not need to be told that the Commander-in-Chief did not charge the blame chiefly on Cardigan." Lord Raglan's subsequent interview with General Scarlett, which occurred in the hearing of "C" Troop, was of a different character. After complimenting the gallant old warrior, his lordship said, "Now tell me all about yourself." Scarlett replied, "When the Russian column was moving down on me, sir, I began by sending first a squadron of the Greys at them, and——" but at the word "and" Lord Raglan struck in, saying, "And they knocked them over like the devil!" He then turned his horse away, as if he did not need to hear any more.

ARCHIBALD FORBES.

HYDROPHOBIA AND THE MUZZLING ORDER.

THE Muzzling Order has been rescinded for the metropolis, and once again we have the old round of jubilations, protests, leading articles in the daily papers, and a full-page picture in *Punch*. The general result is that, both as regards the formation of public opinion and any "prevention of hydrophobia," we are all very much as we were between four and five years ago, when the previous muzzling order was rescinded. Yet the questions in debate, in so far as they are real, are questions of fact; and, therefore, the prolonged nature of the debate can only be due to prejudice on one side or the other. Under these circumstances, I think it may be useful to show on which side of this debate the prejudice lies. Therefore, I will endeavour, as impartially as I can, to present all the arguments which have been presented on both sides.

First of all, it is desirable to distinguish between valid arguments and merely gratuitous statements. Thus, for example, we sometimes hear it denied that there is such disease as hydrophobia, from which it easily follows that muzzling orders are absurd. Only this morning I have found it difficult to satisfy a highly trained classical man in Oxford that there is any difference between hydrophobia and tetanus, or that deaths which are attributed to the former (imaginary) disease are not really due to the latter. This man would take nothing upon medical authority touching the different symptoms of these two diseases, although he was quite prepared to accept the unsupported statements of laymen as to their pathological identity. Nor am I sure that I quite convinced him even by an offer to prove before his own eyes, that while a healthy dog, when bitten by what *I* should call a rabid dog, would die of what *he* might call tetanus, no healthy dog, when bitten by another which I should not call rabid, would so die.

Again, we often encounter the statement that even if hydrophobia is a separate and distinct disease, it is a disease which may arise spontaneously, or without inoculation (by dog-bite, &c.) from an animal already afflicted with the disease; hence, it is argued, there is no use in attempting to "stamp out" the disease by muzzling. Now, even if the premiss here were granted, it would not ground any valid conclusion against muzzling; for, although it might then be true that muzzling could not extirpate hydrophobia, muzzling would still enormously diminish hydrophobia. But, as a matter of fact, the premiss cannot be granted, because it is merely a gratuitous statement which, like the one previously mentioned, is not only destitute of evidence, but directly opposed to all the evidence that we possess. Of course, there are alleged cases of the spontaneous origin of rabies, especially in dogs; but no one of these cases constitutes what can properly be termed evidence. In order that there should be good evidence on such a point, there must first of all be demonstrative proof that the animal in question cannot possibly have been bitten by any rabid animal; and no such proof has hitherto been forthcoming. On the other hand, the large and general fact that in no country or large district where rabies has never occurred—or, having occurred, has been completely extirpated—is it known to have arisen *de novo*,* constitutes the best evidence that can be logically required in proof of a negative. No doubt it is necessary to suppose that at some time, or times, and in some place, or places, rabies must have had an origin, which, therefore, must have been independent of previous inoculation; but this is no more than has to be supposed in the case of all other communicable diseases—infectious as well as contagious. And in all such cases the question of ultimate origin is distinct from that of spontaneous occurrence under existing conditions. We cannot, indeed, prove the abstract impossibility of a spontaneous occurrence of any communicable disease at any moment; but for all practical purposes it is enough to know, that if such and such a communicable disease ever does originate of itself, the fact at any rate must be one of extraordinarily rare occurrence.

So much, then, for merely gratuitous statements, whether without or against evidence. They must be ignored *in limine*. And I think the same ought to be said of all expressions of feeling or sentiment, where these are recognised by the general common sense—

* The disease is absolutely unknown in Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, in the Azores, in Madeira, in St. Helena, and in Sumatra. It has occurred frequently in Egypt, and along the northern coast of Africa, but it has never crossed the deserts, and the other regions of this vast continent have hitherto enjoyed perfect immunity from this terrible scourge, although every village and settlement swarms with dogs. The immunity of Cape Colony has been so perfect as to give rise to the idea that some climatic influence operates there, and that a rabid dog has only to 'sniff the air' of the colony to be cured.—("Hydrophobia: its Cause, and Prevention by Muzzling," an excellent pamphlet recently published by Mr. Kerslake, hon. sec. to the Society for the Prevention of Hydrophobia, 50 Leicester Square.)

or the general *moral* sense—of the public to be manifestly improper. Thus, for example, when anybody tells us that, as a matter of feeling, it is desirable to allow a score or two of men, women, and children to perish annually from hydrophobia, rather than to inflict the “torture” of muzzling on some hundred thousand dogs, I hold that such an expression of opinion is as unworthy of notice as it is of any human being who propounds it—and this whether or not that human being happens to know what death by hydrophobia means.

Passing over, then, all merely irrational statements of fact and immoral expressions of opinion, let us proceed to consider the *pros* and *cons* of the muzzling question in as exhaustive and business-like a way as the question deserves, if we attach any importance to the formation of our own opinion upon it.

Perhaps it is desirable to observe at the commencement, that in order to leave space for a full consideration of the prevention of hydrophobia, I shall abstain from anywhere alluding to the matter of its cure. We have all heard so much about M. Pasteur's work in the latter direction, that a paper on hydrophobia may well seem incomplete if it does not deal with this side of the subject. But, in the first place, were I to discuss M. Pasteur's methods and results, I should desire to do so thoroughly, and this would require a separate article. In the second place, the muzzling question is obviously quite distinct from that as to the success which has attended the great pathologist's investigations. In the third place, whether or not the measure of his success has been all that his supporters claim for it, Englishmen have always been accustomed to remark that “prevention is better than cure”—and, by a curious irony of the time, it is just those Englishmen who most believe in the efficacy of the Frenchman's cure that are now most loudly advocating the desirability of prevention. Which things are a parable. For, beforehand, one might have supposed it would always be the case that the less a man believes in the possibility of a cure the more would he be anxious to further the methods of prevention. And when we find such is not the case, we may generally further find the reason to lie among those strange contradictions of human nature which arise where the balance between thought and feeling has never been properly adjusted.

There are only three possible ways of preventing hydrophobia—namely, either by exterminating, by protectively inoculating, or by muzzling all the dogs in districts where hydrophobia occurs. Any of these methods, if followed with sufficient rigour, would be equally effective. For obvious reasons, however, the latter method is preferable to either of the others. Moreover, it is no less obvious that the muzzling need not be continued indefinitely. It only requires to be continued long enough to ensure that all dogs which have already been bitten by rabid dogs shall have passed through the

latent stage of the disease. This period having elapsed, the muzzling may be withdrawn; for the disease in that district will have been stamped out. Again, seeing that our own country is an island, it is abundantly practicable to extirpate the disease altogether, by muzzling dogs for a few months throughout the island, and then placing all imported dogs in quarantine for a similar period.

The arguments in favour of muzzling are so obvious that I may almost apologise for mentioning them. Unless it is disputed that hydrophobia is a disease which had best be got rid of, the fact that adequate muzzling is a practicable, as well as a certain means of stamping out the disease, is in itself a sufficient argument. Moreover, the fact that, as I shall presently show, muzzling is the *only* means to this end which is at once practicable and certain, converts the sufficient argument into a superabundant one.

The arguments on the other side are:—(1) an attempted disproof of the statement which I have just made—namely, that muzzling is a certain means of stamping out the disease; (2) that even if muzzling were a sufficient means to this end in districts where it is applied, it ought to be applied in all parts of the kingdom simultaneously; (3) that there is no use in muzzling dogs alone, unless we likewise muzzle cats, foxes, and so forth, which is impracticable; (4) that a system of police registration of dogs is as effectual as the system of muzzling; and (5) that the muzzling system is a cruel system.

Taking, then, these several arguments in the order just set forth, the first of them admits of being annihilated both on *a priori* and *a posteriori* grounds. On *a priori* grounds, because, as it has now been proved that hydrophobia is a zymotic disease, and therefore a disease which does not arise spontaneously, it stands to reason that adequate muzzling of dogs *must* have the effect of preventing the spread of the disease, so far as dogs are concerned. The only question that can here arise is as to the possibility of sufficiently well muzzling dogs to prevent them from biting. But it has been well proved that dogs cannot bite through a particular kind of muzzle, which, as I shall presently explain, happens also to be the kind of muzzle that is of least inconvenience to the dogs themselves. Hence, the present argument against muzzling may be regarded as sufficiently met on *a priori* grounds alone. But the case becomes simply overwhelming when we turn to the *a posteriori* grounds. These are grounds of statistics, as follows:—

Berlin.—(I here quote from the Report of the Royal Commission on Rabies in Dogs, 1887):—

“In the city of Berlin special regulations are in force. In consequence of a severe outbreak in the year 1852, during which one hundred and seven dogs were destroyed as rabid, the Royal Police issued a decree to the effect, on July 2, 1853, that all dogs should be provided with a wire muzzle positively preventing the animal from biting, and to empower special persons

appointed by the police for that purpose to seize and destroy all dogs not so muzzled; and, when the owner could be found, imposing a fine of ten thalers (£1 10s.) or a term of imprisonment. In the year following this decree only one dog was killed as rabid, against ninety-seven in the previous year. The decree still remains in force, but does not seem to have been effectual in preventing the recurrence of epidemics of rabies; for the number of dogs killed as rabid, which up to 1863 had not exceeded in any year nine, rose progressively in the succeeding years, till in 1868 the number had reached sixty-six, declining again to seven in 1870, only to increase in 1872 to sixty-nine. In 1875 a law was passed, extending to the whole of Prussia, for the suppression and prevention of animal disease, which provides that all dogs suspected of rabies shall be immediately killed, as also all animals which it is evident have been bitten by rabid animals; and that all dogs in a district which has been infected by an outbreak of rabies shall be confined, or, when abroad, both muzzled and led. The technical section of the Veterinary Board in Berlin are of opinion that the passing of this law, and not only the existence of the muzzling order in that city, is the cause of the extinction of rabies in Berlin; no case has occurred there since 1883."

Some words of comment on this paragraph of the report are desirable. It is quite true that the year following the muzzling decree in Berlin the number of rabid dogs killed fell from ninety-seven to one. But to this it ought to be added that, if we look to the full statistics themselves, as supplied to the British Government by Bismarck, we find that they began in 1846, or eight years before the muzzling order was made. Now, by quoting these years in parallel columns, we obtain the following results:—

Rabid dogs killed during eight years before muzzling.					Rabid dogs killed during eight years after muzzling.				
1846	.	.	29	...	...	1854	.	.	1
1847	.	.	3	...	...	1855	.	.	3
1848	.	.	13	...	...	1856	.	.	0
1849	.	.	24	...	...	1857	.	.	3
1850	.	.	23	...	...	1858	.	.	0
1851	.	.	34	...	...	1859	.	.	2
1852	.	.	107	...	...	1860	.	.	0
1853	.	.	97	...	...	1861	.	.	5
						1862	.	.	1
Total . . . 330						Total . . . 15			

This great difference seems enough to prove the high efficiency of muzzling. Nevertheless, during the next eleven years, as the report of the Royal Commission points out, there were great fluctuations in the numbers of rabid dogs—the lowest number being seven in 1870–1, and the highest sixty-nine in 1872–3. These fluctuations, it seems to me, can only be explained by supposing them to have been determined by the number of rabid dogs that happened in different years to invade the city from without; because, no sooner had the muzzling order been extended to the surrounding country, together with provisions which, among other things, stringently excluded importation of rabid dogs from other countries (such as Russia, where

rabies is rife), than the disease in Berlin was reduced to a rapidly vanishing quantity, and has entirely disappeared since 1883.

Vienna.—Rabies was extirpated in this city by eighteen months of stringent muzzling. Then, in the summer of 1886, the muzzling order was withdrawn, and a system of placing badges on registered dogs was substituted. During the next half-year only one case of rabies occurred. This, of course, is what might have been expected, looking to the incubation period of the disease. But in another half-year an epidemic of rabies occurred, the muzzling order was renewed, and the disease again disappeared. This order is still stringently in force.

Holland.—Here rabies had become very formidable in the years preceding 1875. In June of that year a muzzling order was issued. In the autumn of the same year the cases fell to forty-one, and during the *whole* of the following year they were but fifty-five. In the year after that they fell to fourteen; in the next year to four, in the next to three. In 1880 the numbers again rose to thirteen; but, as in the previous four years, the cases occurred only on or near the frontier of Belgium, in which country the dogs were unmuzzled.

Sweden.—In reply to Mr. Kerslake, the statistics furnished by Professor Lindqvist show that formerly a yearly average of eight to ten deaths from hydrophobia occurred in Sweden; but that, in consequence of the muzzling, combined with a law prohibiting the importation of dogs, there have not been any deaths since 1870.

London.—In 1884 hydrophobia increased to an alarming extent. Nothing, however, was done in the way of prevention; and in the following year (1885) it increased still more, twenty-seven deaths being recorded. A muzzling order was then issued, and by the end of the next year (1886) no single death was recorded. The muzzling order was then rescinded. A few months afterwards hydrophobia appeared in South London, and then the deaths gradually rose from year to year, till in 1889 there were ten deaths recorded. The muzzling order was therefore renewed in July 1889, and since October 1889 no death has been recorded.*

Now, it seems to me, these statistics, which have been taken from *all* countries where muzzling orders have hitherto been tried, constitute a conclusive answer to what has been said about the uselessness of the method. No statistics could possibly shew a closer connection between cause and effect; neither could they well show any higher degree of efficiency on the part of the cause. Therefore we may dismiss the

* In England (including Wales) there have been 939 deaths from hydrophobia recorded during the past thirty-eight years, the yearly average for the first sixteen years being 8, for the next sixteen years 15, and for the remaining period ending in 1885, 45. Thus, the mortality has steadily advanced through more than 400 per cent. On the other hand, the Prussian preventive measures have reduced deaths from hydrophobia to a remarkable degree; for while in the decade ending in 1819 there was a yearly average of 166 deaths; in a similar period ending in 1886, there was a yearly average of 4½.

argument, or, rather, the unfounded and fully contradicted statement, that muzzling is ineffectual.

The second argument to be dealt with is, that, even if muzzling be effectual, to be fully effectual it ought to be applied throughout the United Kingdom. Well, in the first place, this argument is incompatible with the one which we have just been considering. If muzzling be objected to on the ground that it is ineffectual, it does not lie with those who so object to object also on the ground that muzzling orders are not sufficiently extensive. In the second place, any one who does not object to *muzzling* as an efficient preventive method, but only to the muzzling *orders* as not sufficiently general, is raising a distinct question, and, as this question has reference to the desirability of extending instead of abolishing these orders, I shall consider it later on.

The next argument we have to deal with is akin to the one which we have just considered. For it represents the uselessness of muzzling dogs, even in affected districts, unless at the same time we muzzle cats. The answer is twofold. In the first place, it is better to have half a loaf than no bread; it is no argument against muzzling dogs that some small percentage of rabies may be kept going by cats. But, in the second place, the percentage of rabies that could be kept going by cats alone would be infinitesimal. For, unlike dogs, cats when rabid do not run the streets. On the contrary, they hide themselves, and die in seclusion. The case of wild foxes is too absurd to require serious notice; and perhaps the whole objection which we are now considering may best be met by pointing to the cases of Berlin, Vienna, and London, as well as the whole of Sweden, where, as we have just seen, hydrophobia *has* been exterminated by muzzling dogs alone, notwithstanding the presence of cats.

Similarly, the next argument on our list admits of being negated, not only on grounds of common sense, but also by pointing to the case of Vienna. The argument is, that a system of police registration of dogs would be as effectual as muzzling; the answer is, that the experiment has already been tried in Vienna, with such bad results that muzzling orders had to be renewed in a few months. Moreover, the same thing has occurred both in Belgium, and in our own town of Bradford.

Lastly, there is the argument as to the cruelty of muzzling dogs. This argument, however, admits of many answers. First of all, even if it were true that dogs must suffer from their muzzles, it is sheer nonsense to designate as *cruelty* the infliction of such an amount of inconvenience or discomfort as they may thus be required to experience. The muzzling need only last for a period measured by months, and if the muzzles be wire cages (which are in all ways better than straps), the dog can breathe and pant and drink just as well with as without his muzzle. Therefore it does not appear that he is any more

inconvenienced by his muzzle than is a horse by his harness or by his bit. No doubt, when first put on, many dogs show themselves intolerant of its presence; but so at first does a horse of the presence of his harness. In both cases, however, the intolerance is due merely to inexperience, and quickly gives way to habit. So that, really, it seems to me sentimentalism in its most extravagant form which, when so awful a disease as hydrophobia is in question, can seriously talk about the cruelty of exposing "the friend of man" to the inconvenience of wearing a cage muzzle for a few months. Even if we have more regard to the friend of man than we have to man himself—as is confessedly the case with not a few writers upon such subjects—still, from the point of view of our friend's interest alone, it is surely better for him that he should fret and rub his nose for a week or two when out of doors, and before he becomes accustomed to his muzzle, than that he should be liable to death by rabies.

It appears, then, that there is no valid argument against the muzzling method; and therefore we may well wonder why it creates so much impassioned opposition. Yet the reason is not far to seek. Just because the opposition is impassioned, it is irrational.

Does it seem that a finding conveyed in such words as these belies the profession of impartiality with which I started? If so, I must ask for a definition of impartiality. For by this term I do not mean to indicate any insincere pretence of entertaining arguments *per contra* where there are no such arguments to entertain. I should not accuse any scientific man of not being impartial, were he to employ similarly strong language against the still surviving opinion as to the flatness of the globe. His impartiality would be shown rather in the patience with which he first states all the arguments which have been adduced in favour of such an opinion; and, having proved them worthless, he would not forego his impartiality of mind by afterwards characterising that opinion as maintainable only by ignorance or fanaticism. And so in the present case. I have stated and considered the arguments which have been alleged in favour of the view that muzzling orders are useless for the prevention of hydrophobia, or in sundry other respects undesirable measures of administration. If all these arguments are found to be worthless, the fault does not lie with me. Nor can I be accused of partiality merely because I state the result of such an inquiry in the language of suitable emphasis. But lest it should be thought that these words are needlessly hard—that one ought not to make such wholesale accusations of ignorance and fanaticism against large and organised bodies of one's countrymen—I will justify what I have said by quoting from avowedly representative witnesses before the Royal Commission on Rabies. The material is abundant, but I will occupy space with but two or three samples.

What, then, is the value of a man's judgment who gave it as his opinion that hydrophobia "is a condition arising in the course of any disease"; that, although it may follow from the bite of a dog, it may also follow from any other injury, "the scratch of a nail, for instance," or "if you broke your leg"? Take again the downright absurdity of another witness who, while allowing that he had never himself performed an experiment, or seen an experiment performed, in answer to the question, "I understand you to say that you have only lately seen the evidence with regard to M. Pasteur's system," replied, "I had the *Daily News* articles, and other articles, sent down to me at Hastings, and I looked through them as I was coming up in the train." Or see, once more, the knowledge and the wisdom that are betokened in yet another witness by the following dialogue. After having hopelessly entangled himself on the subject of "germs," he was asked by the Chairman whether they were to take this as a fair summary of his opinion.

Q.—Your idea of the growth of the disease is that it develops from a germ coming from nobody knows where, but existing in somebody from some cause of which you know nothing?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is it not also communicated by inoculation from a bite, or in any other way?

A.—It arises in both ways; both by inoculation from a mad dog, and naturally.

Q.—I do not quite understand what you mean by coming naturally; it must come from somewhere?

A.—Take the case of a person who goes mad; that person need not have been bitten by a mad person, but a mad germ is in that mad person's brain, and it only wants to be developed. The person might be perfectly quiet with the mad germ in his system, and might never be anything but an imbecile or a person of unsound mind, if he is properly cared for. But irritate that person, or trouble him, and at once the maniacal germ becomes developed, and he becomes raving mad. So I maintain in the case of the dog, there is a germ in the blood; it may be hereditary, it may be from a dog which has had rabies before, and has transmitted it; but I say that the germ would remain dormant for a time until something sets it in motion.

Q.—What do you understand by a "germ"?

A.—An organic microbe organism, just the same as the anemone sea fish; it is something, and it is nothing; you can hardly define what it is; the lowest form of organic life; it is something in the blood which is almost indefinable, but which, if put under the microscope, is to be seen in a very minute form.

Is not this enough? Yet it is but a sample of the kind of witnesses put forward by the anti-scientific organisations of this country, for the purpose of rebutting evidence of a demonstrative character from the highest living authorities upon physiology and pathology. It is well that such witnesses have appeared. Out of their own mouths may they now be judged; and in that judgment the societies which put them forward as spokesmen are irretrievably condemned.

We may conclude, then, that there is no case against the muzzling of dogs for the purpose of preventing hydrophobia. But although the main question is no longer an open question, there remains a subordinate question touching the best method of applying orders for the muzzling of dogs. And this subordinate question is one that does present considerable difficulty, as I will next proceed to show.

The question is as to whether muzzling orders should be made general for a period long enough to "stamp out hydrophobia once for all," as far as Great Britain is concerned; or whether the plan hitherto adopted by our Government should be continued—namely, applying orders for stated periods to infected districts only. This question may best be introduced by quoting the following correspondence which has recently been published.

Highfield House, Catford Bridge, Kent, S.E., Jan. 6.

DEAR MR. CHAPLIN,—In view of the relaxation of the muzzling order within the metropolitan area, I think it may be gratifying to you to know that during the past year not a single application has been made to the committee, which was formed when I was at the Mansion House, for sending poor persons bitten by mad dogs to the Pasteur Institute for treatment.

In the previous twelve months, 35 patients, who had undoubtedly been bitten by dogs suffering from rabies, were despatched to that establishment through, and at the expense of my committee, not one of whom, I am happy to say, died.

It would appear that the result of the muzzling order, so far as the area over which I had a special purview is concerned, has been eminently efficacious; and it may be worth while to consider whether a general order of the same kind should not, at a favourable opportunity, be put in force for a moderate period, in the hope that hydrophobia might be stamped out once for all.

I remain, dear Mr. Chaplin, yours faithfully,

JAMES WHITEHEAD.

The Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P.,
President of the Board of Agriculture.

January 13.

DEAR SIR JAMES,—I have to thank you for your courteous letter, which affords such encouraging testimony to the effects of the muzzling order in the metropolis; and it may interest you to learn from our returns what has been the effect of that order generally throughout the country, as well as in the metropolis.

I find that in 1889 there were reported 339 cases of rabies as having occurred throughout England, including the metropolis.

In 1890, under the influence of the muzzling regulation, the number of cases had been reduced to 139.

During the last six months of 1889, we had reported to us 133 cases, and 80 cases for the third and fourth quarters of that year respectively, 30 of which occurred in the metropolis.

During the same period in 1890 we have had 46 cases for the third, and only 11 for the fourth quarter, none of these cases having occurred in the metropolis.

These results, I think, are eminently satisfactory, and they encourage the belief that the plan adopted by the Board of scheduling certain counties, or

groups of counties where the disease prevailed, and applying the order within their boundaries, would ultimately be successful in reducing the disease to a *minimum*, without making the order universal; and, consequently, with the smallest amount of annoyance to that section of the community, who so warmly resent any interference with the ease and comfort of their dogs.

Whether I am right or wrong in this opinion remains to be proved, but I own I am not unsanguine as to the ultimate result, and I am averse, at all events at present, to adopting your suggestion and passing an order which should be general for a time.

Independently of other objections to that course, which I think will be obvious, I may be permitted to point out that a general muzzling order would be inefficient in itself "to stamp out hydrophobia once for all," unless it were accompanied by a measure prohibiting the importation of all dogs whatever into Great Britain. We shall always be liable to its return from the Continent, or from Ireland, where, according to the returns issued by the Irish Veterinary Department, it extensively prevails, and where the Board of Agriculture have no jurisdiction.

Believe me, yours very truly,

HENRY CHAPLIN.

Sir James Whitehead, Bart.

Such being the question now before us, I will briefly state what appear to me the valid arguments on both sides of it, taking first those in favour of Mr. Chaplin's policy.

It is an unquestionable fact that rabies has its centres chiefly in towns; and wherever it occurs in a town, it is sure very soon to be brought to the notice of the police, when, of course, a muzzling order will be immediately issued. Therefore, what would be the use of harassing all the towns—and, *a fortiori*, all the country—with a general or indiscriminate order? If rabies were exterminated in all towns, or other districts at present affected thereby, the chances against its spread would be so enormously reduced, that it would become an easy matter to stamp it out of the country altogether, by specially dealing with any other towns or country areas where any case might subsequently be observed. Our country, being an island, has comparatively little to fear in the way of contagion from without. So little, indeed, in the opinion of Mr. Chaplin, that he repudiates the suggestion of quarantine, and even uses as an argument against universal muzzling the fact that an unpopular measure in the way of quarantine would be a necessary part of such a policy. Furthermore, as the *Field* has recently observed, "it would be a matter of extreme, nay, of almost insuperable, difficulty, for the authorities to see that each and every individual dog is properly muzzled," while "in the house and in the grounds, or within the curtilage, the dog would be without its muzzle, and here lurks danger again." Lastly, "hundreds of people there would be to do their best in avoiding and shirking the confinement of the mouths of their dogs;" so that, looking also to "far remote country districts where collies or other varieties of their race may be at large," probably "it would take many months to bring such an Act of Parliament as would be required for the

purpose of a general muzzling into proper working order." (Jan. 17, 1891.)

This, as far as I know, exhausts the arguments which have been advanced against a general muzzling order. Taking next the arguments in favour of such an order, it may be urged that all the class of considerations adduced by the *Field* are considerations which prove too much. For if "danger lurks" in such cases as are mentioned, there is surely all the more need to legislate with reference to them. And even if it should prove that legislation cannot cope with them adequately, at all events it would do so partially; and, as previously remarked, it is better to have half a loaf than no bread. Besides, the "danger" attaching to such cases is somewhat exaggerated by the *Field*. "In the house and in the grounds" there would be but comparatively few other dogs to bite; and if a rabid dog escaped from the house or grounds, the fact of its being without a muzzle would act both as a warning and as a reason for its capture or destruction. Again, "in the curtilage" the first symptoms of rabies would be detected by the hound-master—or, if not, would soon become unmistakable in some members of the pack, when common prudence would dictate measures of careful isolation. Again, although there might be much evasion of the law, this is more or less the case with every law; but surely in no case does it constitute any valid reason for not passing a law. Lastly, with regard to "far remote country districts," these are just the districts where the canine population is most scanty, and therefore least likely to contract hydrophobia, or to spread it widely if they do. And to all this it should be added, that the *Field* itself does not appear to attach much weight to its own "difficulties"; for it concludes by saying that, notwithstanding these difficulties, "the order will have to be general to be effective, and in these columns we have repeatedly advocated a general muzzling order."

. Touching the argument that rabies has its centres in towns, that it is needless to harass large country districts where no rabies has occurred for many years—such, for instance, as the whole of Scotland—it may be answered that in these days of rapid locomotion local muzzling can never make secure against the inoculation of an unaffected district, however large; and, therefore, that it would be better for all the country to suffer a common inconvenience for an equal time, rather than that our efforts to extirpate hydrophobia should prove abortive.

Again, with reference to quarantine, it is of course self-evident that this would require to be perpetual; but surely (our present advocate may say) it is only the eyes of a Minister which can perceive any argument against a general muzzling order on this score. Howsoever unpopular a perpetual quarantine on imported dogs might prove to be among one section of the community, this ought not to constitute any

valid reason against so salutary a measure. Moreover, even from the point of view of political expediency, is it so certain that such a standing safeguard would be, in any large degree, unpopular? Certainly it would receive the warm support of all that portion of the public which desires the extirpation of hydrophobia; and that this is the largest section appears to be indicated by the public press.* Besides, if once a general muzzling order had been in force for a year or so, there can be no question that hydrophobia would have become so greatly reduced throughout the country (as it has just been thus reduced, not to say abolished, in the case of London), that public opinion would grow almost unanimous in favour of permanent quarantine. The mere relief of anxiety after dog-bite is—as may be seen in Scotland—so great a gain, that the public as a whole would willingly suffer the small inconvenience imposed by quarantine to achieve this gain alone.

Thus, upon the whole, an advocate of general muzzling for a year or eighteen months may claim to have made good the position, that if such a measure holds out any reasonable prospect of extirpating hydrophobia, the experiment is a better one to try than is the experiment which Mr. Chaplin is now engaged in trying. For, in the first place, it is certain that Mr. Chaplin's experiment can only continue to be tried at the cost of not a few human lives, as well as of much suffering from anxiety after dog-bite, both on the part of individuals personally concerned, and on that of their friends. In the second place, it is equally certain that in the case of many districts where hydrophobia has been extirpated by local muzzling, it will again reappear, and thus necessitate, for that district, a repetition of the muzzling nuisance. This consideration applies with special force to the particular case of the metropolis. Surrounded as it is by a dense canine population, it can only be a question of time, after every abolition of the disease by muzzling and consequent repeal of the muzzling order, when the town will again be invaded by hydrophobia from the country, as it was in 1887. Thus, it is practically certain that, under Mr. Chaplin's present policy, London will be exposed to an indefinite repetition of muzzling orders, alternating with periods of hydrophobia.

Now, if this much be allowed, our advocate may continue, I will conclude by adducing the strongest of all my arguments. Mr. Chaplin's experiment is confessedly tentative. My experiment, on the other

* As far as I know, the only paper of much influence which is opposed to the muzzling orders is the *Standard*, and that its opposition is due to some individual opinion appears to be indicated by the fact, that it has systematically suppressed all communications addressed to it by the Society for the Prevention of Hydrophobia, in reply to what it has published on the opposite side. But, be this as it may, as against the *Standard*, there may be placed the *Times*, the *Telegraph*, the *Morning Post*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle*, *Punch*, the *Lancet*, the *British Medical Journal*, the *Hospital*, the *Field*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Globe*, the *World*, *Truth*, the *Sunday Times*, the *Stock-keeper*, the *Fancier's Gazette*, and many others.

hand, would not be tentative. It has already been tried, and proved to be successful. For, in reply to a letter of inquiry from Mr. Kerslake, the British Consul at Stockholm has given us the history of the extirpation of hydrophobia in Sweden. And this history is most instructive. Many years ago the disease was formidable; but "it was put an end to by muzzling all the dogs in the kingdom;" while, "as to foreign dogs, or dogs imported, the Swedish law is very strict and effectual." This law is, that no dogs of any kind are allowed to be imported, either by land or by sea. The result of these enactments is, "that hydrophobia is now quite stamped out in Sweden, as there has been no case for many years."

Here, then, is definite proof that the extirpation of hydrophobia is possible by means of a general muzzling order, followed by a perpetual law of quarantine. For, although the Swedish Government has seen fit to prevent the importation of dogs altogether, such a provision is needlessly severe. In all other countries where there is no hydrophobia, and where a perpetual law of quarantine has been established, the latter has been found fully effectual—as, for instance, in Australia and New Zealand. The example of Sweden, therefore, may be quoted as a complete answer to all the alleged "difficulties" of rendering a muzzling order effective, and reduces the issue to a mere question of political expediency.

Such, then, is the pleading on both sides, presented as fully and as fairly as my reading on the subject has rendered possible. Nor do I see that any advantage would be gained were I now to assume the function of a judge by summing up. But this much I may say as an expression of my own opinion. As long as the policy of local muzzling orders is continued, I cannot see that there is so much as the semblance of a reason for the recent abolition of the order as regards the metropolis. Or, in other words, it appears to me, for the reasons above stated, that a perpetual muzzling order for the metropolis is nothing short of a logical corollary upon local muzzling orders elsewhere.

GEORGE JOHN ROMANES.

THE QUESTION OF THE IRISH LEADERSHIP.

TWO remarks may be made by way of introduction to the following pages. The first is, that I write only for myself, having no authority to write for any one else, although I am well aware that in my views on the question of the Irish leadership there is nothing either original or peculiar, and that, as a matter of fact, those views are shared by many, if not by most, of Mr. Parnell's supporters. The second is, that I confess to some doubt as to the propriety of discussing this question at all in the pages of a periodical which, of course, is mainly intended for readers outside Ireland. Who is to be Irish leader at this or at any other time is a matter for consideration and decision by the Irish people, and the Irish people alone, and I should not wish even to seem to do anything which would look like an appeal from their judgment. But having said so much on this point, I hope I have safeguarded myself sufficiently from the imputation of desiring to change the venue if I now proceed to explain to friends of the Home Rule cause in Great Britain, who have not hitherto sympathised with the part which those who think with me have taken in this distressing Irish controversy, the reasons why we believed that that part was the only one we could have taken consistently with our position as Irish Nationalists.

I have supported Mr. Parnell's leadership, then, on several distinct and separate grounds.

1. I believed that to sacrifice Mr. Parnell in November last was, under the circumstances, to sacrifice the independence of the Irish party, and that to sacrifice the independence of the Irish party was to give up our only real guarantee for the attainment by constitutional means of the national rights of Ireland.

It is not necessary to argue, with Irishmen at least, the latter part

of this proposition. It is by having been independent, and by sometimes having made its independence manifest in a disagreeable but necessary fashion, that the Irish party has won all its triumphs in the past. As long as ever the Irish members who represented popular interests in Ireland constituted merely a portion of an English party, they absolutely failed to command the attention or respect of the House of Commons. It was only when those members separated themselves from both the great British parties, constituted themselves an independent Irish national party, and, as such, acted in entire disregard of all considerations except the good of Ireland and of the Irish national cause, that real progress was made in attaining the great objects in view. To Irish Nationalists, whatever side they occupy in the present controversy, it is as clear as noonday that only by persevering in that course can they be sure of a reasonably speedy and successful issue to the present parliamentary struggle. Nor is this belief necessarily a reflection on the honesty or sincerity of British Home Rulers. In politics, as in war, no precaution that can be taken to avert a defeat or to win a victory ought to be neglected, and the chances and changes of politics in Great Britain are such, and our experience in dealing with British parties in the past has been so bitter, that we may, perhaps, be excused for thinking that no such precaution can be too great.

It is not so easy, of course, to obtain general assent to the other part of my proposition—that to throw over Mr. Parnell in Committee Room 15 was, under the actual circumstances, to sacrifice the independence of the Irish party; but, to my mind at least, it is equally clear and equally susceptible of demonstration.

What were the circumstances of the occasion? The verdict in the Divorce Court was given on November 17th. On November 18th the central branch of the National League held its usual fortnightly meeting in Dublin. At that meeting the attendance was unusually large. No less than eight or nine members of the Irish party delivered speeches on the occasion. The subject of every speech was the verdict that had been given the day before, and the position of Mr. Parnell. The declarations made on that subject were clear, emphatic, and unanimous, and were enthusiastically received. They were to the effect that the question whether Mr. Parnell should go or stay was one for the decision of the Irish people, and that the Irish people wished and commanded him to stay. On November 20th another and a more important meeting was held in Dublin. It took place in the Leinster Hall—the largest hall in the city—which was crowded to its utmost limits. On the platform every section of Irish Home Rulers was represented, including the two law officers in the last Liberal Government. No less than twenty-five members of the Irish party were present. Amongst the speakers were two mayors of provincial cities.

Again, the great topic of discussion was that which had been discussed at the meeting of the League; again, the burden of the speeches was that Mr. Parnell should remain; and, again, the enthusiasm with which the various declarations to that effect were received was simply unbounded. On the same day two county conventions were held—one in Galway, and the other in Meath. Both were largely attended by priests and laymen, and the Irish party was at each represented in the chair and on the platform. At each a resolution expressing unabated confidence in Mr. Parnell was passed without a dissentient voice, and amidst every sign of genuine satisfaction. Outside those meetings and conventions, in the country, not a murmur of disapprobation at what had been said and done in Dublin, in Galway, or in Meath, came from any quarter; on the contrary, any other expressions of opinion that were uttered on the subject anywhere coincided with those just enumerated.

To the opinion of the country thus expressed—and there was not time for a further and fuller expression of opinion—the Irish party, four or five days later, at its annual meeting at the opening of the Parliamentary Session, gave its formal, solemn and deliberate adherence. What then happened? Mr. Gladstone's letter to Mr. Morley came upon us like a bolt from the blue. Now I, for my part, have never been prepared to apply to that letter the harsh epithets it has called forth from others with whom I agree on the main question; and I said so plainly, not only in Committee Room 15, but also at an open meeting of my constituents a few weeks ago. It was not open and direct dictation. If it had been, it probably would never have brought about the result it achieved. Let it be granted even that it was not intended as dictation. But who can doubt that, in effect, it *was* dictation? For the leader of the Liberal Home Rule party to tell the Irish party that, if Mr. Parnell were retained as Irish leader, it would be useless for him any longer to advocate the cause of Home Rule, was to my mind the most subtle and the most effective form of dictation which he could have adopted, whether he intended it or not. What now were those to do who, like myself, had spoken in Dublin and elsewhere in the sense I have described? Were we to surrender our own judgment to Mr. Gladstone's, and trample on our own repeated and solemn declarations in the face of the world? If we had acted so, would we not, as a matter of fact, have surrendered at the same time our independence? And, if we surrendered our independence on this occasion, what guarantee would we have had that we should not be compelled in the same or a similar way to perform the same operation on other occasions of even greater importance in the future? I willingly accept as the expression of his genuine belief Mr. Sexton's declaration, that his and his friends' political independence was still absolute after the revolt in Committee

Room 15; but I must also adhere to my own belief in face of what I cannot but regard as absolute fact. If we had made no pledges in Ireland, our yielding to Mr. Gladstone might possibly have worn a different aspect, though I am not prepared to make the admission that it would have done so; but with our pledges trumpeted forth to the world, it seemed and seems to me impossible to regard such yielding as other than surrender.

2. I believed that to depose Mr. Parnell would be to destroy the unity of the Irish party, the Irish people, and the Irish race, to light the flames of civil war, to revive national rivalries and animosities which he had extinguished, to bring about national confusion that would survive the concession of Home Rule, and might even wreck it; and I believed that this would be the result, even if all the members of the Irish party had united in driving him from the chair.

I hardly think that the British people have an adequate conception of the work Mr. Parnell has achieved in the course of the sixteen years he has been in public life. The legislative reforms he has brought about for Ireland—reforms in effecting which, I most willingly admit, he has been ably assisted by a few amongst those in and out of the party who are now his opponents—will perhaps be regarded by the historian of these times as not by any means the most important of his triumphs. What has been the great curse of Ireland? Its internal dissensions. But for those internal dissensions it has always been the belief of Irishmen themselves—and, may I not say, of many thoughtful Englishmen, too?—that Ireland would long since have gained its national rights. They constantly prevented general co-operation for the national good, and thus caused many an opportunity of achieving national reforms to pass away unused. For the first time they disappeared under Mr. Parnell's leadership. He found three parties, exclusive of the Orangemen or Ulster Tories, in possession of the political field in Ireland. The Whigs, some of whom developed into "nominal Home Rulers," were there in considerable force; so were the moderate Nationalists; so were the Fenian party. The first-mentioned party he extinguished as a political force; the second he inspired with new hopes; the third he induced, by his actual achievements in Parliament and his agitation in the country, to give a fair trial to constitutional methods honestly, earnestly, and actively pursued. In short, he welded all the popular forces of Ireland that had hitherto been acting in different and sometimes antagonistic ways into one national army, the existence of which Mr. Gladstone himself, if I am not mistaken, has confessed brought him at length at the close of the year 1885 to see the justice and the expediency of granting Home Rule. Was it to be supposed that there was no danger that this army—the first of its kind that had been organised in Ireland since the Union—would break up into

its original elements and disperse, as Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., eloquently put it, in various directions, if the standard-bearer around whom it had gathered, and by whom mainly it had been collected, were forcibly dragged from the position to which it had elected him for several successive years? Some of us at least saw, or believed we saw, that danger, and we shrank from the prospect thus disclosed. We believed that unity in the national ranks was absolutely necessary to the achievement of Home Rule; we believed, further, that, for some time at least even after the concession of Home Rule, it would be almost equally necessary to its preservation; and, consequently, we refused to take a step that would endanger it. Further reflection and experience make me go further and say that I am now convinced that, even if Mr. Parnell had voluntarily retired at the commencement of the crisis, some important sections of our countrymen would have become once more distrustful as to our methods and as to the reality of our hopes, and that thus, equally, internal division would once more reign amongst us, and might even descend to the time when self-government would be restored to blast its chances of success in the earliest and, therefore, the most critical period of the existence of the new *régime*. Moreover, it is not over the various sections of the popular party in Ireland alone that Mr. Parnell has gained an influence. Of late years he has, beyond all question, gained, in addition, an influence over many of the moderate Conservative class. Those men have come to see that their first theory about him—namely, that he was a mere social revolutionist simply bent on the destruction of the existing order of society—was entirely erroneous, and that, with him presiding over the destinies of a self-governing Irish nation, they had a guarantee that no unjust interference with their civil rights would be attempted. However mistaken we may think them to be in their notion that Home Rule would injure them in any way under any circumstances, would it be wise to dash their hopes to the ground and drive them back into the Orange camp, from which they had been gradually seceding? In short, I felt that Mr. Parnell was the one man who could reconcile conflicting interests in Ireland to an acceptance of a constitutional settlement of the Irish question, and the one man who could do most to make it permanent. Of course, it may be said that if he were dead we should have to do without him. That is true; but, as he is alive, it would be folly, in my judgment, to dispense with his services.

3. I have so far dealt with practical reasons, as distinguished from reasons supplied by sentiment, for supporting Mr. Parnell's leadership; but sentimental reasons exist, and they are not to be despised, especially in dealing with a people like the Irish. Let me, therefore, say that I am convinced that a considerable section of Irishmen at home and abroad would have resented with the utmost indignation

the deposition of Mr. Parnell from his position as Irish leader, if for no other reason, on the ground that, under the circumstances which I have described, it would be an act of national dishonour. They say that, if they had to depose an Irish leader, they would do so only of their motion, and on their own initiative, and not at the dictation, or the suggestion, or the advice of outsiders; and they think—if I rightly interpret their feelings—that even if they obtained Home Rule by sacrificing an Irish leader merely at such dictation, suggestion, or advice, no man of the race would ever again be able to lift his head without shame. Within the last few weeks, I have heard Irishmen ask whether the men of Limerick would have purchased even religious and civil liberty by surrendering Sarsfield, and I have heard them answer the question with an indignant negative. Material prosperity and even freedom itself may be purchased at too dear a price. Others, no doubt, honestly believe that we were not asked to pay too dear a price for Home Rule last November in Committee Room 15; but, for my own part, I must confess to sharing the view of those of my fellow-countrymen to whom I have just referred; and for this reason also I have supported Mr. Parnell's leadership. It seems to me, moreover, that if there be any man alive in regard to whom exceptional tenderness should be shown, and for whose faults, of whatever nature they be, exceptional allowance should be made, at least by his own countrymen, it is he who has in this century done most for Irishmen and Ireland.

4. But, if we deposed Mr. Parnell, were we sure that we would thereby secure a genuine measure of self-government? Here, it is obvious, is a most important consideration. Now, I have not accused, and I am not now about to accuse, Mr. Gladstone of insincerity in this matter of Home Rule. But circumstances have forced the conclusion on many minds that Mr. Gladstone is not as much his own master as many have supposed. Many have come gravely to doubt whether all his colleagues of the late Cabinet are of the same mind on the Irish question. A vast difference, for instance, is perceptible in the tone and even in the matter of such a speech as that which Mr. Morley delivered at Newcastle in January, and such a letter as Sir William Harcourt sent to the press a few days afterwards on the Irish crisis. Mr. Morley, for one thing, reiterated in a perfectly frank and outspoken way his *unconditional* acceptance of the Home Rule policy; Sir William Harcourt reiterated his acceptance of it, too, but, strangely enough, with a number of conditions. One of his declarations caused a protest to issue even from one of the London Liberal papers which has strenuously opposed the leadership of Mr. Parnell. Outside the ranks of the Liberal leaders, again, we have had frequent mutterings of late amongst some of their followers about the desirability of

dropping Home Rule altogether and reverting to the Liberal programme of 1885. All this seems to cast a sinister light upon the refusal of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, during the discussions in Committee Room 15, to give definite and satisfactory pledges on the questions of the police and the land, and makes the giving of such pledges seem a necessary preliminary to even the consideration of any further proposals for a settlement of this Irish quarrel which would involve the retirement of Mr. Parnell, in the unlikely event of such proposals ever being made again. For the treatment in the Home Rule Bill of the two questions referred to must be the most essential part of any such measure. No measure, for example, which did not give the control of the proposed Irish police, within a definite and a brief period, to the Irish Parliament, and did not provide for the absolute extinction of the present force of constabulary within the same period, would be worth having. But it is said that we are asking for assurances that are really not necessary on those two points, because, it appears, the Liberal leaders intend to concede the demands of Ireland; and it is certainly true that the Liberal electors who have won the recent bye-elections seem to entertain no repugnance to such a concession. But if this be so, why were not the assurances given in November, when the giving of them would have absolutely terminated the Irish crisis, seeing that Mr. Parnell then put it out of his power to avoid the necessity of retirement if they were given and were satisfactory, by pledging himself to allow the hostile majority of the Irish party to be the judges of their quality? Etiquette or punctilio may account for the stubborn refusal of November; but they do not justify it, at least in the minds of many Irishmen, who consider the issue at stake to have been too grave to be decided on such grounds. It may be said that English public opinion would not tolerate Mr. Gladstone answering a request which Mr. Parnell made; but it was not Mr. Parnell made the request for assurances, but the whole Irish party. It may be said, again, that Mr. Gladstone could not have given them, with any regard to his dignity, till the question of the leadership had been determined; but, then, why did he not do so when, in his view, that question *had* been determined? We may be referred to the "assurances" communicated to the public by Mr. McCarthy and his followers after the breakdown of the Boulogne negotiations; but those "assurances" are "pious opinions" rather than definite pledges, and leave in doubt some of the very points most in dispute. In short, without any reference whatever either to Mr. Parnell's manifesto or to Mr. Gladstone's reply, and without questioning Mr. Gladstone's desire to give as large a measure of Home Rule to Ireland as he finds it possible to give, the whole course of events since November leads at least to a doubt as to the precise character of the next Home Rule Bill as regards two vital points;

and, that being so, to give up Mr. Parnell under the circumstances of November, would be not only to sacrifice our political independence, to destroy the unity of the party, the people, and the race, and to do an act of national dishonour, but to do all this without any *certain* counterbalancing advantage whatever.

Those are the principal reasons why I have supported Mr. Parnell's leadership; but they are not the only reasons which the followers of Mr. Parnell can give, and, perhaps, they are not even the strongest with some of his Nationalist followers. Many, for instance, consider that freedom of political action in Ireland is involved in, and bound up with, his retention in the post of Irish leader. But, passing away from those considerations, let me now notice what appears to be the main reason for opposing Mr. Parnell's leadership—namely, that with Mr. Parnell as leader we should lose the next election. I frankly confess that for about a day or two after the appearance of Mr. Gladstone's letter, and in view of the double effect that letter produced among the Irish party and the British people, it did appear to me that the next election would be lost, whether we kept Mr. Parnell or not. But I soon began to see that a panic had been created; that, like all other panics, it would in time pass away; and that, when it *had* passed away, British Home Rulers would feel that their policy towards Ireland ought not to be altered one jot or tittle. It is surely the interest of the Liberal party to stand firm by their Home Rule policy and pledges. They are united upon that policy, while it is at least doubtful how far they are united upon other burning questions; and, while their help is to us a matter of the utmost moment in the present struggle for Home Rule, they will readily admit that we can in return render them assistance with which it would be highly inexpedient for them to dispense. Moreover, it is impossible to believe that the mass of British Home Rulers are the hypocrites which some have impliedly described them when they said that they would be alienated from the Home Rule cause by reason of Mr. Parnell's personal shortcomings if he were retained as Irish leader. They have hitherto always argued that Home Rule was a thing right and just in itself, and that its righteousness and justice could not be affected even if the whole Irish representation consisted of men whose morals were defective; and, as one who has hitherto believed them when they argued so, I refuse now to think that they did not mean what they said. Hartlepool and Northampton are striking proofs of the truth of those positions. It may be said that, taken in connection with the defeat at Bassetlaw, those two Home Rule victories are due to the result of the Kilkenny election. But the Bassetlaw defeat was sustained after the "deposition" of Mr. Parnell by the majority, and with the most confident predictions ringing in the ears of the electors—predictions uttered by every English newspaper which the Liberal electors trusted—that Mr. Parnell's candidate would be beaten by an overwhelming majority

in Kilkenny; while the chief events that happened in Ireland between the Bassetlaw defeat and the Hartlepool and Northampton triumphs were the series of great demonstrations—some of the greatest that have taken place in Ireland for ten years—in support of Mr. Parnell's leadership. The real explanation of the speedy return to the course of Home Rule victory in Great Britain, I venture to submit, is that the panic has passed away; and we may all—Liberals, Parnellites, and anti-Parnellites—now hope that, however the question of the Irish leadership is determined in Ireland, a happy issue to the next election in Great Britain is secured. It may be said that in that event Mr. Parnell would be impossible as Irish leader, because the Liberal leaders would not negotiate with him; but the answer is that negotiations will not be necessary. It will only be necessary to bring in a satisfactory measure, in reference to which, perhaps, the less negotiation in private there is the better.

One other matter on which a few words may be said is, the interference in this Irish controversy of the English Liberal press, and especially of the journal which is supposed to be, *par excellence*, the official organ of the Liberal party. That interference is directly responsible for much of the evil and mischief that have occurred, and that will occur before the termination of the struggle. By the confession of all parties, English and Irish, this question of the Irish leadership is wholly an Irish affair; yet the newspapers to which I refer have entered into the discussion of it as if it were something very different. It may be admitted that it was but natural, if they were to comment on the matter at all, that they should go as far as Mr. Gladstone went in his letter to Mr. Morley, and express regret that, in their opinion, Mr. Parnell was impossible as Irish leader. It was not to be expected, I suppose, that they would take the view of Mr. Parnell's supporters, when the contrary view was held by their own leaders. But they have not contented themselves with merely echoing Mr. Gladstone's words. Taking as their motto, apparently, Mr. Labouchere's famous declaration that "Mr. Parnell must be crushed," they have entered into the fight against Mr. Parnell with all the zest and thoroughness, not to say malignity, of out-and-out partisans. They have praised and patronised his opponents in the Irish party, whom they have called "the patriots" in contradistinction to his supporters, whom they have sneeringly called "the Parnellites," and whom they have denounced in all the moods and tenses. They have, in fact, made this Irish dispute their own, and treated as enemies all Irish Nationalists opposed, however sincerely and without any admixture of anti-English feeling, to their view of the case. There might be some excuse for this course of action if a general election had taken place, and it had been clearly shown that Mr. Parnell was no longer the choice of the Irish people. As it is, their conduct can only be regarded as an

interference in Irish affairs, the like of which the British people would deeply resent if practised by Irishmen in British affairs, and which, moreover, is in flagrant defiance of all the new principles they have themselves been expounding in regard to Ireland since 1886. For the last five years they have been proclaiming that Irishmen should no longer be treated as children, or as imbeciles, or as persons otherwise unfit to manage their own business, and that the time has at last come to throw on them the responsibility of self-government. But the very first time that Irish Nationalists choose in the exercise of their unquestionable right to do a thing which displeases those Liberal journals, but which concerns no one but Irishmen, forthwith the declarations of five years' standing are forgotten, and the recalcitrant Irish are relegated to their old position of persons who ought to be "crushed!" Two questions hereupon inevitably suggest themselves. Where is this interference in Irish affairs to end? Is it to be carried on after Home Rule has been granted as well as before? If the Irish Parliament of the future should deliberately choose Mr. Parnell as Prime Minister, is its will to be similarly coerced, and its choice to be similarly denounced? If so, the stability of any Home Rule settlement may well become a matter of doubt. In the second place, have the English Liberal journals reflected on the fact that the bitter words they have published have aroused corresponding feelings in the minds of thousands and tens of thousands of Irishmen, and made it impossible for many of them to take any side but that of the Irishmen attacked by outsiders? If old feelings that threatened to prevent a hearty union between the two nations for common objects and imperial interests be revived, the articles in the *Daily News* and other London newspapers will assuredly be accountable for that result.

For the rest, his friends believe that Mr. Parnell will win in this fight; but to state the reasons for this belief would much more than exhaust the space at my disposal. What I should desire to add is, that Mr. Parnell's friends equally believe that his triumph means—what no other issue of the conflict can mean—a settlement of the Irish question which will be equally satisfactory to both nations.

J. J. CLANCY.

[THE Editor cannot close this number without mention of his friend and colleague, the late Mr. JOHN NICOL. For several years he has been sub-editor of this REVIEW, and has brought to his task all the qualities which in such a post are most valuable. He was master of the details of the business of publishing, and in diligence, accuracy, tact, and temper had few equals. Beyond this, a long experience of the management of liberal religious publications had given him a wide knowledge of the more thoughtful writers and writings of his day. His literary judgment, formed in this school, and inspired by a singularly modest, generous, and sympathetic disposition, was very rarely at fault. His loss is deeply felt: the loss of a comrade, whose fall leaves the study more lonely, the decision less prompt, the work more toilsome.]

THE SAVOY DYNASTY, THE POPE, AND THE REPUBLIC.

THOSE Romans who had arrived at man's estate in 1849 can remember the inexorable dilemma enunciated by Terenzio Mamiani: "Rome must belong either to the Pope or to Cola Rienzi." All Italy knows the prediction of Mazzini: "Crispi will be the last Minister of the Italian Monarchy."

Were I born to the high estate of a Prince of the House of Savoy, these two prophecies would constantly haunt me. I should feel that each day was lost on which I did not try to annul the sentence which the Liberal Minister of Pius IX.,* and afterwards of Vittorio Emanuele, deduced from Italian history,† and also that which flashed from the inspired apostle of universal revolution. Nevertheless, Humbert of Savoy reigns in Rome. Francesco Crispi is, for the time being, no longer his Prime Minister, the new Cabinet has not been able to head round, and the vessel of State wends its way imperturbably towards the threatening breakers, with its sails filled as with a fatal wind. Far be it from me to prophesy in my turn, since I could only forebode misfortune. But I advisedly say, that the present policy of the House of Savoy is like a descent on a downward slide, at the foot of which lies revolution.

Jupiter deprives of reason those whom he would destroy. He takes from them the power to learn from the past and to forecast the future. The crown of Italy, the child of Latinism and of the Revolution, is false to its dual origin when it devotes itself to the interests of pan-Germanism and the idea of Divine Right. It saps its own basis, and wars against the principle which justifies its existence.

* The Mamiani Cabinet had for its nominal head Cardinal Orioli, but Count Mamiani was its virtual chief; he held the Home portfolio, and was *ad interim* Minister of Finances.

† After the Roman Revolution, Count Mamiani went to live at Turin, and was Minister of Public Instruction in the last Cavour Cabinet, which held office from January 23, 1860, to March 22, 1861.

Is there any need to dwell upon the fact of that crown having sprung on the one hand from Latinism, and on the other from the Revolution? This twofold origin is patent in its whole history, from the fight of the Tchernaja, where a small Piedmontese corps was admitted to try its valour side by side with the armies of the Western Powers, to the battles of Palestro and San Martino, where Vittorio Emanuele, as the price of victory, won the stripes of a corporal of Zouaves. Great Britain, no doubt, was a great factor of the Western Alliance, whose laurels Piedmont was allowed to share in the Crimea; but this does not affect the purely Latin significance, four years later, of the presence of a French army in Lombardy.

Napoleon III., in his vague, dreamy ideology, believed, above everything else, in the Franco-English alliance, and very likely thought it would not be imperilled by so liberal a measure as the deliverance of Italy. He did not reflect deeply enough to see that the resurrection of Italy had disturbed the continental balance of power, as England had up to that time understood it, particularly in regard to the maritime nations. That alliance, which was sealed with blood shed in the Crimea, was too recent for Great Britain to have rid herself of her old notion that the Austrian soldier was her continental auxiliary. The tension, therefore, which showed itself early in 1859 between the Cabinets of Paris and Vienna caused grave apprehension to the English Government, which recoiled from the prospect of a decline in the power of Austria. This concern for Austria was the more strongly marked as the Tories were in office, and of course directed the policy of Great Britain in harmony with their traditional ideas of European Conservatism. It would be idle to deny that, next to the spirit of Liberalism—which, during the reaction that followed the movement of 1848, was surging up, in spite of every obstacle in Europe, and which England fomented, and had very much at her beck and call—the great author of the deliverance of all Italy was France.

We must rid ourselves of the illusion that Italy could have been delivered by Piedmont single-handed. The Piedmont of Vittorio Emanuele, so long as she had only her own forces to depend upon, had never dared to attack Austria. To have attacked her would have been madness, certain to end in a second Novara, more disastrous than the first. Witness what Count Cavour said in reply to observations made to him by Sir James Hudson, by order of his Government, touching the "imprudent language of Vittorio Emanuele" in his speech at the opening of the Parliamentary Session at Turin in February 1859: "Sardinia will not attack Austria unless with France as an ally." In speaking thus the great Piedmontese statesman was altogether right. An alliance with the Revolutionary party of Italy would not have sufficiently secured Vittorio Emanuele against the dangers of a struggle with the military power of Austria. The hard experiences of 1848 and 1849 left no room for doubt on this point.

It should be also borne in mind that the Austrian Monarchy in 1848 was weakened by the Revolutionary convulsions which obliged the Court of Vienna to quit its capital—whither it was able to return in safety only after the Emperor Ferdinand had abdicated and a Russian army had crushed the revolution in Hungary. But at the time when the work of Italian deliverance was begun Austria had recovered herself, and there was no longer any trace of the weakness she had shown in 1848. She seemed, indeed, to be in the plenitude of military and political strength, both her own and that of the Germanic confederation, of which her Emperor was a member. Prussia, which had also recovered from the shocks of 1848, notably was with Austria, and was in a position to give her any aid which, as a member of the Bund, she might have had a right to claim. No doubt the Revolutionary party in Italy had in its ranks men of heroic mould, ready to sacrifice their lives for their country, and to draw after them the populations of more than one Italian city. But any movement they might have attempted must have been crushed at once by Austria and the small Italian Princes, who were as much the vassals of that power as they ever were in 1821, 1831, 1849, or at any other time.

Nothing, then, was to be hoped for without the help of a foreign Power. And in the situation of Europe in 1859, the only Power, as Napoleon III. said, which was able to carry on a war "for the sake of a generous idea" was France. Such a war alone could set in movement the revolution which was to resuscitate Italy. What is more, France took upon herself, according to the plan agreed on at Plombières between Napoleon III. and Cavour, to prepare the explosion and to secure its objects. Lord Clarendon, on his return in 1858 from a visit to Compiègne, disclosed to Lord Derby the bellicose scheme of France. The Tory Cabinet was deeply concerned, and multiplied its efforts, through Lord Cowley in Paris and Vienna, and through Sir James Hudson at Turin, to prevent a conflagration which must shake to its base the old Conservative foreign policy.

The plot opened at Turin, with noisy and ostentatious arming of troops and aggressive polemics of the Press, which daily attacked the Teuton masters of Lombardy, and stirred up the peoples of Italy to paroxysms of patriotic excitement. Austria fell into the trap laid for her. She lost patience, and sent her famous ultimatum of April 19 to the King of Sardinia, demanding disarmament. This was just what was hoped for. It furnished Napoleon III. with a good pretext for interfering, and he came forward to resist the Austrian aggression. The first thing he said to Count Arese on landing at Genoa was: "You owe the Lord a splendid taper, inasmuch as He has not prevented the Emperor of Austria from crossing the Ticino.* If he had not crossed it I should not now be here."

* Tacini: "Pensieri sulla politica Italiana," p. 18. Civelli ed. Florence. 1889.

War broke out. I shall not deal with the rapid campaign of six weeks, in the course of which the Franco-Sardinian armies went on from success to success, from Montebello to Solferino. But I wish to remark, that the declaration of war, which England did her utmost to prevent, roused deep sorrow and indignation throughout the United Kingdom. Those who were indignant blamed the Derby Ministry, which, on the 18th of April, had declared in Parliament that peace was assured, and by the mouth of the Prime Minister expressed faith in Austria, whereas that Power, on the very next day, despatched the ultimatum which made war unavoidable. Those who felt sorry were afraid lest, conflict being inevitable, and the French arms likely to be victorious, France, as liberator of Italy, would become preponderant in that country. The first consequence of the state of English feeling was the dissolution of Parliament, and the second, the voting of an augmentation of the Army, which took place on August 29, 1859. Nor should it be forgotten that public feeling was not so hostile to the Ministry, which had tried to keep Austria out of a dangerous war, as to France, which seemed likely to derive great profit, or at least a great moral advantage, from her intervention. The Tory Cabinet came before the new Parliament with a compact mass of 300 Ministerialists behind it, and it was only by a feeble majority of 13 * that a vote of want of confidence was carried, and a Palmerston-Russell Whig Cabinet brought in. It is not at all surprising, considering the state of public feeling, that the first and exclusive task of the new Ministry was to put a stop to the war in Italy. The grant of subsidies for the Army and Navy, and the prevalent warlike excitement, admitted of a high-handed course. Prussia had mobilised 300,000 troops, and the other States of the Confederation as many more. This added to the weight of British counsels, and so, after Solferino, pacific advice overbore all the other advice that was given to the frightened Emperor. Lord Russell had the satisfaction, before Villafranca, of sending on to Vienna the French proposals of peace.†

Peace was signed, and the fears of England were allayed. Her next great object was to turn the French victories to her own advantage in the Mediterranean and to the confusion of France. It is only fair to state that the Palmerston-Russell Cabinet was equal to all the difficulties of this important but thorny task. But it must not be forgotten that these difficulties were lessened by the Liberal bent of the British Ministry. What more Liberal policy than to favour the deliverance of a land that was the cradle of European civilisation, and of a people

* See the debate on the Address in the House of Commons, June 7, 1859.

† Lord Normanby, in the debate on Italian affairs on August 9, 1859, blamed this interference of the Russell Cabinet as a breach of neutrality. Lord Wodehouse, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, defended it, and held that the fact of having sent on the peace proposals of France *before* Villafranca was not an act "of intervention, but that of a simple intermediary." This does not the less prove the decisive action of England in bringing about a sudden cessation of hostilities.

in whom ages of oppression had not been able to destroy the fitness for liberty and independence? One of the members of the new Cabinet was Mr. Gladstone, who, in one of his letters on Italy, read by all Europe with the deepest interest, had said of the Neapolitan Government that it was the negation of God.

On the other hand, the task of the Russell-Palmerston Cabinet was made easier than could have been expected by the utterly false position in which the Emperor Napoleon found himself on the morrow of the peace of Villafranca. His object in declaring war was to found an Italian Confederation, after releasing Italy from the grasp of Austria. France could not but be satisfied with the cessation of a state of things which, in the event of European war, exposed her to be attacked by German forces simultaneously along the Rhine and the Mediterranean, and from Savoy.

Austria, turned out of Lombardy, confined to Venice, and debarred from the military and political interference she had exercised as a right in her States of the Church, the Central Duchies, and Naples, was distant enough from the French frontier to make Italy the Franco-Austrian field of battle, as had been the case for centuries. Besides, as Napoleon III. said in his proclamation to the French people, with every reason for thinking it to be true: "We have along our Alpine frontiers a friendly people, who owe to us their independence." * This friendly people, free, and relatively strong, was to be for ever a buffer between the two ancient rivals, and that without any drawback worth naming to France. As M. Dupin also said: "Italy was destined to be the constant ally of France." The Federal Constitution which she was to have shut out all danger of having for a neighbour a nation organised as a powerful military and political unity.

French interests could, therefore, only be served by the war on the conditions that it had a happy ending, and that its effects were kept within the pre-arranged limits of the constitution of a federal union. As to Sardinian interests, they would not be less well served, for, as Cavour wrote to Vittorio Emanuele from Plombières, whither he went to consult with the Emperor, "This arrangement [the confederation] is altogether one that is acceptable to the Court of Turin. Your Majesty," he went on to say, "being made *de jure* Sovereign of the half, and that the richer half, of Italy, must eventually become the *de facto* Sovereign of the whole peninsula."

The war was successful and glorious. But Napoleon III. was obliged to stop short suddenly in the midst of victory. He feared, and with good reason, to find himself caught in a struggle with all Germany

* The entrance of Italy into the alliance of the Germanic Powers has revived this old danger to France, which the war in Lombardy, undertaken for the advantage of Italy, had removed.

(and perhaps with England), the dangers of which would be out of all proportion to the French interests which might be served by continuing the campaign. He was accordingly obliged at Villafranca to conclude a peace from which he could with difficulty wriggle out, and to accept in some degree the conditions of his vanquished but still powerful enemy, Austria. She was strong in her own unexhausted forces, and yet more in those of her German confederates, who were ready to fly to her help. The conditions were that he should take only Lombardy, without Venetia, for Piedmont, and sanction "the return of the arch-dukes to their States." This last condition was "*the sine quâ non*" of the Austrian Emperor's acceptance; and Austria was "to grant institutions to Venetia which would make it an Italian province." *

Now the populations of the Archducal States, as well as those of the Legations, had overthrown their respective Sovereigns at the outset of the war, and clamoured to be annexed to Piedmont. At the same time, Venice, backed by the whole feeling of Italy, was indignant at being kept under the hated Austrian sceptre.

Thus, on the morrow of Villafranca, the French liberator, who had been hailed with delirious enthusiasm by the Italian cities through which he passed, came to be regarded as a "despot," who betrayed their cause with the complicity of "the Austrian tyrant." His triumphal entrance into Milan, where a whole people welcomed him, had for its reverse his departure from Genoa, which took place under the protection of the police. They were at great pains to hide from him the portrait of Orsini, which was prominently displayed in all the shop windows.

From that hour the position of France in relation to Italian affairs became one of extreme difficulty. The moral benefits of her sacrifices were lost. Besides the responsibilities arising from the peace which she had signed, there remained to her the odium of enforcing its execution. And this, in spite of her secret intention to forward the success of the Italian cause. On the other hand, there was the danger of a fresh war with Austria, supported by Germany, which was indignant at the contempt shown by the Cabinet of Turin for those clauses of the treaty which were forced on Napoleon III. That Emperor had often declared himself resolved not to suffer the deliverance of Lombardy and the other results won by French victories to be called in question.

Nature had not endowed Napoleon III. with the strength of character needful to deal with such a situation. That Sovereign was never justly estimated. When at the zenith of his power he was cried up by the thoughtless worshippers of success as the greatest mind in Europe and the most sagacious of statesmen, and by those who hated him as an utter dunce. He was neither; but simply a man

* See the note published in the *Moniteur Universel* of September 9, 1859.

of generous instincts, kindly, and gifted with a mind of fine quality, but without much character or moral sense to steady and direct his mental qualities. He so far saw things in their true light as to have a really high conception of his duties. But his will was too unstable for him to overcome the obstacles which he found in his way whenever he tried to do what was right. This weakness of character was compatible with the tenacity of purpose shown in his career as a Pretender, and with the energy manifested in the *coup d'état* of December 1851. What Napoleon chiefly risked on that date was his own head. He was physically brave. But he shrank from what was disagreeable, and had a cowardly way of putting off the evil day. Moral difficulties brought out his constitutional pusillanimity. The defect was closely allied with an easy-going kindness, from which, perhaps, it arose. This quality was one of the factors in the terrible catastrophe in which his reign ended.

In the events of 1859 Napoleon III. showed himself not less weak than he did eleven years later, amid the difficulties of his fatal war with Germany. But his irresolution in 1859 was not so much noticed, because in Italy the prestige of victory threw a halo round him, and lent a glamour to his acts. At heart he was for Italian independence. As heir to the ideas, if not to the genius, of his uncle, he must have marked how much weight there was in the saying of the captive of St. Helena:—"Sooner or later the Italian peoples will be united under a single Government."* He must have been influenced by these words, whatever were his political reasons for circumscribing the effects of the campaign of Lombardy. He had also a weakness for Vittorio Emanuele, whose brilliant qualities as a soldier of fortune carried away, it must be owned, the French people as well. But the Emperor had a counterbalancing weakness for the venerable Pius IX., of whom for ten years he had been accustomed to regard himself as the patron. Moreover, he honestly desired to execute the agreement into which he had entered with the Emperor of Austria.

Now the population of Italy revolted at the idea of the Treaty of Villafranca being carried out. Secretly, they were stirred up by the Court of Turin, whose ambitious schemes were advanced by this ferment. While the Court incited the people it professed respect for a treaty to which it was a party. The Pope, in as great a degree as the King of Sardinia, set his face against the plan of a federation, and refused to be its honorary President or to lend himself to it in any way. Austria, meanwhile, talked of a resumption of hostilities, if the ambition of the House of Piedmont stood in the way of the new constitution of Italy, agreed upon at Villafranca.

In this conflict of interests, the Emperor Napoleon became more

* See "Commentaires de Napoléon." Italian edition. Vol. i. p. 32. Brussels. 1827.

and more irresolute, and plunged down deeper into difficulties. Had he but determined that Italy was to execute the Treaty of Villafranca to the letter, his path would have been plain and easy. He had still 200,000 men in Lombardy, and an army corps occupying Rome.

Austria had still 250,000 soldiers in Venetia, whom she would have gladly employed in a new war against Piedmont (even with France for an enemy), taking for pretext the non-execution of the Treaty of Villafranca. How much more readily would she not have made use of her army to enforce the execution of that treaty! This great deployment of military force in Italy would have set at rest, as though by enchantment, the intrigues at Turin, and quieted revolutionary passions. As to the Pope, nothing was easier than to force his hand. The Emperor of the French had only to withdraw his troops from Rome and leave the Pope face to face with the Revolutionists. Pius IX. had not forgotten his humiliating pilgrimage to Gaëta. He would have bowed to the inevitable.

Thus the Italian confederation, to realise which France had taken up arms, would have been practicable, the Pope would have retained his temporal power, the King of Sardinia would have tripled his material power, while, through the prestige of his successes, he would have been head of the whole peninsula, and, by the example of the free institutions of his States, would have forced his confederate Sovereigns to progress along with him, and to make Naples and Venice free countries, like Piedmont. The means were open to Italy, which had been a focus of revolutionary agitation, to become a quiet, free, and prosperous country, and to await in peace the time when a better political ideal could be attained for her.

Was the above solution distasteful to Napoleon? It was, no doubt, contrary to his old engagements with the Carbonari, and to the secret engagements which he made in order to bring Vittorio Emanuele to give an apparent sanction to the mission of General Fleury to Verona, whither he was sent to arrange for the meeting of the Emperors at Villafranca. In that case there was still the possibility of another rational solution. Napoleon might have pleaded that, what with the Pope and the King of Sardinia, he was unable to enforce the execution of the Treaty of Villafranca, and saw no course open to him save that of accepting the views stated by Lord Russell on November 26, 1859.* If the Emperor Francis Joseph were resigned to yield quietly to the force of events nothing could be better. If he wanted to begin to fight for conditions more satisfactory than he had obtained at Villafranca, he could not look for help from England, who had committed herself to Italian liberation, and was

* Lord Russell in a despatch of that date expressed himself in favour of annexing Parma, Piacenza, Massa, and Carrara to Piedmont, and making a neutral State of Tuscany, Modena and, as far as possible, the Romagna, with a Prince of Savoy at its head, or in default of him, a foreign prince not belonging to any of the great reigning Houses. This restriction excluded Prince Napoleon, who was believed to have been put forward as a candidate.

taken in the trap which she had laid for France. It would not have been possible for the King of Naples himself, if satisfied that he had nothing to fear from the French and Piedmontese, to refuse to participate in the proposed Confederation. The French army would have then had 100,000 Neapolitan soldiers, *plus* their valiant Piedmontese ally and the contingents of Central Italy. This new combination of military forces would have made any possible Austrian attack too hazardous, even if the Germanic Confederation had thrown itself on the side of Austria. The French fleet, having no reason to fear England, might have set Venice free in a few hours, and, in sweeping the Adriatic, weakened the military power of Austria, whilst the French army, always a splendid instrument for war and flushed by its recent victories, would have accomplished prodigies of valour and electrified the Italian soldiers. European Liberalism, which was truly the great moral factor of Italian independence, must have been carried away by a war almost of despair, undertaken to free a nation. Its moral action was sure to augment the strength of the liberating armies and lessen that of the hordes of despotism. Such a struggle, therefore, offered to France a prospect of success, but also some chances of failure. Unfortunately, the existence of the French Empire depended upon success, and its fall must have brought with it national disasters, and to Italy the undoing of the victories of Palestro, San Martino, Magenta and Solferino, and a return, perhaps for ever, to servitude.

Napoleon III. could not stake at once his own dynasty, France and Italy herself in so hazardous a game. And it was no easier to let Austria shoot down the Italian patriots, who rose against her, or to let her crush the freshly delivered Italy, than to cancel his signature to the treaty of peace which he had concluded. He resigned himself to tack with the wind. All his efforts were directed to keep his balance between the Italian Revolution, which he could not fight, and the Austrians, whom he dared not face. This double game of the Emperor exactly suited the British Cabinet, which took advantage of it with marvellous address. Whilst France became ostensibly more hostile to the unitary tendencies of the Italians, England openly encouraged them. The famous principle of non-intervention which France had laid down in the preliminaries of the Treaty of Villafranca, and stood by to the end, assured their success. This principle forced Europe to look on with folded arms while this extraordinary Revolution was going on against Austria, whose 250,000 soldiers in Venetia stood with grounded arms as passive spectators.

It was thus that the questions, so warmly disputed between France and England, of the Duchies, the two Legations, the two Sicilies, the Marches and Umbria, were successfully raised and settled. It was thus that Italy found herself one and united, and that a vote of the Parliament at Turin was able to give Vittorio Emanuele, in exchange for the crown of little Sardinia, the all embracing one of Italy.

Italy was then truly made, first, by the intervention of the French army and its prestige, and, secondly, by the revolutionary momentum which, under the shelter of the non-intervention principle agreed upon by France and England, was allowed to propagate itself unchecked. Yet, strange to relate, France, in return for her sacrifice of life and money in the campaign of Lombardy, received no reward but trouble, embarrassment and the danger of another war, and was the object of a concert of malediction, in which Rome and Venice joined with the rest of Italy. They were beyond the pale of the enfranchised regions, and looked upon their servitude as due to French treason. England, on the contrary, was in Italy the object of universal gratitude. This was only natural. She had taken up a distinct line from the moment the Tory Government fell, and had stuck to it with much skill. Her conduct was simple, strong and straightforward. Lord Russell never shrank in the House of Commons or in his despatches from blaming the Papal Administration. Dealing with the question of Central Italy, on the morrow of Villafranca, he said, first through Lord Cowley, in a despatch dated July 25, and then in the House of Commons, and to the Foreign Cabinets and Italy, that "France and Austria, he held, should agree to respect the principle of non-intervention and allow the Italians to choose their own Government." When he yielded for a short time to the pressure of European circumstances, a war between France and Austria seeming again imminent, he expressed his sorrow at the impossibility of joining Central Italy to Piedmont, and consented unwillingly, in his despatch of November 26, to Tuscany and Modena forming a separate State. But he declared that England would not send a representative to any Congress which did not take for the basis of its deliberations "the right of the Italian Governments to choose the Government which best suited themselves"—a declaration which emboldened the Central Italians to treat as a dead letter the concession which they had made to the spirit of reaction.

In the affairs of Naples, the English squadron began by affording moral protection to the volunteers who landed in Sicily, thus rendering useless the Neapolitan artillery. It next stood out against the bombardment of Palermo. The favourable attitude of Great Britain towards the Italian Revolution was shown in a series of acts between Marsala and Gaëta. When asked to explain himself on the grave questions of international law raised by the deeds of the Revolutionists in Italy, Lord Russell, who up to Solferino had been as respectful of treaties as Lord Derby, slipped dexterously from the dilemma in a despatch dated October 27, 1860, to Sir James Hudson, Minister of Great Britain at Turin. He juggled with international law, using arguments which seemed to contradict each other, while they led up to a single conclusion. The usurpation of William of Orange was

cited, Vattel was invoked; and he said that any breach of the tie between a monarch and his subjects, was in itself a misfortune. All this was meant to apply to the special case of the King of Naples, and to declare that "Her Majesty's Government fails to see any good reason why France or Austria and Prussia should blame the acts of the King of Sardinia."

The imperturbable conduct of the British Government was highly politic, and in conformity with the feelings of the British people, who by subscriptions, by the Press, and by all kinds of demonstrations and encouragements given to Garibaldi, placed themselves on the side of Italian unity. Public sentiment in England thus sustained sound statesmanship. From the close of the campaign of Lombardy Italian unity had become inevitable. It therefore was of great importance to England to withdraw Italy from French influence, and, as a maritime Power, to turn the newly-born Mediterranean State into a close friend. Passing events justify the statecraft of the English Government which took this view.

For the reasons above given, Great Britain did not limit her valuable moral support to the annexation of all Italy to Piedmont. She vigorously bestirred herself to prevent the reduction of the ancient limits of Piedmont on the French side. When the question of Savoy and Nice was raised, patriotic passion in Italy was backed by the views of the English Conservatives. Indeed, notwithstanding the virtual alliance which brought France and Great Britain to unite their flags in expeditions to Syria and China, their relations only just escaped being broken off. To allay the irritation of England at the cession of Savoy and Nice, Napoleon III. judged it well to sign a treaty of commerce which was far from advantageous to France. This proves the soundness of the views of the English statesmen of that time, in regard to Italy. Everything they did made for the economic and political interests of their country.

Nevertheless, France was not to be blamed for getting hold of Savoy and Nice. The rectification of frontier thus brought about was a measure of simple prudence. So long as there was a prospect of an Italian Confederation, in which an enlarged Piedmont would only figure as a third-rate Power, the old Franco-Sardinian frontier might remain as marked out by the treaties of 1815, without being a cause for apprehension to France. But the absorption by Vittorio Emanuele of the kingdom of the two Sicilies and all the important territories of the States of the Church entirely changed the position of Piedmont relatively to France. Italy, becoming a great centralised nation and military Power, might at no distant time become the rival, or even the enemy, of France.* Under these new conditions France could not

* This is her present state, Italy being allied to a Power whose enmity towards France cannot resolve itself in any other way than by a great war.

with safety to herself, leave her the power to invade her easily, either by the Var or by the watershed of the French side of the Alps. It is only fair to admit that France was justified in demanding a revision of the Franco-Italian frontiers. I even go so far as to say that the French pretensions could be equally well sustained by taking for their basis the principle of nationalities, which was converting little Piedmont into one of the great European Powers. First of all, there was no strong objection to the cession of Savoy, albeit it was the cradle of the Royal House. As to Nice, though its separation was more galling to Italians, because it was associated with Garibaldi, there was much to be said in defence of it. This was shown in the debates on the treaty of cession in the Parliament of Turin. But it must be owned that the French blundered grievously in all this affair. They taxed Italy with ingratitude, when they should have been using arguments of a nature to soothe Italian feeling. They did not so much as think of quoting the former opinions of Italian politicians who were considered authorities.* It may be well to remark that they might have used such authorities to justify opposition to Italian unity, against which, in all periods of Modern Italy, the finest minds had pronounced.†

Whatever may be thought of the loss to Italy of Savoy and Nice, it must be admitted that it was necessitated by a parallel, if not a concordant, work of the Italian Revolution and of France. The Revolution went forward, not minding who was with or against it. France took the initiative in freeing Italy, with the design of becoming the pivotal State in a group of Latin nations, reconstituted, invigorated, and welded into a solid mass, in which she would find a support against the growing ambition of the German race. But what happened? Hardly had Italy been unified when the House of Savoy turned its back on the Revolution and on Latinism. The glorious leader of the Revolution had been treated at Naples with an impertinence which disgusted all impartial persons. The correspondence on this subject between Sir Henry Elliot and Lord John Russell is worth reading. Under the cautious reserve of the diplomatic style, every word tells hard against the Piedmontese Government, which, says Sir Henry, is thought to have shown unpardonable lack of good feeling towards the man who gave two kingdoms to the Sovereign of Piedmont, and who in the latter period of his sojourn at Naples was saddened by the neglect into which he fell, and the ingratitude he met with.‡

Not less significant are the terms in which in another paragraph he

* See particularly "Della Nazionalità Italiana," by General Giacomo Durando, and also Garibaldi's "Mémoire Autobiographique."

† See the writings of Gioberti, Guerrazzi, Massimo d'Azeglio, Marco Minghetti, Cattaneo, Alberto Mario, &c.

‡ See despatch of Sir H. Elliot to Lord J. Russell, dated Nov. 9, 1860.

tells how Garibaldi, after several months' dictatorship in Sicily and Naples, was obliged to borrow a few pounds to pay his current expenses.* The great patriot, who had held in his hands the treasures of these two governments, had to return poor and disappointed to his eyrie at Caprera.

At Turin, the Government was as quick to repudiate Latinism as it had been at Naples to turn against the Revolution. Vittorio Emanuele had no sooner been proclaimed King of Italy, under the pressure of France, and recognised as such by Prussia, than he hastened to send an ambassador extraordinary to Berlin, specially charged to state that Italy felt it to be her interest to enter into permanent and intimate relations with Prussia, inasmuch as the Governments of both countries took their stand and derived their authority from the national principle.† General la Marmora was charged with this mission, which was intended to confirm and strengthen the instructions already given to Comte de Launay, minister plenipotentiary of Vittorio Emanuele to the Cabinet of Berlin—instructions meant to impress on the Prussian Government the remarkable analogies between the part Prussia had to play and that of the kingdom of Sardinia, and to point out to the Cabinet of Berlin that the Italians were accustomed to look on Prussia as a natural ally, and were ambitious of winning her approval.‡ Prussia had only a few months earlier addressed to Piedmont the insolent protests contained in the despatches of M. de Schleinitz.§

In this way the Turin Cabinet marked out its future and successive Italo-Prussian alliances, which were first prepared under the fostering auspices of France, to become later what they now are, namely, dynastic, offensive, and directed both against France and the Revolution—a double apostasy.

The new Italian kingdom once proclaimed, sketched out, as we have seen, the basis of its future alliances. But Italy was not yet entirely free. Venice still belonged to Austria, and Rome to the Pope. The

* Garibaldi, whose heart was wounded by the conduct of the Turin Government, refused all the rewards that Government was willing, out of regard for public opinion rather than personal sympathy, to grant him. The only thing he would have accepted, and that from a wish to secure to Southern Italy a government such as he desired for it, was the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies which he had conquered, with full powers for a year. The king bluntly answered, on this desire being made known to him: "Impossible" (see the confidential letter of Count Cavour to the Marquis Emmanuel d'Azeglio, dated Nov. 16, 1860). What is most curious in all this Neapolitan affair is that Cavour so mistrusted Garibaldi as to be on the point of ordering his arrest (see his correspondence with La Farina and Admiral Persano), and cleverly used the name of the great patriot to forward his own ends with the English. "I send you," he wrote (confidential letter dated August 1, 1860) "a lock of hair of the hero of the two Sicilies, to show it to the beautiful Garibaldian ladies. You can certify its genuineness."

† See Cavour's letter to General la Marmora of January 16, 1861.

‡ See Count Cavour's letter to Count de Launay of October 29, 1860.

§ See particularly the despatch of M. de Schleinitz of October 15, 1860, which was read officially to M. de Cavour by Count Brassier de St. Simon, envoy of the King of Prussia to Turin.

time had not yet come to speak of Rome. But Aspromonte taught the Revolutionists that the Government of Turin meant to bridle them the instant it thought there was a danger of their interfering with the regular march of Italian affairs. They were good servants so long as they helped forward its ambitious schemes, but they were not to be masterful partners. France was bound down by Rome, as a galley-slave by the weight rivetted to his fetters. It was the great hindrance to a free-handed policy of the Emperor. From the morrow of the Treaty of Zürich in 1860, Napoleon wished to rid himself of this incubus. He proposed to call a congress, in which all the Catholic Powers were to settle the Roman question, by agreeing to a collective guardianship of the sovereignty of the Pope. England was too well advised to lend herself to the accomplishment of this scheme, the outcome of which would have been an improvement in the moral situation of France in Italy. In concert with Prussia she exerted her influence everywhere to defeat the Emperor's proposal.

In 1864 a new attempt was made by France to throw off the Roman chain. The Convention of September which, in that year, made such a noise, and in pursuance of which Vittorio Emanuele made Florence his capital instead of Turin, provided for the evacuation of Rome by the French, and the substitution of Italian troops. The effort was fruitless. The Turin *émeute*, the resistance of the Roman Curia, and the bristling difficulties of the Venetian question made the Convention a dead letter in all that regarded the Roman question.

The liberation of Venice was not beset with so great obstacles as those which seemed to render the deliverance of Rome impossible. There was nothing in the former task to depress the ardour of Italian patriotism or the ambition of Piedmont. Austrian Venetia was a source of remorse to Napoleon III. His programme of "Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic" had been stopped half way by the thwarting policy of England and by the threats of Prussia. Napoleon III. had to be satisfied with Home Rule in Venice under Austria. But this imperfect settlement galled him. He was ready to resort to any expedient, short of another war, that would be of a nature to give a radically Italian solution to the Venetian question. A way was soon offered to a solution by the strife which the Danish war provoked between Austria and Prussia. Though Prussia showed scant sympathy with the kingdom of Italy,* the Court of Florence persevered in its

* It has been already shown in the diplomatic correspondence of Prussia with what haughtiness the Court of Berlin dealt with the Italian policy of Piedmont from 1859-1860. This hostility was consistently persevered in to the close of 1865. The want of civility of the Prussian towards the Italian Government went so far as to send to Turin as minister plenipotentiary a certain General Williams, who had been guilty of espionage as an agent of the Austrian general staff at the head-quarters of Charles Albert. Count Bernstorff, who was not less than his predecessor, M. de Schleinitz, a friend of Austria, in a note dated July 4, 1864, protested against the ambitious hankerings of Italy after Venice. Nor did the House of Hohenzollern show a more smiling face towards the House of Savoy, or more civility towards Italy. The Crown Prince

coquetries with the Court of Berlin, and its patience eventually obtained the reward it sought.

The probability of an Austro-Prussian war at last forced itself upon the Prussian Foreign Department, which began in its turn to make advances to the Cabinet of Florence, and agreed to open negotiations for a treaty of commerce which the latter had proposed between Italy and the Zollverein. Napoleon III. encouraged Prussia to veer round towards Florence. Her new tack ended in Vittorio Emanuele sending an envoy to Berlin, charged to conclude an alliance against Austria.

General Govone, who was entrusted with this delicate mission, detected a double game. It was soon plain to him that Berlin was also negotiating an arrangement with Vienna, and wanted the Florence proposals merely in order to tighten the screw on Austria, and not to be acted on unless she could do no better.* This was exposing Italy to great danger, and Austria began to show her teeth, and concentrated 150,000 soldiers in Venetia.

As events showed later, a loyal reciprocity of support was not to be hoped for by Italy from Prussia.

Meanwhile, the Court of the Tuileries got frightened at its work. The prospect of a war which might upset the balance of power in Germany opened the eyes of that Court to eventualities terrible for France. Napoleon III. wanted to prevent an explosion, and yet bring about the deliverance of Venice, which he thought himself in honour bound to compass. He ordered the Duc de Gramont to negotiate for this object with the Emperor Francis Joseph, and he himself treated of the matter with Prince Metternich in Paris. I need not here follow the intricacies of this ticklish attempt, to which Austrian pride might at the outset have appeared an almost insuperable obstacle. However, the danger of a war in which he would have to face two hostile Powers at the same time was so grave, that Francis Joseph ended by yielding, and on May 5, 1866, General la Marmora, the Italian Prime Minister, received the following telegram from Commander Nigra, Minister of Italy in Paris :—

"The Emperor sent for me to-day. He told me that Austria had formally proposed to cede Venice if allowed to take an indemnity from Prussia. . . . I confidentially explained to the Emperor our last dealing with Prussia."

Next day (May 6, 1866) Napoleon III., having overcome the scruples of the Emperor Francis Joseph, enabled Commander Nigra to send a second despatch to his Government, thus drawn up :—

of Prussia and his wife, the Princess Victoria, now Empress Frederick, when passing through Turin in 1864, declined to halt there, notwithstanding the amiable pressure put upon them by Vittorio Emanuele and his sons. What added to the significance of their refusal and made it really uncivil, was that, after declining to receive hospitality at the Royal palace at Turin, the young couple went to Verona, the head-quarters of General Benedek, to be entertained at splendid military *fêtes*, which he had got up in their honour.

* See his correspondence given in the book of la Marmora: "Un po più di luce."

"The Emperor sent me word this morning, before he left town, that Prince Metternich had been formally instructed to cede Venice in return for our *simple promise of neutrality*."

This was a grand diplomatic victory. Italy was to deliver Venice without striking a blow, and that without a single condition which could gall her pride by making her seem to betray Prussia, whose alliance she had sought. She might now achieve her unity with satisfaction to France, and also to England, who was trying to preserve peace by offering her mediation at Berlin. Unfortunately, there was small inclination to heed pacific advice, because the bent of Italy for a warlike solution was counted upon.* The happy result obtained by Napoleon III. changed the whole situation. It either removed the danger of the war which Prussia wanted to provoke, or if such a war broke out, it would be less baleful for Europe, and especially for France. A conflict limited to Germany would allow the Emperor to offer his mediation at the right moment, whether to obtain direct advantages for himself, or to prevent one of the two belligerents from creating an all-powerful military State on the French frontier.

Unfortunately, as may be seen by the first of the above quoted Nigra telegrams, the French Government was not informed of "the last dealings" of Italy with Prussia. These "last dealings," about which the Court of the Tuileries was kept in the dark, were a treaty of alliance, signed on April 8. But that treaty should not have bound Italy in a greater degree than it bound Prussia. The diplomatic correspondence between Berlin and Florence in 1866 more than proves the cynical disregard of Prussia for the reciprocal obligations of the two allies. Besides, the treaty was only for three months, one of which was already passed. The eight weeks that remained would soon be spent. Nothing was easier than to make things drag on until July 8, if Italy showed as little desire to promote the bellicose intentions of Prussia as Prussia had shown to aid Italy in the event of her being attacked by Austria to punish her for entering into an alliance with Prussia.

But the Italian Government, which was headed by a soldier, wanted to fight, and to be loyal in all respects to Prussia. General la Marmora hastened to answer Commander Nigra's first telegram as follows:—

"FLORENCE, May 5, 1866.

"We are bound in honour and good faith not to slip from our engagements with Prussia."

To fortify himself in the eyes of Napoleon III. he added:

"The Emperor will not forget that he advised us to treat with Prussia."

This loyalty is certainly to the honour of the la Marmora Cabinet,

* See despatch of Count de Barral to General la Marmora, dated Berlin, March 19, 1866.

but it may fairly be said to have been pushed too far, inasmuch as la Marmora received next day a new and unmistakable proof of the utter absence of corresponding honesty on the Prussian side, in a despatch from Count de Barral, Minister of Italy at Berlin, which ran thus :

"BERLIN, May 7, 1866.

"Comte de Bismarck has just told me that, according to the letter of the treaty, Prussia is not strictly obliged to attack Austria should she attack Italy."*

The die was cast. Notwithstanding the evidences of faithlessness which Berlin had given, the House of Savoy had made up its mind to war. Its pride suffered from having played a subordinate though glorious part in the events of 1859. Warrior traditions of the House of Savoy and a military Prime Minister's opinion overbore the prudent advice which came from London, and still more from Paris. Henceforth, the fate of Venetia and Italy, as well as of Austria, was to be settled at the cannon's mouth.

It must be confessed that France shared in the responsibility incurred by the Court of Florence in taking this supreme resolution, which the former had encouraged Vittorio Emanuele to adopt by her promises of support. In his irresistible yearning for the deliverance of Venice, Napoleon III. had too readily condoned the deceitfulness of Italian diplomacy, which ended by neutralising his attempts to bring about a pacific settlement. He not only did not follow England in not meddling in the affairs of the Peninsula, but went on interfering, and in a way to lead Italy to hope in the issue of the war, into which she was throwing herself against his will. It was not enough for Austria to promise that, whether vanquished or victorious, she would cede Venice on the conclusion of peace.† He went so far as to promise Italy that he would come to her aid, whether Austria took the initiative of attacking her, or whether Prussia, by making a separate peace, deserted her.‡ How was it possible, thus encouraged, for a dynasty with a military past, and a young nation eager to prove its valour, to hesitate about running the awful risks of war?

It was, we are fain to admit, magnanimous of the Emperor Napoleon III. to persevere in his friendly countenance to Italy, and that at a time when the Government of that country did not manifest any strong faith in him. It was short-sighted of him to stimulate the warlike instincts of the Italian people and their Government. At the same time, it was not easy for this ill-fated Sovereign to discern

* See also the despatch of de Barral, dated June 6, 1866, and that of General Govone of June 3, from which it follows that Prussia urged Italy to attack Austria, while refusing to bind herself on this point. See also General la Marmora's despatch of June 12, 1866, and that of Nigra of the same date, showing how little Prussia understood her reciprocal obligations.

† See Nigra's letter of April 24, 1866.

‡ See Nigra's letter of June 5, 1866.

to what an extent the double dealing of the Court of Florence involved calamities for himself, for his dynasty, and even for Europe. If Italy had not co-operated with Prussia, the war of 1866 would have had other consequences for herself and for Germany. The probability is that we should not have witnessed the Franco-German war of 1870, which destroyed the equilibrium of Central Europe and put an end to the alliance of the Western Powers, or the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, which has overturned Eastern Europe without pacifying it, or, finally, the overwhelming militarism of the present day, which wastes the material resources of the continent, and perverts the moral sense of its 200 millions of inhabitants.

Prussia had learned of what value Italy was to her. She could not but see that Custozza alone made Sadowa possible, and that the immense fact of an enlarged Prussia holding all Germany under her political and military domination was entirely due to the relatively small fact of her alliance with Italy.* Nevertheless Prussia betrayed Italy by signing at Nikolsburg a separate peace, which enabled the Austrian troops to proceed to the Quadrilateral, where they might have overpowered and destroyed the Italian army.† It was forsaking Italy to refuse to support her claims to the Italian Tyrol, and it was libelling her to charge her with disloyalty and her generals with defection—particularly the Commander-in-Chief,‡ who, as Premier, had proved his fidelity, as already shown, by voluntarily incurring the risk of war, and by illtreating France, and rendering quite useless her friendly and pacific intervention. Prussia knew well what use she had made of Italy, and to what future advantage she could turn her. While treating her scurvily, as we have seen, she set herself to keep her, as the vulgar saying is, under her finger and thumb. This game was easy. Prince Bismarck, by means of his relations with the party of action, over-mastered the Court of Florence, which was terrorised by the audacity of that party. Rome was thenceforth the point in which the ardent patriotism of the Italians centered; Rome, which weighed so heavily on the Emperor Napoleon, hampering

* It is undeniable and admitted that but for the necessity under which Austria lay to keep a part of her forces in Italy, under the command of the Archduke Charles, Prussia would have been beaten at Sadowa. Prussia therefore owes her rise in power to Italy. Yet, so subtle was the Prussian guile, that there are now few Italians who do not fancy they owe a debt of gratitude to Prussia. This error of Italian sentiment was well brought out by General la Marmora some years after the war of 1866. "It is curious," he wrote to a friend, "that no publicist has called attention to the salient points of the great drama. None of them have called attention to the certainty of the dismemberment of Prussia in the event of our having accepted on May 5 the Emperor's proposal for the cession of Venice. Instead of being a victor in 1866 and in 1870-71, she must have been dismembered by France and Austria." See Alfonso la Marmora's *Commemorazione*, p. 154, letter dated January 14, 1874. Rome: Barbera, 1879.

† See "I Segreti di Stato," pp. 12-13. By General la Marmora. Florence: Barbera, 1877.

‡ See the speeches of Prince Bismarck at the sitting of the Reichstag of January 16, 1874, and the whole of the book of General la Marmora, already quoted.

his policy; Rome, which the House of Savoy both feared and coveted being steeped at once in ambition and religious bigotry.

The unfortunate Napoleon III. was alive to the obstacles and to the dangers to himself which were presented by the insoluble Roman question. On November 3, 1867, his troops had to shoot down the Garibaldian volunteers at Mentana, as the Italian troops had done before them at Aspromonte. How came the party of action to be so daring as thus to attack places guarded by French troops? We may well suppose that it was Prussian encouragement which braced the Red Shirts up to the point of facing the chassepôts of General du Failly. It is certain that Garibaldi entered into negotiations with Prince Bismarck when he was planning the campaign of Mentana.* Nor is it less well established that the Crown of Italy, to the detriment of its honour, negotiated also with the Prussian Chancellor through the medium of its official representative, and sought the alliance of Prussia against France.† Things so fell out that the odium of repression fell upon France.‡ The painful Mentana episode ended by completely opening the eyes of the Cabinet of Paris to the perils of the Roman occupation. It again tried to rid itself of this incubus. A conference was proposed for the complete settlement of the Roman question. Most of the powers were disposed to fall in with the wishes of France. But Prussia, not satisfied with refusing, urged the other Cabinets to refuse also. She kept France in a situation which made every Italian patriot hate her. The Prussian answer was so artful and perfidious as to seem to put France in the wrong at once with Italy, the Catholics, and the Revolutionists.§ It was by this clever diplomacy that Prince Bismarck compassed the isolation of France, and deprived her of the help of Italy in the war which he was meditating, and which was, once and for all, to bring the Latin forces face to face with those of pan-Germanism. He was as ardent as he was persevering in this enterprise, which he worked out through means of the most varied kinds. The relations of his diplomatic agents with Mazzini were frequent and intimate. This we gather from the famous memorandum which Count von Usedom, the German Minister in Italy, handed in 1868 to that apostle of revolution. In this strange paper it is shown by arguments drawn from politics, commerce, finance, history, and all the great interests which can bind or separate two States, that Italy had but one course to follow on the morrow of Solferino—namely, to turn

* Count Benedetti's letter to the Marquis de Moustier, dated Berlin, November 10, 1867.

† *Ibid.*

‡ The Italian troops made believe they were guarding the Pontifical frontiers, to prevent the Garibaldians crossing them. But directly the latter appeared, the Italians marched off, and even gave up their cantonments to them. This happened at Ponte Sfondato and other places. See "I Fratelli Cairoli e i Settantotto di Villa Glori," p. 23. Rome. Perino edition. 1883.

§ See the *Kreuz Zeitung* of November 14, 1867, and, above all, the correspondence of M. Benedetti with the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris in November 1867, and his despatch of November 14, 1867.

her back on France. "Italy's natural ally," it is said, "is Germany, and her natural rival France."

Then came the war of 1870, prepared by Germany with such patient care and passionate patriotism. The story of this great drama is not within the range of my subject. I shall but call attention to two points—the withdrawal from Rome of the French Army of Occupation, one effect of which was the unopposed entrance of the Italian troops into Rome, and the fall of the Empire. The ensuing revulsion of feeling on the part of the Italian democracy defeated the negotiations which the German Chancellor was carrying on with the Italian party of action, as represented by the Deputy Fucchi. This revolution changed the sentiments of the Italian patriots. It impelled Garibaldi and his followers to rush to defend the French Republic against the German Empire. The very greatness of the German victories annulled the efforts of Prince Bismarck to find an ally against France in Italian Revolutionism. The letters of the historian Mommsen, adjuring the Italians to fraternise with the German nation, could not stem the new current, despite the many friends whom Mommsen had won among the Italian democrats and the prestige he enjoyed. Nothing was to be done with them. The very revolutionists who had forced the king to make Italy a nation against the will of Imperial France, went over almost entirely to Republican France. They failed to drag royalty with them, but they would have thrust it aside if it had stood in their way.

The German Chancellerie understood the danger of the possible union of Latin forces to resist her in the new war which she meditated for the purpose of making France powerless to stand in the way of her universal domination in Europe. It artfully flattered Italian jingoism, which was naturally ardent in so young a nation, dangled Tunis before the eyes of Italy as a desirable and easy prize to obtain, and simultaneously set on France to seize upon it. In this way mischief was made between the two nations, and anger roused for which there was no adequate reason. The Italians were not cool enough to perceive that they went too far in wanting to take Tunis, to the detriment of the predominant interests of France in that part of Africa. On their side, the French did not sufficiently restrain their passions to understand that a frank and categorical explanation would probably have sufficed to bring Italy to subdue her unreasonable desires in regard to Tunis. A passing misunderstanding was the result; but grounds for durable hatred were wanting. If France had been made easy about the intentions of Italy, she would doubtless have made up her mind not to occupy Tunis.

But the misunderstanding not having been cleared away, France went to Tunis. The journals, paid by the Guelph funds, at once set

* See *Politica Segreta Italiana*. Rome, 1883.

themselves to inflame the soreness which this precipitate determination on the part of France could not but occasion in Italy. They also wrought on the imagination of the Italians to make them fear a French military aggression, and on the instinct of self-preservation of the king and queen, whom they terrified by the bogie of a French Republican propaganda.

It was then (a never to be forgotten fact) that the crown of Italy was false to its past, denied the principle of its affinities, and set out as a suppliant to Vienna to crave pardon, and to waive its pretensions to accomplish the final liberation of all the Italian Alps and waters. It put up with the premeditated insolence of Prussia, and humbly prayed at Berlin to be allowed to join the league of the Germans against the Latins, and of the thrones against the peoples.

This was a grave blunder of the Court of the Quirinal. Italy turned away from the principle of the Western Alliance, in which, as I have shown, she had found the life germ which enabled her to rise from the dead. The wrong direction given to her policy dated from 1871. Her mistake was due to her not having been alive to the recuperative vitality of France, which is now so marvellously asserting itself. Italy, to do her justice, was not alone in her ignorance. Was not Austria so foolish as to think that Paris, shattered by the Prussian bombs, and blackened by the petroleum fires of the Commune, was to be replaced as a centre of European finance by Vienna, which had been extended and beautified after the defeat of Sadowa? The panic of 1883, from which she has not yet recovered, soon showed her mistake. England herself interpreted wrongly the events of 1870-71, which perhaps is the best excuse for Italy. While fully alive to the grave warning involved in the tearing up, at the Conference of London, of the Treaty of Paris, England thought she might find consolation for the fall of France in taking upon herself the exclusive direction of Eastern affairs. The Turco-Russian war brought home to her this error. Italy, on her side, yielding too readily to the suggestions of ambition (so natural to a State which was just beginning life), and eager to fulfil the law of her growth, rejoiced at the French disasters, in which she thought she saw an opportunity for placing herself at the head of the Italian peoples along the Mediterranean. She was the first to go into the movement towards the German Powers, and began by the visit of Vittorio Emanuele to Austria and Prussia in 1873. This step was not taken without submitting to a good deal of humiliation. Its sequel was the visit of his son to Vienna—a visit which the Emperor of Austria has never yet returned.

Had Italy had a clearer perception of the events that were happening, she would have had some foreboding of what the future was to bring forth, and been saved from committing the mistake of sending Vittorio Emanuele to Vienna and Berlin. Certainly it would have been

her duty to cultivate friendly relations with the German Courts; but in doing so, she should also have done all in her power to lean exclusively on England, who is her sole natural ally, and a purely defensive one, because the British people can never enter into treaties for aggressive war, like that to which Italy is now bound by her Austro-German alliance. Great Britain only seeks to be able to defend herself and her allies. To be free and independent is the sole glory she wants. In such a close *entente* with the young Mediterranean Power which had begun to count in Europe, the statesmen of England might have risen to the idea of winning the amity of France by helping her from her prostrate state. They might have thus revived an old system of alliance which had already produced good fruits, and was capable of producing far finer ones, by preventing the overthrow of the balance of European power. Austria, taken between the pan-German greed of Prussia and the pan-Sclav ambition of Russia, could have found a refuge in this system, on the condition of revising the Tyrol frontier in the sense claimed by Italy. The precedent of the cession of Venice, to which Austria had agreed before the war of 1866, would have facilitated this suggested arrangement, which alone can be the basis of any Austro-Italian alliance of a smooth working character. As to Turkey, she was sure to adhere to a combination of the Western Powers. The war of 1877 should teach us to what a degree this power is not, from a military point of view, a negligible quantity. Moreover, the secondary powers must have been irresistibly drawn towards an association of the Liberal nations of Europe, the leadership of which, as most conformable to her genius, would devolve on England, and the outcome of which would have been to paralyse the two despotic empires of the north, and keep them in harmless isolation.

But Italy was not guided by such sage reasons, and by throwing herself into the arms of Prussia she isolated Great Britain, and forced her to tack about according to events. Italy compelled the French Republic also to an isolation dangerous to the European monarchies, inasmuch as she felt them to be united against her for a military purpose. Hence the monstrous union of interests between the most democratic country in Europe, and the Muscovite Empire, which, in its turn, came to see through the blandishments of Prussia, and to resent them.

Far be it from me to say that France was wholly blameless. The different Governments which she has had since 1871 have each and all committed blunders which in themselves were enough to estrange both England and Italy. When she was governed by Conservatives the ostentatious parade of an old-fashioned Popery was always alarming (without good cause, it must be owned) to Italian patriots, whose hearts were in the work of unity which they had accomplished. When

Republican Ministries were formed, something far more irrational perpetuated the bad blood. The Power vanquished in 1870 yielded to the suggestions of its terrible victor, and plunged into a colonial policy which dispersed over the face of the globe forces which needed concentration, chilled English sympathy, and angered Italy by a violent solution of the Tunisian question.

Far other would have been the policy of France, had the personages who directed it from 1872 to 1882 been far-sighted statesmen. A loyal understanding with England could alone have helped to lessen the mistrust and apprehension with which monarchical Europe viewed a Republican State. The basis of such an understanding should have been sought in Egypt. French political leaders ought to know that to dispute with England for predominance in a region through which a free route to India is to her of vital necessity, is morally to declare war against her. They ought to have frankly admitted this political interest of Great Britain as outweighing every other, and tried in a friendly spirit to find a *modus vivendi*, which would have secured to France an honourable participation in the direction of Egyptian affairs. The friendship of England was to be secured at this price, and with it that of the Liberal and secondary Powers which gravitate towards her. In such a combination France, instead of being exposed to the attacks of a league which at this moment imperils her very existence, would have had behind her a league able to support her against her irreconcilable enemy. The French party leaders did not take this view. After leaving England to put down single-handed the revolt of Arabi, with which they sympathised, they were not afraid to dispute with her the fruits of her victory, but have ever since gone on conspiring at Stamboul and St. Petersburg to block her way in Egypt, and with a success so great that things are just as they were on the morrow of the bombardment of Alexandria and the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. What has been the result of so ill-advised a policy? French influence in Egypt has none the less disappeared, and French statesmen, in the meditations forced upon them by international politics, must often put to themselves the terrible question: What side will the fleets of England take when the inevitable deadly struggle takes place between France and the coalesced powers of Central Europe?

And as though one sore point did not suffice to anger English feeling, the French politicians have, so to speak, applied themselves to tease and annoy England. They have been as if set upon pricking her with pins, and have lost no opportunity of baiting her, acting thus like short-sighted children. It would take too long to enter here in detail into all the circumstances which of late have caused a state of painful tension and oft-recurring conflict in the diplomatic relations of France and England. I shall confine myself to a

brief and summary enumeration of the more salient points. In the affair of the New Hebrides, France broke a positive engagement with England, disregarding the law of nations—a kind of offence, by the way, which is generally held in too small account by the European powers. In Madagascar, where the British Government resolved not to interfere, the French transgressed all the principles of international law. Their proceedings excited the indignation of the religious bodies in England, including the Anglican Church, the Quakers, and the Congregationalists, which last are chiefly represented in the missions to Madagascar, but whose missionaries are objects of sympathy to the other Protestant communions. Again, the creation of a military establishment at Diego Suarez is considered by the English naval authorities as a threat to England. On the Upper Niger, as on the Congo, the French thwart the English, and stand in the way of their commercial interests. France, not satisfied with what she did in the New Hebrides, has seized upon different islands in the Pacific for penal settlements, to the great discontent of the Australian colonies. One of these islands is Raiatea, the neutrality of which she pledged herself to England to respect. All these questions, as an eminent writer has well put it,* deserve to be separately looked into, for each one of them might easily give rise to a war.

Such are, with others no less important, the obstacles which France on her side threw in the way of a cordial revival of the Western Alliance. However, there is the extenuating fact that her situation in Europe had been made difficult by her military reverses and the internal struggles consequent on them. She was a prey to mistrust, fancying that she saw everywhere in Europe accomplices of Germany, and of her plans of future aggression. This sore state of feeling, whether justified or not, should be taken into consideration and dealt with tenderly. It would be well by gentle dealing to bring her into another frame of mind, and thus facilitate her return to better international relations. This task should devolve upon countries which, like France, have Liberal affinities. It concerns England, and in a still greater measure Italy.

England has shown herself alive to this duty, and has not been backward in acting upon it. In 1878 Lord Beaconsfield proposed a league to preserve the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. His aim was to bring about an *entente* between Great Britain, France, Italy, and Greece, in which Austria was to be asked to join when once the four other Powers were agreed. The idea was a wise and a politic one. Its realisation would have prevented the unhappy consequences of rivalry in the Mediterranean which a little later disturbed the relations of Italy and France. Italy refused to enter into this league. The misfortune was that unfounded terrors so blunted the political

* See "Europe in 1887." By Sir Charles Dilke. Clap. on France.

sense of the House of Savoy as to render it incapable of judging of the soundness of the views apparent in the scheme. In its fear of the rise of a Republic south of the Alps, it thought it safe to foment the impatient ambition of young Italy, and to give it an objective. The king persuaded himself that he was encouraged by the nation to seek the alliance of a Power whose military force had given it preponderance in Europe. He was thus led into a treaty of unexampled duration in the annals of diplomacy, in which he subordinated all the interests of Italy to those of the Hohenzollerns.

This was not all. The Ministers who framed this monstrous treaty were Moderate Democrats, and incapable of pushing it to its extreme consequences. But as soon as death, or other causes, withdrew them from the scene of public life, a new situation arose. Only a converted Revolutionist could give to his neo-monarchism all the Jacobin virulence of which it was susceptible, and of which the new Holy Alliance stood in need for the accomplishment of its ends.

The praises of the new Minister of King Humbert and his political feats were soon trumpeted abroad. He went to Friedrichsruhe to be intoxicated with incense, under the influence of which he broke the economic ties which still interlinked French and Italian interests, and agreed to a "Plombières plan," which was just the converse of Count Cavour's. What was sought for at Plombières, was, by all kinds of expedients, to drive the Emperor of Austria to provoke the war which was to free Italy. At Friedrichsruhe similar expedients were debated, but their object was to bring French statesmen, with the sanction of French public opinion, to provoke a war which was to end in the destruction of France.

Nothing that could be done was left undone to goad on the French to desperation. There was no pause in the devices resorted to. Daily incidents occurred on the frontier and elsewhere. Scares were got up at Genoa and Spezzia, which ports France was accused of intending to attack by sea. The archives of the French consul at Florence were violated. An arrogant attitude was taken up at Massowah, and violent language was used in dealing with no matter what question in the diplomatic despatches. Lastly, the press organs of this policy showed consummate address in irritating the nation which, it was hoped, would, under these provocations, lose its patience.

However, it became necessary to prepare for the war which was being so systematically provoked. The effective forces had to be augmented with guns, artillery, munitions, war-ships, fortifications—all of which are costly. In a few months the Italian exchequer was emptied, and the resources of manufacturers and agriculturists were exhausted by the cessation of export to France. Italian bills of exchange, being no longer discounted in France, were returned. Trade

and commerce lost a principal support, and the working classes were reduced to starvation.

Such are the fruits already produced by the Germano-dynastic policy of the Court of the Quirinal. Let us now examine to what moral and political consequences it must lead.

When Italy allied herself to the German powers her domestic condition was good. Her foreign situation was enviable. She had no enemies.

This alliance has called up two redoubtable foes: France, with whom she ought to have no other relations than those of amity and neighbourly regard; and Russia, who is too far from her frontiers and sphere of action for their interests to clash.

I have said that the domestic condition of Italy was good; I might have added that it was quiet. This tranquillity was, however, relative. Italy has within her borders two sources of weakness, one of which is of small importance so long as peace is preserved, but may become perilous the moment it is broken.

These sources of weakness are, Radicalism and the Papacy. The former is disappointed at the monarchical solution given to Italian independence, of which Radicalism was the true creator. But it will put up with this solution on condition that the monarch wields the sword of liberty and not that of reaction. The Papacy is vanquished, but not submissive.

The young Italian monarchy was born, then, with two internal diseases, which bound it over to extreme circumspection in the march of its development. One of them—Radicalism—was easy enough to keep down. It had lived and grown up with the monarchy, sharing its dangers, fatigues and glories. It was said that the monarchy united the Radicals instead of dividing them. They were willing to think so, and were not exacting. It would have sufficed to console them for their vanished dream of a Republic;—to quote a saying of Crispi in a famous interview, They found in the King the best of Republican Presidents. And why not, if "Republic" simply means to Republicans liberalism and democracy, whether at home or abroad? The other foe of the monarchy is infinitely less accommodating. Its rancour cannot be softened. Cast down from a sovereignty which it exercised for centuries, it is not to be hoped that it will ever be brought to pardon the "usurpation" of the monarch who takes its place. Its steadfastness in claiming what it has lost is extremely dangerous; for in falling from its temporal power it did not cease to hold in hand that secular organisation which is the most accomplished type of government of which human societies, past or present, afford an example. The Pope's ministers are spread all over the globe. They are in their social element everywhere, and as much at their

ease in the dwellings of the poor as in the palaces of the wealthy. There is no hierarchy so powerful as that of the Pope's agents, for their domain is the human conscience. They hold the husband through the wife, the old man through the child. An adversary wielding this moral power is not to be destroyed by taking possession of his States, or even by a plebiscite giving legal and national sanction to such an act. If he is to be conquered, it will be by continually showing that the new Government is better able than the Pontifical Power ever was to endow the people with civil benefits. Peace abroad and prosperity at home are therefore the two requirements which the Italian monarchy bound itself to satisfy on the day on which it brought all Italy under its sceptre, with Rome for capital.

At the outset, the monarchy seemed alive to these requirements. At peace with all the Powers, it bridled the ardent and unreflecting patriotism which would fain wrench by violence the last shreds of national territory still remaining alien from under foreign rule, instead of waiting for time and circumstances to do their work. The monarchy had also developed wealth at home and healed the financial and economical sores opened by the sword of the liberating Revolution. During this initial period, which lasted eleven years, the comforts of life were increased for the whole population. The burden of military conscription as compared with that of other countries was a light one. People got used, without grumbling, to the heavy taxation which the new state of things rendered unavoidable.

It was on reaching this point of prosperity that the monarchy was seized with military and dynastic vertigo, and subordinated its own and its people's destinies to those of other nations.

Look as we may at this fatal change of course, we are forced to judge it severely. Nothing connected with it can be justified, whether the foolish fears which were its occasion, or the situation it created, at home and abroad, for the Italian people whose interests were placed under the safeguard of the monarchy. The fears were chimerical, whether from a military or a dynastic standpoint. The French Republic did not mean to threaten Italy or the institutions where-with she had endowed herself. Born in the midst of a disaster which imperilled the existence of France as a nation, the Republic had and could have only one object—namely, to recover strength and be prepared for the attack from without which was meditated by the victor of 1870-71. Any revolutionary propaganda outside her own frontiers, or any military activity, unless in regard to Germany, would have been held criminal by the whole French nation. Under these circumstances it was only a king of weak character, in the habit of yielding to mayors of his palace and to the diseased imagination of a Queen who, night and day, had the spectre of Marie Antoinette

before her eyes, who could have yielded to the fears of French schemes aiming at military aggression and the overthrow of the Italian monarchy.*

Thus was the imprudent policy of alliances embarked on. The error was so great that nothing short of a miracle has saved the Italian monarchy from atoning for it. What is more miraculous, is, that the miracle was worked by the nation which Europe has accused of being revolutionary and ambitious. Republican France, with a wisdom which Conservative nations might envy, has resisted all the military and revolutionary provocations meant to goad her into departing from the peaceful course upon which her salvation depended. With prodigious recuperative power she has restored her financial prosperity and her military forces, which were all but destroyed. In the plenitude of her recovered strength she last year invited all the nations of the earth to participate in the grand and pacific industrial tournament at the Champs de Mars. The peoples of all lands were electrified by the splendour of her *fêtes*, which all made for peace among nations. But the monarchies had agreed not to appear at them. The Italian Court, forgetting and denying the essential principles of a monarchy springing from a Revolution, made common cause with those who claim to exist by Divine Right.† It continued to be solid with them in peaceful matters, as it had been in military.

This imitation of Divine Right monarchies by the Italian Government is, I repeat, highly imprudent. The doors of all continental States are liable to be burst open by war, which may even be hastened by alliances made to prevent it. Were Prussia single-handed, and face to face with France, she would probably think twice before rushing forward to strike a nation now as strong, if not stronger, as a military power than herself. Were she victorious, she knows that Europe would not be easily persuaded to let her destroy France; and were she vanquished, the German unity constituted under her hegemony must be

* I do not wish the expression "diseased imagination" to be taken as showing want of reverence for a Princess whose charming natural qualities call for nothing but respect and sympathy, but as a literal truth. When Passanante made his attempt at regicide, it is said that in a burst of painful excitement Queen Margaret cried: "The poetry of the House of Savoy is dead." I cannot affirm whether she said so or not, and I only give the statement on hearsay. But what I can assert, however the Italian press and people choose to ignore it, is the state of nervousness into which the Queen has fallen since that attempt. Every ambassador or foreign Minister who, at a Royal dinner, has received the honour of taking the Queen from one room to another, has been surprised by the following strange phenomenon: just as they were about to enter the other room, the Queen suddenly stood still as if nailed to the spot and the company had to wait for some minutes before it could resume its way. It was when the Queen was subject to this nervous seizure that King Humbert's visit to Vienna was decided upon and carried out.

† To be divorced from the Revolution, and to imitate the practices of Divine Right monarchies, is the constant aim of the Court of the Quirinal. It applies in great things and small. For instance, when the Queen enters the Argentina Theatre, the orchestra suddenly cease to play, if even Tamagno should be in the midst of one of his grand passages, and then give the Royal March. They have no idea at the Quirinal of the bad effect this exaggeration of etiquette has on a public which, like that of other parts of Italy, is impregnated with democratic sentiments.

shattered. Sage reflections of this nature must have led her to seek some honourable arrangement, which, without giving entire satisfaction to French Chauvinism, would nevertheless have brought France to lay down her arms. In a military union with two powers who double the total of her effective strength, Germany naturally turns a deaf ear to councils of moderation and goes on confident in her whole-hog militarism.

Europe is tired of this militarism gone mad, which shuts her workshops, leaves her fields uncultivated, and plunges her into financial distress. If France is rich enough to bear up against the military strain which exhausts the rest of the Continent, all the other nations feel themselves drifting towards utter ruin. The time draws nigh when more than one of these States will have to deal with the alternative of immediate war or immediate bankruptcy. Every one knows what kind of disasters bankruptcy entails. But we can never tell what the hazard of war may bring. War is the solution which people in despair are most apt to fly to, and the alternative which will probably be chosen. In the present state of things, a rash act of the smallest nation in Europe would be enough to set the military States on fire, and to cause the worst conflagration that history ever recorded.

Should this conflagration burst upon Europe, a weighty load of responsibility will rest on Italy. Impartial minds are agreed in saying that it was her entrance into the alliance of the German powers which alone gave to their military union that cohesion in which the German Chancellerie fixes its hopes.

The responsibility of Italy being established, it now concerns us to examine what her chances of success would be in the event of a war in which France would have to fight both Italy and Germany. I put Austria out of the question. The forces of that State would be crippled, as much as in 1870, if not more, by the hostile attitude of Russia, an attitude which might oblige Germany herself, as Prince Bismarck said on February 5, 1888, to station a million of soldiers on her north-east frontier.

I can only speak well of the Italian soldier. He is sober, obedient, and orderly. In war he would do his duty as well as the soldier of any other country. The officers of the Italian army are well instructed, and desirous to distinguish themselves for their bravery. In regard to the quality of its men, that army might be expected to make a good figure in the presence of an enemy. Indeed, I cannot doubt that it would do so. But what is more open to doubt is, whether a young nation would be as competent to carry on a war as one whose military spirit has been asserting itself for fifteen centuries, whose armament is now counted superior to that of Germany itself, whose means of communication are developed so as to lend themselves completely to

the needs of armies in movement, and whose Alpine frontier was drawn to secure to her the advantage. But these are technical questions, which I leave to writers more competent to deal with such matters. I want only to insist upon the truth, which any intelligent man can understand, that however carefully a military campaign is prepared, there is always a chance of failure. It is therefore allowable to put the case of the Italian army being defeated.

But, before doing so, I ought to anticipate the suggestion that the English fleet would act as a powerful support to the Italian army, and would render valuable service by paralysing the French fleet, whose mission would be to increase the difficulties of the mobilisation of the Italian army by means of railways skirting the sea-shore. I admit that England could with difficulty be brought to refrain from active interest in a struggle in which the young Italian nation, whose development she fostered, might be weakened, and the Mediterranean balance overturned.

But independently of the reserves which must be made in reckoning on the possible participation of England in a war the principle of which could not have her approval, we should indulge in no illusion as to the co-operation of English squadrons in the Mediterranean.

The aid of English vessels, I admit, would be most valuable to the Italian navy. But that they could be decisively efficacious in protecting the Italian arsenals I greatly doubt, in the case which I indicate. It will always be hard to prevent special acts of courage and self-abnegation. A daring sailor, at the risk of gloriously losing his life, might often try successfully to approach a given spot on the coast, and there land a few men sent with a canister of dynamite to blow up a railway bridge. Now a few such bold strokes, made at a certain number of places, might be enough to seriously interfere with the mobilisation of the Italian army, or, at any rate, to delay its taking up position in front of a French force. Any delay might be a grave one. It is thus plain that in war the best laid plans may fall through, and a door always remain open to defeat.

Moreover, we should consider whether, and to what degree, England encourages the foolish military policy in which it has pleased Italy to engage herself. It is well that Italians should know that many Englishmen begin to think this reconstituted Italy, which, according to the saying of Cavour, should be "the element most conducive to peace in Europe," is false to the pacific and civilising mission, which European Liberalism, and British Liberalism in particular, hoped she would accept. If she should become the reverse of what Cavour looked forward to her being, if by the insatiable greed she displays everywhere in Europe, and in other continents, she should be a disturbing element, and if a war should break out soon, her restless

policy (*politica irrequieta*) will be held the cause. England asks nothing better than to remain the protectress of a Liberal and peaceful Italy. But she does not want to identify herself with an Italy bent on stirring up trouble, and bringing the curse of war on Europe. There may be in the United Kingdom some statesmen who are made capable of encouraging such a guilty course by their narrowness of mind and traditional rancour against France. But Englishmen, on the whole, condemn it as abominable. When the day comes for Europe to be set in a blaze, we shall see the English people treat these short-sighted politicians as they deserve. Meanwhile, let not Italy forget the great lesson of 1859. There was then in office a British Cabinet disposed to help in the Peninsula the liberticide policy of Austria, notwithstanding the danger with which Austrian ambition threatened Europe. The English nation blew upon that Ministry, and tossed it over as easily as though it had been a feather, and brought into power a Liberal Cabinet, which put a new face on everything. The persevering will of that Cabinet overruled the shifty policy of Napoleon III. and the hostility of Austria, forcing them, whether they liked it or not, to leave Italy free to rise from the grave in which she had lain for centuries. A movement as strong in an opposite direction might be looked for if the English sense of fair play were outraged, and Italian ambition were to compromise the peace now so dear to the British people. Above all, it should be borne in mind that the voice of Great Britain has made itself heard in this matter, and that the greatest Liberal pen in England, or perhaps in Europe, said of the Italian monarchy that her policy of alliances would be grotesque if it was not fatal.

But I leave England out of the question, as since the complete liberation of Italy she has had little to do with Italian affairs, and return to the kernel of my subject.

Now, I say, that, considering the relative strength of the French and Italian forces, the prospect of a war between them should be a source of grave apprehension to Italy. This Power, of course, relies on France being obliged to turn the mass of her forces against those of Germany. But now that armies can absorb millions of men, it is physically impossible to direct the bulk of them towards a single point. A powerful diversion to some eccentric point is therefore easy. France, then, could, even if engaged in a war with Germany, throw a few hundred thousand soldiers on to the Italian frontier with much less difficulty than Austria did in 1866. Given this, with the inferior military organisation of Italy, a defeat of the Italian army is, I shall not say probable (as I do not wish to hurt the pride of a people whom I respect), but certainly quite possible.

Here I shall respectfully take the liberty of asking King Humbert

himself, What would be likely to happen in Italy on the morrow of a military defeat? Does he believe that Custozza and its immediate consequences would repeat themselves? No. At Custozza, it may be said, the mistake was to have gone there. The military plans and preparations were contemptible, and led inevitably to the defeat of the only three army corps which could be deployed, in the very face of five others which had no other course but to remain inactive spectators. But at Custozza Vittorio Emanuele and his two sons risked their lives for the deliverance of Venice, and were able to face fearlessly the patriotic grief and excitement which followed.

Can the King of Italy, then, at least calculate upon a repetition of the events which followed Novara? Still less; for whatever mistakes Charles Albert made at Novara he fought for the independence of his country, and, though he was beaten, his dynasty was able to keep its place, unshaken, on the throne.

In the hypothesis of a defeat in a future war, to which the House of Savoy might expose Italy, the contingencies to be faced would be of a wholly different order from those which arose from the defeats of Novara and Custozza. But before we examine into them, suppose we glance at the supposition of a possible defeat and its probable consequences.

In view of such an event, two sets of circumstances present themselves to the mind. Suppose France victorious both on the Vosges and the Alps—and there is nothing in her military history to throw ridicule on such an hypothesis—she would then be mistress of the situation, and free, by the fact of her power, to take what reprisals she chose. On the other hand, let me suppose (and the example of the war of 1866 renders this hypothesis more admissible) that France is beaten on her Alpine and Vosges frontiers. In what degree would she be defeated? Not, with her forces reconstituted as they now are, in anything like as great a degree as in 1870. Though beaten, there is reason for thinking she would still be strong enough to make Germany act with greater moderation than in 1871. Moreover, the diplomatic situation of Europe is not what it was twenty years ago; and the probability is that Germany would not, if she beat France, and sought to disturb further the balance of power, find accomplices as she did in 1870.

The most reasonable supposition is a partial defeat of France on the German frontier, and a peace in which Germany would be disposed to make concessions to France in return for her acceptance of the *faits accomplis* on which the treaty of Frankfort is based, and which have now the duration of twenty years in their favour. This would assure a new lease of life to Germany, and relieve her from the burden of an armed peace. But it is unlikely that France would

resign herself to give up for ever the hope of recovering her provinces lost in 1871, unless she was enabled to look for compensation elsewhere. She would naturally try to find it in conquered Italy.

We now come to the question whether Germany would consent to make a separate peace, which would leave her Italian ally at the mercy of France. An answer is to be found in what Prince Bismarck did when he crushed Austria.

After the victory of Sadowa, the King of Prussia, without consulting in any way his Italian ally, signed the armistice of July 17, 1866, on the sole condition of Austria accepting the preliminaries of peace proposed by Prussia, which preliminaries, as every one knows, only dealt with the new situation which Prussia created for herself in the Germanic Confederation, from which Austria was to be excluded. Yet Italy had on the 17th of the same month communicated the conditions on which she would agree to the acceptance of the proposed armistice. Prussia seemed to ignore them. Directly she was informed by Austria that the latter had accepted them, she convoked a meeting of the Austrian plenipotentiaries at the Prussian camp, and on the 26th of July signed the Treaty of Nikolsburg, the first article of which stipulated as follows:—

“His Majesty the King of Prussia *engages to obtain the consent of his ally the King of Italy* to the preliminaries of peace, and to the armistice based on these preliminaries.”

Here is a fact to note. During the nine days which elapsed between the signing of the Austro-Prussian armistice and the Treaty of Nikolsburg a state of war continued between Austria and Italy; and the former Power was therefore, in virtue of the armistice concluded with Prussia, enabled to transfer from the German to the Italian theatre of war reinforcements which might have changed the whole relative situation of the two belligerent armies in Italy, to the great peril of the Italians. Besides, in that nine days' interval important acts of war had taken place in Italy near the Tyrol, where Garibaldi and his Lieutenant-General, de Medici, received support from General Cialdini. The brilliant successes of Primolano, di Borgo and Levico, which took place during that period and seemed the prelude to more glorious victories and the imminent prospect of the seizure of the Tyrol, ought to have enabled Italy to sign an armistice infinitely better for herself.

Count de Barral, Minister of Italy to the Government of Prussia, implored King William to delay the signature of a peace “for a few hours” to enable Italy “to sign an armistice on the same conditions as Prussia.” He got nothing by this. King William merely answered that for grave reasons he had to conclude a peace at once;

"Any delay might compromise Prussian interests." He did not trouble himself with those of Italy.*

Nobody can pretend to say that the Prusso-German interests involved in the certainty of a final peace with France would have less weight in the eyes of the Emperor William II., than "the interests of Prussia" had in those of William I., when he signed the Treaty of Nikolsburg, without troubling himself about what the consequences might be to his ally King Vittorio Emanuele.

Well, in 1886 Italy at least was backed by France, which was "bound to help her against Austria if Prussia concluded a separate peace, and to obtain for her Venice, whether Austria were beaten or victorious." But after the next war with which Europe is threatened, what Power would take upon her to succour Italy, if her ally, Prussia, forsaking her, left her to the discretion of France, as in 1866 she left her to the discretion of Austria? There is no room for doubt that France, victorious over Italy, would have a free hand to require what guarantees and satisfaction she might think fit.

It now remains to inquire what guarantees and satisfaction France would be likely to insist upon.

First of all, we must assume that on the morrow of a victory won in Italy France would find the situation of the Government of that country profoundly modified. The royal power assuredly would have disappeared, or at any rate it would be shaken and bereft of authority. This prediction may cause some Italians to smile. They may ask: Do you mean to tell us that a king and queen who never show themselves in public without being saluted with the deepest respect by rich and poor alike would, in the event of the fortune of war going against them, have to descend from the throne to which the votes of millions of enthusiastic Italians have raised them? Well, yes. A lost battle would be quite enough to bring about such an event. In my long career, and in the many phases of my life, I have often had occasion to study events in Italy, and the spirit of her peoples. The Italians for centuries were used to be split up and oppressed by foreign Powers, or by native princes who were the instruments of those Powers. They have seen with pride their country, after being rid of all her tyrants, placed under one political ruler. The prince in whom this unity is symbolised is for Italy the material image of independence. He is the object of a kind of conventional loyalty, which explains the signs of respect of which he is the object. But it would be dangerous to believe that these demonstrations mean anything more than the expression of satisfied national pride. Were this sentiment to be deeply wounded, the Court of the Quirinal would soon know by sad experience what these signs of respect

* See the despatch of M. de Barral from the Prussian camp, dated July 24, to M. Visconti-Venosta, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

are worth, and would realise the fleeting nature of popular sympathy.*

As to the plebiscites which placed the House of Savoy on the throne of Italy, they are only to be taken for what they are worth. Three months before the fearful crash which overthrew for ever Napoleon III. and his dynasty, his lease of power was renewed by a plebiscite. The 8,000,000 Frenchmen who were with him voted sincerely, and as sincerely cursed him and his race when they heard of the disaster of Sedan. Why? Because Napoleon's occupancy of the throne had to be justified by glorious success. When that was wanting his title to power had fallen through. The day on which he inflicted on France the shame of a defeat she refused to be one with him, and spewed him out. It should be borne in mind that Napoleon III. met with disaster in a war into which he was almost forced by an excited nation.

The fate of the House of Savoy would not be dissimilar from the fate of the Napoleonic dynasty—with this very grave difference, that the pressure of public opinion, an extenuating circumstance for Napoleon, could not be cited in favour of King Humbert. There was a juncture at which Prince Bismarck and Signor Crispi tried to create a current of opinion which would force the king on. Their efforts failed, like all political combinations of a purely artificial character. Of this we have striking evidence in what passed in Italy when Crispi's fall was at hand. The official press incessantly attacked France, and tried to hound on the Italian public against her. Its motive was easy to see through, the Government having decided to renew the Triple Alliance, and wanting to prepare the national mind for that course. However, this campaign of abuse found no sort of echo in the public mind, or in the independent press. To give it power to hurt, one thing was needful—namely, for the French press to take up the glove, and retort with invectives. The people of Italy are now on their guard. A fresh attempt to goad them on will only have the effect of arousing their suspicion. This would be dangerous for the Government. Certainly any war scheme against France would now be unpopular in Italy. We may then easily figure to ourselves the tempest of feeling which a military defeat

* It may be of interest to quote here a conversation between two Italian deputies before a third, who is worthy of credence. One of the two is an ex-member of a Left Ministry, who, hoping again to be called to office, cultivates favour as a means to that end. The other is an ex-functionary of high standing, who has discharged many important missions abroad. Once upon a time the ex-Minister was the warm champion of a great military budget, and the ex-functionary a no less energetic partisan of economy. The latter twitted his interlocutor with being a jingo or rather *mis-ogallo*, and sought to prove to him its fallacy and its evil effects when put in practice. Not converting him, he at last said, "With your line of conduct, some fine day you will destroy the monarchy." "Well, when it falls, you will see that I shall not go into mourning." "Nor I," replied the other, who, nevertheless, is one of the most monarchic members of the Centre. With this they parted, leaving the third person in a state of painful astonishment, he being dynastic to the heart's core.

would call forth in the Peninsula were a war undertaken in the present state of public opinion.

It is only traditional monarchies that can risk with impunity a war which may prove unfortunate, as we have seen in the case of Austria after Solferino and Sadowa, and in the case of the Sardinian monarchy after Novara. In such monarchies the bonds which attach subjects to the Sovereign are too ancient and too close for a reverse of fortune to break them. But in monarchies which have sprung from Revolutions, like those of Imperial France and Royal Italy, the sovereign power is essentially personal, and is not, strictly speaking, dynastic. If the King or Emperor disgusts the country, he falls, and drags the throne with him. The Sardinian monarchy, when mounting to the throne of Italy, had certainly dynastic characteristics. But does the Italian monarchy retain them? What old associations are bound up in the Crown of Italy, or what recollection is there of joys felt and sorrows endured together by the House of Savoy and the millions of Lombard, Tuscan, Roman, and Neapolitan families? They regard the title of that House to their loyalty as dependent on victory and national independence. If beaten, it would not only cease to be dear to the nation but would become hateful. The feeling of detestation would be all the more violent, if the honour and liberty of Italy had been risked, not for the sake of the nation, but of a family. In the event of a defeat, the immediate fall of the Savoy dynasty is in the highest degree probable, as well for the above reasons, as for others which I am now about to go into, and which, it will be seen, strengthen the probability.

No one can deny that Italian unity was accomplished by the party of action,* that that party was symbolised in Garibaldi, or that Garibaldi was in heart and soul a Republican, who, in adopting the motto, *Italia e Vittorio Emanuele*, yielded to a necessary condition in order to ensure the success of his grand work of national independence. Europe, which allowed the erection of a unitary monarchy, would have taken up arms against an Italian Republic.

The Italian monarchy was then the outcome of Republican sentiment, which only gave way to the monarchy for reasons of national expediency.† Whenever, owing to a national disaster in a war entered

* The Court of Turin never blinded itself to the drawbacks of a unity accomplished by the party of action. It was to out-manœuvre this party by throwing itself into the Revolutionary movement, that the Royal army was sent across the Neapolitan frontier. But when this was done it was too late to turn aside the tide of popular gratitude from Garibaldi, who had freed Naples. This policy may be inferred from a letter to the Marchese D'Azeglio from Count Cavour. "It is," he wrote, "dangerous to let Garibaldi carry all before him in Naples. There is but one way not to let him overwhelm us. It is by outrivalling him in boldness, and not allowing him to monopolise the idea of unity."

† If the reader is not already convinced of this, let him call to mind the words of Garibaldi in the speech in which, on April 20, 1860, he replied to a group of Genevan workmen, who asked him not to place the escutcheon of the House of Savoy on the flag which they were taking to Sicily to hoist there. "My children, you know that I

into for the sake of the monarchy, these reasons cease, the Republican idea will reassert itself. The French Republic, successful in an Italian war, would find itself in the presence of a Republic already constituted, or of a nation in which all the most active members would be ready to welcome a Republican form of government with enthusiasm.

Having discussed the state of mind of the Italian Radicals, let us now turn to that of the clericals. We find them parallel to each other in their uncompromising spirit, and in their tendency to look to a Republican solution. Those who may on the first blush of the matter regard this statement as absurd would do well to follow my demonstration. I flatter myself I can convince them.

Who has ever doubted that the Papacy, although conquered, has never ceased to be a Power? Certainly not King Humbert, his Ministers, Senate, or House of Deputies. What better proof of this can be given than those furnished by the King in his many abortive attempts to conciliate the Vatican, through the mediation of Baron N., or of Signor Crispi himself, who, directly he came into office, surrounded himself with Sicilian Monsignori having the ear of the Pope; to say nothing of Bonghi, Tacini, Fazzari, and many other political men of every party, who have vainly beaten their brains to find the undiscoverable means of reconciling the successor of St. Peter and the unitary monarch?

Signor Crispi, who is a believer in himself, appeared to have found the solution on his advent to power. The famous encyclical in which the Sovereign Pontiff professed his Italianism for a moment seemed to justify the hopes of the Prime Minister. But a note in the *Osservatore Romano* soon put another face upon it, and S. Crispi found, like the fox in the fable, that he must say the grapes were sour.

The sense of the unconquerable power of the Papacy has ever been as a nightmare to the Unitarian Italians, from Vittorio Emanuele, who did not dare to enter Rome until forced there by the threat of a Revolution, and General Cadorna, who took Rome, but did not venture to cross the Bridge of San Angelo until invited in the Pope's name to do so, to the many public men who have had occasion to deal with this burning subject in the Italian Parliament. Those who concur with me on this point are legion. I can name among the leading authorities Massimo d'Azeglio, who reminded his hearers that since the days of Diocletian Rome had never been more truly the capital of Christendom (speech in the Senate on December 3, 1864), and

am as good a Republican as any of yourselves. But as I sacrifice my Republican feelings I ask you to do likewise, because the unity of Italy requires it."—"Agostino Bertani ed i suoi Tempi," vol. II. p. 37.

Minghetti, who, in proclaiming the taking of Rome by the Italians, said the Pope's position was "so lofty that the idea of his being subject to the king could never occur to any one" (speech in the House of Deputies, Jan. 24, 1871). Many other moderates spoke to the same effect. What is more, there are few men of advanced politics who have not said as much since Rome was made the capital of Italy. I have not space, within the limits to which I must confine myself, to quote them all, but will be content to give an opinion which I believe will have universal weight with my readers.

It is that of S. Crispi, expressed three years before he took office as Prime Minister. Speaking of his idea of the grandeur of the Papacy, and its influence on the world, he said: "All the great memories of the two civilisations should be connected with Rome, which is not only the capital of Italy, but of the Catholic world" (Speech in the House of Deputies, June 2, 1883). Some years previously, he said: "The Revolution alone can master Rome. A Revolution which would be at once political and religious would be able to give to Italy her natural capital" (Debate of Nov. 17, 1864).

After this avowal of the religious strength which resides in Rome, holding in check all the civil powers, Signor Crispi said more things to the same effect, which the reporters did not take down. One of them was: "The Church of Rome is Catholic, that is to say universal. This condition, which is a source of strength for her, is a cause of weakness to us." Another was: "There are but two ways of settling the question of the Papacy: by revolution or reconciliation."

Revolution can never be an arm of the monarchy. The expedient of reconciliation has been tried and failed. Accordingly there is no prospect of any other solution, save in revolution. I shall here venture to point out to what a degree the monarchy, with childish fears for the dynasty, has been short-sighted. How so? The monarchy admits the Papacy to be an institution of "universal interest," and lays itself open to the reproach that, instead of wisely confining itself to home business, it subordinates its policy to foreign affairs, and thus exposes Italy to the danger of bringing upon her a victorious enemy, which would treat with the Great Power which has been allowed to co-exist with royalty. Were I to apostrophise the monarchy I should say, "You allow that the Roman question is a weakness inherent to your organism, and that the revolution alone can solve it; the monarchy is not perspicuous enough to see that in contracting alliances to defend itself against the spirit of the revolution it gives it, in the event of a national defeat, the right to apply its own solution, which you yourself declare the only possible one. And what have you tried to do to substitute the power of monarchy for that of the revolution? Have you at least provided for the safety of wayfarers on the roads of

the *Agro Romano*, which you have allowed to remain a desert? Alas! no. Murder is rife there, as in the time of Papaline brigandage. Witness the recent murderous attack of Montecompatri, perpetrated in broad daylight, at less than an hour's distance from the elegant villégiatura of Frascati, where Roman society will henceforth be afraid to pass the summer. And what progress has been realised in Rome—in that Eternal City, where the monarchy had so great an interest in casting the antique splendour and prestige of the Catholic Church into oblivion by the benefits of a wise, far-seeing, honest and modern administration. No solid result can be pointed to there. The only works attempted have been of a mere showy kind. We find a specimen of them in those new houses, for the most part unfinished, and standing on sites which the public administration (it being the owner) delivered over to gangs of jobbing speculators, thereby engendering misery, and forcing up the prices of all the necessaries of life.

In the event of the French, through our imprudent alliances and the fortune of war, coming victorious to Rome, they would find it in the moral and material state which I have just sketched. What course would they take in this event? Would they in a narrow spirit of vengeance split up Italy in order to bring her back to her old condition, before she was a redoubtable military power liable to ally herself with the powers hostile to France? I do not think this would happen. To force a return to the old political geography of Italy, France would have to garrison each of its different States to protect the new, or the restored, Government. The recollection of the Roman occupation, and the bitter fruits it bore to the Empire, should be enough to prevent the French Republic from interfering too deeply in the internal affairs of Italy. Her way to her ends would evidently be the one Signor Crispi himself recommended—namely, to give rein to revolution. The best guarantee Italy could offer to France would be to establish a second Latin Republic, which, unlike the monarchy, would neither betray France nor Latinism.

I think that now most of my readers will grant that in case of an unsuccessful war against France the consequences to the monarchy would be those which I have pointed out.

But laying aside the eventuality of war, the natural consequences of the policy of alliances in which the House of Savoy is engaged would bring about the same results. This policy is based upon gigantic armaments, and has emptied the treasury and been a general cause of financial disorder. Having disturbed deeply the commercial relations between France and Italy, it has crippled agriculture and commerce, and caused a state of general distress in town and country. A few statistics will enable the reader to form an idea of the state into which the unfortunate nation has fallen. In the budget of 1881, the last year of the policy of political neutrality,

the expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, of the kingdom was 1,229,578,938 *lire* (little more than £49,000,000 sterling). In 1889, the eighth year of the policy of alliances, the ordinary and extraordinary expenses were 1,740,578,938 *lire* (nearly £70,000,000 sterling). The treasury is therefore actually burdened with an outlay of over £20,000,000 sterling more than when Italy did not swerve from her neutral policy, and thus the policy of alliances has augmented the charge on the taxpayers by 40 per cent. In 1881 the policy of neutrality enabled the Government to announce a surplus of 51,000,000 *lire* (£2,000,000); in 1888-89 the system of alliances added to previous deficits a new one of 230,000,000 *lire* (£9,000,000).

Nor is this all. Whilst the taxpayer finds the State vastly more exacting, the capacity to meet its fiscal demands decreases. A fatal truckling to the views of Germany, which is interested in keeping up bad blood between France and Italy, has led the Italian Government to break off the commercial relations between the two countries. On this head the injury done is extremely grave, as the Customs statistics from the first year of the tariff war establish. In 1887 the exports of Italy amounted to 1,109,659,531 *lire*. In 1888 they had fallen to 967,412,939 *lire*, thus showing a falling off of 142,246,592 *lire*; and in 1889, of 150,000,000 *lire* (£6,000,000); the exports then only amounting to 950,645,760 *lire*. One may easily imagine what distress this falling off of more than an eighth of the exports must have brought about in numberless industrial families. But the rupture of commercial relations, having taken place under conditions which led to political irritation, had still graver consequences in the ruin of public credit. The French money market, which from time immemorial had been that on which Italian finance chiefly leaned, was suddenly closed. Italian paper ceased to be negotiable, and commercial bills to be discounted. Hence the extreme difficulty which the State has had in tiding over its difficulties by means of financial expedients. Hence, also, the stoppage of a great number of industries which depended upon credit given by French discount banks. Foremost among these industries is the building trade, the cessation of which has thrown numberless bread-winners out of employment, and brought the plague of pauperism with attendant starvation on so many Italian cities. What can be more heartrending than the sight, for instance, in the capital, of whole districts covered with half-finished houses, which were to have been splendid habitations, but are now beginning to look like ruins. Never perhaps was costly architecture so quickly or so strikingly reduced to a state of ruin as in the splendid neighbourhoods of the Villa Ludovisi, the Porta Salaria, the

Porta Pia, and the Prati di Castello, each of which is a town of grandiose mansions, doorless, windowless, and roofless.

While both the upper and the labouring classes are plunged into deep distress, the State, not less embarrassed, is obliged to tighten the financial screw, hit on new expedients, and levy disguised taxes,* for it does not dare openly to propose fresh ones. Is this, I ask, a situation that warrants in the slightest the risk of the calamities of war without justly exposing the Government responsible for it to a concert of maledictions? It may still be possible to avoid war. The responsibilities to be incurred in following to the end a warlike policy are so grave that all the Governments engaged in a military alliance may well recoil from committing themselves to hostilities as long as they can. Germany herself, though she once thought of hastening on a war (by making use of Italy as a goading agent) to crush France before she had attained her present degree of strength, seems herself to be now in a more pacific frame of mind. She feels that it is only by preserving peace that she can retain what she has won by arms. "You are too strong," Signor Crispi said recently to a French journalist, "you are greatly feared, and this is why I don't believe in war." Did not that statesman, who had done so much to foster belief in the imminence of a European war, condemn himself when he uttered these words? To judge from what he said, it was necessary for France to manifest her strength in order to inspire Italy and her allies with a wholesome dread, and thus secure the benefits of peace to Europe. But what a peace! An armed peace, which ruins the nations on which it is forced by the horrible policy of their Governments. For Germany there is some excuse. She wants to preserve her sword-won conquests. One can understand the Germans, whose pride is gratified by these conquests, bearing with a good grace the burdens necessary for their preservation. Widely different is the case of the Italian Government, which was not called upon to meddle in the quarrels of France and Germany. Its avowed motive in consenting "to guarantee the integrity of the German territory," that is to say, to secure to Germany the possession of territory wrung from France, was simply, in other words, that it wanted to guarantee power to a dynasty. Who so simple in his dynastic faith as to believe that such a motive will justify the Government in the eyes of a people which feels its strength almost exhausted by this policy?

A Government which has so misused its power may easily be overthrown without a war. The distress of the nation and of its individual

* One of these is the revision of the factory tax, and another that of the percentage of octroi taxes payable to the State.

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idea germinates everywhere in the Latin world, the memory of Vittorio Emanuele is dear to the Italian people, and protects his race. But there should be no dilatory irresolution. Now is the accepted time. To-morrow may be too late. A crisis in Italian affairs seems impending. The new Ministry, which is resigned to accept the Triple Alliance, but not zealous to further its objects, is shaken by intrigues in the Palace and the Legislature, and the prophecy of Giuseppe Mazzini may shortly be realised, by Francesco Crispi appearing to the world as "*the last Minister of the monarchy.*"

A CONTINENTAL STATESMAN.

CONSTANCE NADEN.

IN an early number of the *Speaker* there appeared an article by Mr. Gladstone, in which he recites the names of the British poets who have contributed to the glory of our national literature during the present century. He is particularly impressed by the large number of women who have shown a rare poetic genius, and thinks that "it may be allowable to say not only that the British poetesses of the last sixty years have developed in numerous instances splendid powers, but even that they are, as a whole, without parallel in literary history." To sustain this opinion, he gives a list of the following names: (1) Elizabeth Barrett Browning, (2) Christina Rossetti, (3) Adelaide Procter, (4) Jean Ingelow, (5) Emily Brontë, (6) Lady C. Elliot, (7) Miss Naden, (8) V. (Mrs. Archer Clive).

To the immense majority of the readers of Mr. Gladstone's article, I suppose that the seventh name on the list was unknown. Miss Naden's work was not of a kind to take possession of the public mind by a sudden assault. It did not dwell much on those domestic scenes and affections which touch the common heart, and have given to the verses of many inferior poets an immediate popularity. It did not express the faith and devotion of any religious party. But in my judgment—which, indeed, is not an impartial one, for I knew her from her childhood—she had a right to the place which Mr. Gladstone gave her on this roll of honour; and I am grateful to the Editor of this Review for allowing me to tell in its pages the brief story of her life, and to call attention to the two slender volumes which preserve the proofs of her poetic genius.*

* For dates and some other details, I am indebted to a *Memoir of Miss Naden*, recently published, edited by Mr. W. R. Hughes, Treasurer of the City of Birmingham, and containing contributions by Professor Lapworth, Professor Tilden and Dr. Lewins: "Constance Naden; a Memoir." London: Bickers & Son. I am also indebted

Constance Caroline Woodhill Naden was born at No. 15 Francis Road, Edgbaston, on January 24, 1858. Her father, Mr. Thomas Naden, is still living; he is an architect by profession, and has the distinction of being the President of the Birmingham Architectural Association. Her mother, Caroline Anne Naden, died twelve days after the birth of Constance, who was her only child. Those who knew the mother say that she was a bright, thoughtful woman, much given to books, and that Constance had many of her intellectual characteristics. When she was dying she begged her own mother to take charge of her child. The trust was accepted. Till their death Constance Naden lived with her grandparents.

The grandfather, Mr. J. C. Woodhill, had been a manufacturing jeweller. He had carried on a quiet, safe, unadventurous trade; had lived plainly; had received a handsome legacy from a relative; had saved some of the money he had made himself; and before the birth of his grandchild he had retired from business, and left the jewellers' quarter in the north of the town for Pakenham House, in Charlotte Road, Edgbaston. He was a man of great integrity, and of a most kindly disposition. For many years he was a member of the Committee of the Old Library, which since the days of Dr. Priestley has been one of the greatest and most useful of the institutions of Birmingham. Membership of this Committee has come to be a kind of diploma, certifying that in the opinion of the subscribers the holder is an authority in some department of science or literature, or that at least he has a delight in books. After Mr. Woodhill gave up business he was constantly at the Library, and it was there that I used to meet him most frequently. He died at the end of 1881. Of the grandmother, Mrs. Woodhill, I had very little personal knowledge. She died in June 1887.

For their motherless grandchild both grandparents had the deepest and most tender affection. She filled a large part of the life of the grandmother, and from her very early years she was her grandfather's delight and pride. All that their love could do for her they did, and in return she loved them well. She expressed her love for them in the pathetic lines prefixed as a dedication to her first volume of poems.*

But the house was very still. There was no other child. Living with persons so much older than herself, "Consie" grew up a very proper, demure, self-contained, and meditative little maiden. One of her child friends tells me that the verses in her first volume supposed to be written by a little girl "Six Years Old," are a bit of autobiography. She is describing a visit to some neighbours and says:

in other ways to Miss Maud Michell and to Mrs. Houghton, who were intimate and dear friends of Miss Naden from the time that they were schoolfellows together—and, in the case of Miss Michell, from a still earlier time—to her death.

* "Songs and Sonnets of Spring-time." By Constance C. W. Naden. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1881.

"I could stay in that garden for ever,
And make friends with the beeches and limes.
I saw Dr. Jones—he's so clever;
He writes to the papers sometimes.

"He looked at me hard through his glasses,
And said 'Now make plenty of noise,
Have a regular romp with my lasses,
And be petted and teased by the boys.'

"He said that my curls wanted rumpling,
My cheeks should be red and not pink;
He called me a sweet little dumpling—
He's very insulting I think.

"'Twas Nurse that made me so tidy,
And how can I help being small?
He gave me some roses on Friday—
Perhaps he is nice after all.

"I stayed with the children till seven;
They're kind, but so dreadfully rough!
There were ten of them—I made eleven,
We played Tick, French and English, and Buff.

"The girls are as bad as their brothers,
They teased me and played me such tricks!
But Maude isn't rude like the others,
She says I look older than six."

Fortunately, there was a garden at Pakenham House as well as at "Dr. Jones's," and to the imaginative child the garden was fairy-land, Paradise, or any other remote and strange region, on the earth or under the sea or among the stars, that her transient fancies might choose to make it. With a friend rather younger than herself, she would sit on the ground for hours watching the living creatures, beetles, caterpillars, butterflies, birds, and romancing about them all, inventing wonderful histories of their adventures, their sorrows and their joys. Sometimes the garden wall was built, so "Consie" said, of the bricks which were made by the children of Israel in Egypt. She had a great affection for trees, and she talked of them as though she and they knew and loved each other. A lime-tree was a special object of her devotion. She was only repeating in after years her unforgotten childish impulses when she wrote:

"I put my arms round him and kiss him,
And sometimes I think he can feel."

The sort of stories she used to tell to her friend, who still thinks of them with delight, may be imagined from some other verses in the same poem. The little "Six Years Old" says that at night she lies awake for hours. And she thinks of what is going on in the garden as well as of the people who are downstairs with her grandfather and grandmother:

"I fancy the fairies make merry,
With thorns for their knives and their forks;
They have currants for bottles of sherry,
And the little brown heads are the corks.

"A leaf makes the tent they sit under,
Their ball-room's a white lily-cup;
Shall I know all about them I wonder,
For certain, when I am grown up?"

I have no distinct remembrance of her in those days, though she used to come now and then to my house to play with my children, and was an occasional guest at their little parties. I hope that it was at none of these that the boys were so rough with her. Indeed, I have had assurances, which relieve me from all uneasiness; the real offenders have been identified. I am sure that I am not the clever "Dr. Jones," who insulted her by calling her a "dumpling"; any man who could have taken so great a liberty with her, even when she was only "six," must have been wholly depraved, and capable of committing all the seven deadly sins.

But I have a very vivid recollection of her when she was about nine or ten. It was my habit in those days to take a short constitutional immediately after breakfast, and I sometimes met or overtook "Consie" on her way to school. I can see her now—her pale but healthy-looking face slightly touched with pink; her thin lips firmly closed; her clear, thoughtful, patient, grey-blue eyes; her slight figure; her dress, not gay with bright colours, but serious, as was proper for a little maiden coming from a Puritan house—serious, but not mournful. Her dress, indeed, was part of herself. There are children whose frocks, if they were worn for the first time yesterday, look as if they had been worn for a twelvemonth. "Consie" was not a child of that description; her dress always looked fresh, it was never tumbled; every one could see that it had not been put on in a hurry; and she retained this peculiarity to the last. As I can see the little maiden I can hear her—a childish voice, which did not wholly cease to be childish when she became a woman, and which had a curious suggestion of suppressed complaint in it; an articulation definite and deliberate, though she always had a slight trouble with the letter "r." Her way of talking, too, I can remember. I am not at all clever—and never was—in talking with children; but "Consie" was a delightful companion. There was nothing vague or loose either in her thought or her expression; everything was as finely and delicately cut as the head on a cameo. She could give and take—did not wait until some one else gave her an impulse, but yet took an impulse when it was given, and went off at once in the line of it. One of these morning conversations I can distinctly recall. I suppose that I had been plunging about in Kant's antinomies and paralogisms, and the child was talking so gravely and thoughtfully that I said to her: "Consie, when you are a woman you must write a great book on the Absolute and Unconditioned, and dedicate it to me." With the seriousness of a Lord Chancellor she promised at once that she would. Ten or eleven years later she remembered her promise.

The school which she began to attend when she was about eight years old, and at which she remained till she was seventeen or eighteen, was a small private day-school near her home, kept by two sisters, the

Misses Martin—ladies of considerable culture, who did all the work of the school themselves. There were no examinations, and no prizes; it was part of the system of the school to offer no direct provocation to competition. I am not prepared to say that this system is applicable to large schools; that all teachers could work it effectively; or that it would succeed with all children; but one thinks with envy of the girls whose intellectual life had so wholesome a development, and who were spared the fierce and wasting excitements of our modern methods. It might be supposed that such a system would be defective on account of the absence of incentives to mental effort. But judging by the results of the school in other cases than that of Miss Naden—whose delight in work might make her case exceptional—the teaching itself, apart from adventitious aids, must have afforded adequate encouragement to an effective development of intellectual life and power. And the intellectual stimulus which is given in the teaching itself must always be far more healthy and enduring than any that can be supplied from other sources.

She left school, I believe, in 1875, and for three or four years spent a considerable part of her time in general reading. She was never a pensioner of "Smith's" or "Mudie's;" the ordinary novel had no attractions for her, even in those days. For Sir Walter Scott she had a great love, and she knew her "Heart of Midlothian," and her "Antiquary," and her "Ivanhoe," and her "Old Mortality," and all the rest of the wonderful Waverley creations, as some good people know their Bible. She had also a great delight in Thackeray, in Bulwer, in Dickens, and George Eliot. Of particular books which fascinated her at this time, her friends mention the writings of James Hinton, and the "Hours with the Mystics," by Mr. R. A. Vaughan, who a few years before had been the minister of the Congregational Church in Steelhouse Lane, Birmingham. She also read widely in the English poets, and her tenacious memory retained for years the lines which had struck her for the felicity of their phrase, for their splendour, pathos, or wit.

She was not satisfied with general reading. During these years she attended the Botany and Field classes at the Midland Institute, conducted by Mr. J. W. Oliver; and the German classes conducted by the late Dr. Dammann. She also joined a class of four young ladies to read Latin under Mr. William Bates, who at that time was Professor of Classics at Queen's College. This class she attended for about a year, worked at Latin many hours every day, and before the year was over possessed a knowledge of the language which amazed both her tutor and her class-fellows. She went on with her French, which she had been taught well at school, and she did something at Greek.

In 1881 she published her "Songs and Sonnets of Spring-time." A few months before it appeared she came to consult me about its publication, as she knew that I had some acquaintance with the ways of publishers. She told me that she had a book ready for printing, adding that it was not the treatise on the "Absolute and Unconditioned," which, when she was a child, she had promised to write and to dedicate to me, but a collection of verses which a friend of hers, who, as I afterwards learnt, was Dr. Lewins, had been pleased with, and had persuaded her to publish.

The verses were very remarkable verses for a young woman of twenty-three, who had lived so quiet and uneventful a life. Some of them, like "The Lady Doctor," "Love *versus* Learning," and "The Lament of the Cork Cell," were humorous, and showed a delightful capacity for making fun of her own serious studies.

Others showed, as I thought, a remarkable power of entering into human experiences, which in their external conditions were altogether unlike her own. But in several of her strains there was a recurrence, though with striking variations, of the same *motif*, and this disclosed the innermost secret of her own heart. She had become conscious of detachment from the life which surrounded her and from the life of her own earlier years. The discovery made her sad, but there was no remedy; and she was seeking consolation in a vague, unknown, ideal world. This appears in "The Astronomer," who has lived with the stars so long that he has lost the earth and all capacity for its common sights and its common joys.

"In half-regretful ignorance I look
On common fields and trees.

". . . . And yet, could I descend
And breathe the lowland air again,
How should I find a brother or a friend
Mid earth-contented men?

"Though while I sat beside my household fire,
Some dear, dear hand should clasp my own,
Must I not pine with home-sick, sharp desire
For this my mountain home?"

He finds solace in escaping from himself, and dreaming of the time when the confusions which now afflict the life of nations will be reduced to a most perfect order. His assurance of this is given to him in the steadfast laws of the material universe. In the "harmony of worlds" he reads the prophecy of "the future of mankind"; and yet his visions do not give him perfect rest:

"When every heart shall perfect peace attain,
And every mind celestial scope,
Such were mine own, *save for this hungry pain,*
This lack of earth-born hope."

There is the same undertone in "The Last Druid," who,

"Despairing and alone
Where mountain winds make mean,"

laments that his people are praying to a "strange god;" in the "Alchemist," in the "Carmelite Nun," and in "The Roman Philosopher to The Christian Priests." The philosopher thinks that

"The fair old myths have served their purpose well."

But

"There is room for all, the world is wide;
Zeno was great, and so, perchance, was Christ,
And so were Plato, and a score beside."
"If I were young, I might adore with you;
But knowledge calms the heart and clears the eye;
A thousand faiths there are, but none is true,
And I am weary, and shall shortly die.

He has been fair and generous with the preachers of the new faith; has "never warred with doctrines but with deeds"; but now his daughter scorns him "as a thing accursed":

"She deems my lordly house unclean, defiled;
She scarce will sip my wine or taste my bread.
Ye boast of virgin martyrs—if my child
Die for her faith, my vengeance on your head."

The "detachment" which appears in all these poems was the result, in part, of the falling away of early religious faith. In the verses addressed to Dr. Lewins, the new conception of the world which she was to develop in her later writings already appears; and the doctrine of "The Pantheist's Song of Immortality" is, in truth, not Pantheism but, to speak the modern jargon, Pancosmism.

"Yes, thou shalt die; but these Almighty forces
That meet to form thee, live for evermore:
They hold the suns in their eternal courses,
And shape the long sand-grasses on the shore.
"Be calmly glad, thine own true kindred seeing
In fire and storm, in flowers with dew impearled,
Rejoice in thine imperishable being,
One with the Essence of the boundless world."

In none of these early poems have I found any distinct indications of the ascendancy over her mind of either of the two great poets whose power might have been expected to cast a spell upon a young imaginative mind of this generation. Of Robert Browning there is, I think, absolutely no trace; nor are there any very clear traces of Lord Tennyson. I inquired of one of her most intimate friends whether I was right in the inference that neither Browning nor Tennyson had ever taken possession of her; the reply was that I was wholly in the right about Browning, and that, though she admired Tennyson, he had never moved her to enthusiasm.* She felt far more

* I learn from one of her friends that she had an intense admiration for "The Dream of Fair Women," but had no passion of delight in either the "Idylls," or "In Memoriam."

deeply the charm of Keats and of Shelley, and she was strongly drawn to Wordsworth.

In the autumn of 1881, about the time that her "Songs and Sonnets" appeared, she became a student of Mason College. She had been fortunate, as I think, during her school-life, in her exemption from the strain of examinations, and from the hot eagerness provoked by the ambition to win prizes. She was equally fortunate in her college life. The wealth which was certain to come to her liberated her from the necessity of securing a degree in order to improve her chances of earning her living as a teacher; and the degree for its own sake had no attractions for her; she, therefore, had only to consider what she wanted to learn, and to learn it. In a brief paper contributed to the "Memoir," Professor Tilden has stated so accurately the views with which she entered the college, that I quote his words:

"From the first it was evident that, although she had no university examination in view, she had planned for herself a very definite and complete course of study, with a very well defined purpose.

"The study of philosophy, undertaken with the object of forming a true theory of life, requires that no branch of modern learning shall be omitted from the necessary preparatory course. Physical and biological science must both be explored. Miss Naden knew this, and accordingly, having determined to build high, she proceeded to lay her foundations deep, submitting to a very thorough drilling in the subject matter of the sciences of physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, and geology. Then, as in one subject after another she obtained command of the fundamental principles, with no mean acquaintance with its detail, she transferred her active intelligence, her keen reasoning faculty, and great powers of acquisition, to new ground. No inducements seemed sufficient to prevail upon her to become a mere scientific specialist. For her the absorbing questions seemed to be, What is Man, Whence and Whither?" *

With the buoyant hope that she was on her way to final certainties concerning the mystery of the life of man, his origin, the stages of his development, his present relations to the universe, and his destiny, she passed with a light, firm, but rapid step from botany to chemistry, from chemistry to geology, to physics, to biology, to zoology. It was her habit to put the greater part of her strength into one subject at a time, and not to touch a new science or a new language till she had made some way into the territory of its predecessor. She seemed to work without effort and without exhaustion; she never seemed worn. All her teachers were drawn to her; she became their friend almost as soon as she was their pupil.

The influence which Mason College exerted on her was immense. Her home, as I have said, was a very quiet one. Her grandfather

* The theory on which she constructed her own scheme of education at Mason's is stated very clearly in the brilliant address which she delivered towards the close of 1883 as President of the Ladies' Debating Society. It was published in the Annual Report of the Society.

had made very few changes in his habits of living since he left his small house at Hockley, with, I suppose, the jeweller's workshop behind it, for Charlotte Road, Edgbaston. He was an "elder" of the Baptist Church in Graham Street, of which Mr. Vince, and afterwards Mr. Platten, were ministers ;* his ways were of the old Non-conformist type. "Worldly" amusements were regarded with disfavour. He gave no lively entertainments. Concerts would have been allowed, but Miss Naden confessed that she recognised no distinction worth mentioning between "the mental effects" of the discordant strains of a company of itinerant German performers and the interpretation of a sonata of Beethoven by Hallé's band. She had been taught to paint flowers when she was at school, and one of her flower-pieces won the distinction of being hung in our local exhibition ; but she gave up painting very early. Her life, therefore, had had very little animation and variety in it. But at Mason's she found troops of friends and a new world of pleasant excitement. The classes in geology and botany had their field-days. College societies and "sections" of various kinds organised pic-nics and found their way to sequestered villages in Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire ; wandered over the Clent Hills or the Wrekin, and sailed down the Severn. Miss Naden joined these excursions with the keenest zest, took her full share of the talk, and occasionally, I believe, entertained the company as they sat on the grass after lunch, by reciting some of her unpublished humorous verses. At the "Union" she was one of the most frequent and effective speakers—clear, definite, ready ; her English admirable ; her illustrations felicitous ; her logic in reply keen and relentless ; and her scorn scathing for a halting argument or for what she regarded as an unworthy sentiment. Her knowledge, the promptness and accuracy with which she could recall all that she knew, her ingenuity and alertness, and the ease and vigour of her extemporary speaking made her an extremely dangerous opponent.

Indeed, she had tried and proved her powers as a speaker before she entered Mason's. In 1860 some young ladies in Edgbaston had formed themselves into "The Ladies' Debating Society." They held their meetings at each other's houses, and Miss Naden soon spoke brilliantly. For their first two presidents they elected elder ladies, my wife and Mrs. H. W. Crosskey, but for their third they resolved to appoint one of themselves, and they chose Miss Naden. Her address, to which I have already referred, illustrates her genuine rhetorical power.

During the later years of her school-life I had seen her very rarely, but from 1881 I began to see her again rather more frequently.

* When Mr. Platten and a considerable section of the Church removed to Hagley Road, Mr. Woodhill became an elder of the Hagley Road Church.

My younger daughter was one of the secretaries of the Ladies' Debating Society, as well as a student at Mason's; my elder daughter was for a time both a student at Mason's and sub-editor of the *College Magazine*, and, like other sub-editors, did most of the work. Their young friends from the Debating Society and the College—Miss Naden among them—spent an occasional evening at my house for "business" or for pleasure. Of course she was greatly changed since I used to gossip with her on her way to school, and yet she retained many of the characteristics of her childhood. She was not, I think, the most brilliant of the Mason College girls of her time in general conversation, but she was always interesting, and gave one the impression that her mind was working at only "half-speed;" had it been necessary she could have doubled her pace. At times her thin upper lip would curl, and she would shoot out a barbed epithet or phrase that was very amusing for every one except the unfortunate person against whom it was directed. Her great powers were cordially acknowledged by all her fellow-students, but it can hardly be said that she was generally popular, either among the young men or the young women. The intellectual scorn which sometimes appeared both in her speeches and conversation discouraged affection, and there was a reserve in her manner which gave the impression of coldness; and yet the genuine admiration which she excited surrounded her with a very genial and sunny atmosphere, and her elect friends had an enthusiasm of love for her. One of these assured me that she had never known any one who was more sensitive to affection, or who responded to it more promptly, or more warmly.

It was a new and extremely interesting type of social life which was formed round Mason College very soon after it was opened. The young men and girls were drawn together by common intellectual interests. Most of them, I suppose, belonged to Birmingham and its immediate neighbourhood; but a considerable number came from other towns in the Midland Counties. The social position of their families varied considerably, but the habits and pleasures of all of them were simple and inexpensive. They had entered Mason to work—not to play. In most of them there was eagerness and hopefulness; they were sailing into strange seas and under strange constellations, and hoped to see wonderful things. They were ready and cordial in their admiration for every proof or promise of intellectual power or grace that was given by any of their number. There was a frank friendliness in their intercourse with each other, which seemed to me very charming. They could talk seriously, and sometimes adventured without any misgiving on the solution of questions which have baffled the genius of mankind for thousands of years; but they could also be merry and gay. Their social life was one of the most powerful influences in their education. It was not merely in their classes, but

in the debates of the Union and in their animated private conversations that they discovered intellectual limitations which they had not suspected, intellectual strength which had been unhopèd for. There were some, no doubt, who had thought more highly of themselves than they had any good cause for thinking, and they learnt modesty. There were others who had distrusted their power, and they learnt confidence. To Miss Naden the social life of the College brought a genial expansion of her whole nature; and its serious studies gave a firmer fibre to her thought.

These results were apparent in her second volume of poems * which was published in 1887. Each of the three poems named on the title-page is of considerable length. The metre she chose for them seems to me a difficult one to keep alive and buoyant through many pages. They are all written in ten-syllable lines; the two first are broken into stanzas of eight lines; the third into stanzas of six. But she has handled her instrument with considerable success, and some of the stanzas are very vigorous and felicitous.

It was her theory that sins against form are unpardonable in a poet, because he is, first, an artist, and, only secondly, if at all, a teacher. A poem, she maintained, is worth nothing—as a *poem*—if its form is bad, whatever may be the worth of its thought.† In her “Modern Apostle,” however, she wanted to teach as well as to sing. A young and fervent preacher, who begins his ministry under the power of a narrow and rigid creed, is troubled by the discovery that there is very much to be said for a theory of the universe very different from his own. At first he is afraid of the books which disturb his old faith; but he soon lets himself go:

“And so at last he shut his eyes and plunged,
And took whate’er he found, both good and ill—
Pale Christianity, with Christ expunged,
Faint Unbelief, deploring its own skill;
Great tomes of metaphysic lore, that sponged
The World away, leaving the lonely Will:
Carlyle he conned, and—guilt of dye intenser!
Dallied with Darwin, and with Herbert Spencer.”

He sees a Vision, hears a Voice, and becomes the prophet of a mystical Pantheism. This, too, like his earlier faith, proves to be an illusion; and he has to leave the mission of regenerating the thought and life of the world to a girl who loves him, whose beliefs are not explicitly stated, but who seems to have been a disciple of Mr. Herbert Spencer.

“The Elixir of Life” is, perhaps, the most powerful of the three

* “A Modern Apostle; The Elixir of Life; The Story of Clarice; and other Poems.” By Constance C. W. Naden. London: Kegan Paul & Co.

† This was the main position asserted by Miss Naden in a debate at the Poesy Club in May 1887. Mrs. Houghton has been good enough to furnish me with some interesting extracts from reports of these debates. In one of the extracts I find an expression of Miss Naden’s great admiration for Keats.

longer poems. It tells the story of an alchemist who had discovered, four or five centuries ago, a wonderful drink, which gave to mortal men the freshness and the power of immortality. It was not for himself alone that he had devoted his wealth and his strength to the search for the great secret; it seemed, indeed, as if the discovery might come too late to renew his own youth and prolong his own life; but he exulted in the hope that if he perished in the moment of triumph, he might yet make "all mankind" his "deathless heirs." When the secret was mastered he travelled over the world, with the intention of liberating men from the waste and weakness of old age, and from peril of death. He was in Florence during the splendid time of the great Lorenzo; he was in Rome when Leo was mocking at "the thundering theses of the rebel monk." But, groaning over the crimes and the miseries of which he is the witness, the Alchemist asks:

"Where is a man so just,
So wise that he should live beyond his time?
What poet, priest, or woman can I trust,
To use in righteousness my gift sublime?"

He keeps his secret close; there is no one in Italy with whom he cares to share it. He travels through Spain, crosses to England, goes down to Stratford-on-Avon, and meets Shakespeare:

"But I thought—
Nay, let the Poet live, and leave the Man
To die in peace—he quaffs his own rich wine
Of immortality—what needs he mine?"

And so, through generation after generation, he wanders over the east and the west, and nowhere does he find a man whom it would be well to make immortal. At last he finds a woman who, as he thinks, would use the gift nobly; but he discovers, happily in time, that under all the divine beauty of her form she has a base and sensual soul. The gift is not for her.

The third poem is the story of Romola and Tito—with a difference. Clarice is the beautiful and learned daughter of a scholar who lives with his books and leaves his fair child uncared for. Wilfred, the old man's secretary, handsome, accomplished, gracious, falls in love with her; but Clarice remains "marble-cold," and has no suspicion of what has happened.

"She knew the woes of Dido; she could tell
How Helen set the towers of Troy ablaze;
She thought of Love as a forgotten spell,
Potent in far-off lands, in ancient days;
Obsolete now, like magic black and white,
Or the Emission Theory of light."

But Wilfred is an honest fellow, and after a due and not excessive amount of misery on his side, Clarice herself becomes miserable, relents, and loves him.

As compared with her first volume, the second shows a decisive increase in the vigour and solidity of her thought; the intellectual

fibre is firmer, the intellectual muscles more tense. But she is too often pre-occupied with her material. There is less singing than in the first volume, more teaching. She will not, if she can help it, sacrifice her music to her doctrine, but under her singing robes you can catch a glimpse of the philosopher's cloak. It would have all come right, I think, if she had lived a few years longer; she would have risen buoyantly again and sung like the lark at heaven's gate; but in this second volume it seems to me that she is at times too heavily weighted to soar high; there are signs of effort; at times she is weary.

She herself, indeed, during her later years had come to believe that philosophy rather than poetry was her true vocation. In 1876 she had met Dr. Lewins at Southport, and he at once acquired a remarkable ascendancy over her mind. He recognised her genius, and took a deep interest in her intellectual development. He was most constant and generous in his kindness to her. He had a philosophical faith of his own, for which he was eager to secure disciples, and he saw that Miss Naden would make a most charming and effective apostle. She felt and welcomed his power over her. His conversation stimulated her thought, his theory of the Universe gave it a definite direction. It was with his advice, I imagine, that she laid out the scheme of her scientific studies at Mason's. It was, no doubt, with his concurrence that in 1884 she joined a "section" of the Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society, formed for the study of the philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer. She soon became one of Mr. Spencer's enthusiastic admirers, and Mr. Spencer himself was so impressed by the power shown in some of her writings that she wrote, at his request, a reply to what is described as "Mr. Lilly's libel on Utilitarianism in the *Fortnightly*." The reply, however, was too long, in Mr. Spencer's judgment, for publication in a magazine, but he considered "the main point good when reached." *

The philosophical creed which, under Dr. Lewins's teaching, Miss Naden accepted is called "Hylo-Idealism." No man can give an accurate exposition of any philosophical theory, unless at some time or other in his life he has been able to think himself into the intellectual position of those persons to whom the theory appears to contain a coherent account of man, and of man's relations to the universe. But I have been unable to think myself into the position of the Hylo-Idealists, and I am therefore disqualified for expounding their system. The theory begins, however, on familiar ground; its first position is that we have no knowledge of the thing as it is; that all our knowledge is relative. Its second position is also well known to all students of philosophy; it assumes that if all knowledge is *relative*, all knowledge is purely

* "Memoir," p. 47.

subjective; forgetting that a relation is the synthesis of two terms, and that if either of the terms is suppressed, there is no relation. "Our universe," says Miss Naden, "is made up of sensations . . . and beyond sensation we cannot pass."

"Practically we may say of self, as Paul of Christ. In it are all things created, in the heaven and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers; all things have been created through it, and unto it, and self is before all things, and in self all things consist."*

In a note by Dr. Lewins, to one of Miss Naden's essays contained in the volume from which I have just quoted, he gives his own account of the theory. He says that when Napoleon, on his way to Egypt, objected to the materialism of modern science by pointing to the stars, and asking, "Who made all that?" the answer of his *savans* was probably: "No one; they are eternal." But Dr. Lewins thinks that the true answer would have been, "*Yourselves*." What you see is a vision, or organic function, of your own *sensifacient* organism."†

Up to this point the theory is intelligible; it looks like an old friend, though in a new dress. This is Professor Tyndall's impression. "Extreme pains," says Dr. Lewins, "have been wasted in explaining to him the hylo-phenomenal theorem of existence which he obstinately persists in confounding with Absolute Idealism."‡ It is just here that I lose the path; I am as dull as "our genial and skilled Royal Institution empiric," as Dr. Lewins pleasantly describes him. By some process of thought, which I cannot trace, Dr. Lewins believes, and Miss Naden believed, that it is possible to pass from a "vision, or organic function," of the "*sensifacient* organism" of the individual to a real objective universe. "Matter, so far from being a nonentity, is the *fons et origo* of all entities."§

In her philosophical expositions, whatever we may think of her main theory, Miss Naden shows acuteness and a charming lightness of touch; her style is singularly graceful and clear, and her illustrations are felicitous. She wrote a large number of papers on various philosophical subjects, many of which may be found in the *Journal of Science* between 1881 and 1885. I had read one or two of these papers, but did not know with what seriousness and earnestness she held her new creed till I called upon her a few days after her grandmother's death. Then she told me how great a change had passed upon her whole conception of human life and destiny. My little "Consie" who was to write me a treatise on the "Absolute and Unconditioned" had indeed faced the eternal problem of human thought, but had reached disastrous conclusions. The heavens and the earth, truth, beauty, the awful contrasts between right and wrong,

* "Induction and Deduction, and other Essays," by Constance C. W. Naden. Edited by R. Lewins, M.D. London: Bickers & Son. 1890.

† *Ibid.* p. 162.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 148.

§ *Ibid.* p. 161.

the glory of the Supreme—she had come to think that all are the creations of the grey thought-cells of the cerebral hemispheres. This conversation, in which she was as frank and affectionate as a child and opened to me all her heart, did not extend to the philosophical and physiological grounds of her new position; with the shadow of death resting on the house it was enough to talk of how life looked to her now—and death, and Christ, and the mystery beyond death. She seemed very firm, and yet very sad. Had she lived longer would she have been content with her new creed?

In September 1887, three months after Mrs. Woodhill died, she left England with her friend, Mrs. Daniell, for a long tour. She went to Vienna and to Buda-Pesth, and sailed down the Danube; stayed for a time at Constantinople; crossed to Broussa; visited Smyrna, Baalbec, and Damascus; and spent a few weeks in Palestine. Then she went to Cairo and up the Nile to Assouan. While in Egypt the two ladies resolved to go to India. They went to Bombay and Calcutta, to Lucknow, Benares, Agra, and Delhi, and saw the Himalayas from Darjeeling. At Mount Aboo, Miss Naden had a severe attack of fever, and was obliged to remain there for seven weeks. She and her friend reached England in June 1888.

She called on me once or twice after her return and told me that she had resolved to settle in London. She took apartments, first in Half Moon Street and then in Old Quebec Street; and in October purchased 114 Park Street, Grosvenor Square, and was much interested in furnishing her house. For a time she keenly enjoyed her new life, but in the course of a few months it became apparent that she was losing her buoyancy and vigour. Her indomitable resoluteness enabled her to defy her physical weakness, and she disregarded the injunctions of her medical attendants, who insisted on the necessity of rest. In December 1889 her condition had become desperate, and her only chance of life was in submitting to an operation. The operation was successfully performed by Mr. Lawson Tait, and for some little time it was hoped that she might have sufficient strength to recover. But the Indian fever had drawn too heavily on the resources of her splendid constitution; her strength was spent: and early on the morning of December 23 the end came.

She died too soon. She achieved much; she promised more; had she lived twenty years longer, I believe that she would have taken a great and enduring place in English literature. Even among the few verses which she wrote, there are some, I think, which for several generations at least, will retain their freshness and their charm.

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THE INFLUENCE OF DEMOCRACY ON LITERATURE.

IT is not desirable to bring the element of party politics into the world of books. But it is difficult to discuss the influence of democracy on literature without borrowing from the Radicals one of the wisest and truest of their watchwords. It is of no use, as they remind us, to be afraid of the people. We have this huge mass of individuals around us, each item in the coagulation struggling to retain and to exercise its liberty; and, while we are perfectly free to like or dislike the condition of things which has produced this phenomenon, to be alarmed, to utter shrieks of fright at it, is to resign all pretension to be heard. We may believe that the whole concern is going to the dogs, or we may be amusing ourselves by printing Cook's tickets for a monster excursion to Boothia Felix or other provinces of Utopia; to be frightened at it, or to think that we can do any good by scolding it or binding it with chains of tow, is simply silly. It moves, and it carries the Superior Person with it and in it, like a mote of dust.

In considering, therefore, the influence of democracy on literature, it seems worse than useless to exhort or persuade. All that can in any degree be interesting must be to study, without prejudice, the signs of the times, to compare notes about the weather, and tap the intellectual barometer cheerfully. This form of inquiry is rarely attempted in a perfectly open spirit, partly, no doubt, because it is unquestionably one which it is difficult to carry through. It is wonderfully easy to proclaim the advent of a literary Ragnarok, to say that poetry is dead, the novel sunken into its dotage, all good writing obsolete, and the reign of darkness begun. There are writers who do this, and who round off their periods by attributing the whole condition to the democratic spirit, like the sailor in that delightful

old piece played at the Strand Theatre, who used to sum up the misfortunes of a lifetime with the recurrent refrain, "It's all on account of Eliza." The "uncreating words" of these pessimists are dispiriting for the moment, but they mean nothing. Those of the optimist do not mean much either. A little more effort is required to produce his rose-coloured picture, but we are not really persuaded that because the brown marries the blonde all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. Nor is much gained by prophecy. We have been listening to a gentleman, himself a biographer and an historian, who predicts, with babe-like *naïveté*, that all literary persons will presently be sent by the democracy to split wood and draw water, except, perhaps, "the historian or biographer." In this universal splitting of wood, some heads, which now think themselves mighty clever, may come to be rather disastrously cracked. It was not Camille Desmoulins whom Fate selected to enter into his own Promised Land of emancipated literature.

We gain little by a comparison of our modern situation with that of the ancient commonwealths. The parallel between the state of literature in our world and that in Athens or Florence is purely academic. Whatever the form of government, literature has always been aristocratic, or at least oligarchic. It has been encouraged or else tolerated; even when it has been independent, its self-congratulations on its independence have shown how temporary that liberty was, and how imminent the relapse into bondage. The peculiar protection given to the arts by enlightened commonwealths surrounded by barbaric tyrannies was often of a most valuable character, but it resembled nothing which can recur in the modern world. The stimulus it gave to the creative temperament was due in great measure to its exclusiveness, to the fact that the world was shut out, and the appeal for sympathy made to a restricted circle. The Republic was a family of highly trained intelligences, barred and bolted against the vast and stupid world outside. This condition can never be re-established. The essence of democracy is that it knows no narrower bonds than those of the globe, and its success is marked by the destruction of those very ramparts which protected and inspirited the old intellectual free States.

The purest and most elevated form of literature, the rarest and, at its best, the most valuable, is poetry. If it could be shown that the influence of the popular advance in power has been favourable to the growth of great verse, then all the rest might be taken for granted. Unfortunately, there are many circumstances which interfere with our vision, and make it exceedingly difficult to give an opinion on this point. Victor Hugo never questioned that the poetical element was needed, but he had occasional qualms about its being properly demanded.

"Peuples ! écoutez le poète,
 Écoutez le rêveur sacré !
 Dans votre nuit, sans lui complète,
 Lui seul a le front éclairé !"

he shouted, but the very energy of the exclamation suggests a doubt in his own mind as to its complete acceptability. In this country, the democracy has certainly crowded around one poet. It has always appeared to me to be one of the most singular, as it is one of the most encouraging features of our recent literary history, that Tennyson should have held the extraordinary place in the affections of our people which has now been his for nearly half a century. That it should be so delicate and so *Æolian* a music, so little affected by contemporary passion, so disdainful of adventitious aids to popularity, which above all others has attracted the universal ear, and held it without producing weariness or satiety ; this, I confess, appears to me very marvellous. Some of the Laureate's best-loved lyrics have been before the public for more than sixty years. Cowley is one of the few English poets who have been, during their lifetime, praised as much as Tennyson has been, but where in 1720 was the fame of Cowley ? Where in the France of to-day are the *Méditations* and the *Harmonies* of Lamartine ?

If, then, we might take Tennyson as an example of the result of the action of democracy upon literature, we might indeed congratulate ourselves. But a moment's reflection shows that to do so is to put the cart before the horse. The wide appreciation of such delicate and penetrating poetry is, indeed, an example of the influence of literature on democracy, but hardly of democracy on literature. We may examine the series of Lord Tennyson's volumes with care, and scarcely discover a copy of verses in which he can be detected as directly urged to expression by the popular taste. This prime favourite of the educated masses has never courted the public, nor striven to serve it. He has written to please himself, to win the applause of the "little clan," and each round of salvos from the world outside has seemed to startle him in his obstinate retirement. If it has grown easier and easier for him to consent to please the masses, it is because he has familiarised them more and more with his peculiar accent. He has led literary taste, he has not dreamed of following it.

What is true of Tennyson is true of most of our recent poets. There is one exception, however, and that a very curious one. The single English poet of high rank whose works seem to me to be distinctly affected by the democratic spirit, nay, to be the direct outcome of the influence of democracy, is Robert Browning. It has scarcely been sufficiently noted by those who criticise the style of that great writer that the entire tone of his writings introduces something hitherto unobserved in British poetry. That something is the repudiation of the recognised oligarchic attitude of the poet in his address to the

public. It is not that he writes or does not write of the poor. It is a curious mistake to expect the democratic spirit to be always on its knees adoring the proletariat. To the true democracy all are veritably of equal interest, and even a belted earl may be a man and a brother. In his poems Robert Browning spoke as though he felt himself to be walking through a world of equals, all interesting to him, all worthy of study. This is the secret of his abrupt familiar appeal, his "Dare I trust the same to you?" "Look out, see the gipsy!" "You would fain be kinglier, say, than I am?" the incessant confidential aside to a cloud of unnamed witnesses, the conversational tone, things all of which were before his time unknown in serious verse. Browning is hail-fellow-well-met with all the world, from queen to peasant, and half of what is called his dramatic faculty is merely the result of his genius for making friends with every species of mankind.

With this exception, however, the principal poetical writers of our time seem to be unaffected by the pressure of the masses around them. They select their themes, remain true to the principles of composition which they prefer, concern themselves with the execution of their verses, and regard the opinion of the millions as little or even less than their great forerunners did that of emperor or prince-bishop. Being born with quick intelligences into an age burdened by social difficulties, these latter occasionally interest them very acutely, and they write about them, not, I think, pressed into that service by the democratic spirit, but yielding to the attraction of what is moving and picturesque. A wit has lately said of the most popular, the most democratic of living French poets, M. François Coppée, that his blazon is "*des rimes riches sur la blouse prolétaire.*" But the central fact to a critic about M. Coppée's verse is, not the accident that he writes about poor people, but the essential point that his rhymes are richer and his verse more faultless than those of any of his contemporaries. We may depend upon it that democracy has had no effect on his prosody, and the rest is a mere matter of selection.

The fact seems to be that the more closely we examine the highest examples of the noblest class of literature the more we become persuaded that democracy has scarcely had any effect upon them at all. It has not interfered with the poets, least of all has it dictated to them. It has listened to them with respect; it has even contemplated their eccentricities with admiration; it has tried, with its millions of untrained feet, to walk in step with them. And when we turn from poetry to the best science, the best history, the best fiction, we find the same phenomenon. Democracy has been stirred to its depths by the writings of Darwin; but who can trace in those writings the smallest concession to the judgment or desire of the masses? Darwin became convinced of certain theories. To the vast mass of the public these theories were incredible, unpalatable, impious. With immense

patience, without emphasis of any kind, he proceeded to substantiate his views, to enlarge his exposition; and gradually the cold body of democratic opposition melted around that fervent atom of heat, and, in response to its unbroken radiation, became warm itself. All that can be said is that the new democratic condition is a better conductor than the old oligarchical one was. Darwin produces his effect more steadily and rapidly than Galileo or Spinoza, but not more surely, with exactly as little aid from without.

As far, then, as the summits of literature are concerned—the great masters of style, the great discoverers, the great intellectual illuminators—it may be said that the influence of democracy upon them is almost *nil*. It affords them a wider hearing, and therefore a prompter recognition. It gives them more readers, and therefore a more direct arrival at that degree of material comfort necessary for the proper conduct of their investigations, or the full polish of their periods. It may spoil them with its flatteries, or diminish their merit by seducing them to over-production; but this is a question between themselves and their own souls. A syndicate of newspapers, or the editor of a magazine may tempt a writer of to-day, as Villon was tempted with the wine-shop, or Coleridge with laudanum; but that is not the fault of the democracy. Nor, if a writer of real power is neglected, are people more or less to blame in 1891 than they were for letting Otway starve two hundred years ago. Some people, beloved of the gods, cannot be explained to mankind by king or caucus.

So far, therefore, as our present experience goes, we may relinquish the common fear that the summits of literature will be submerged by democracy. When the new spirit first began to be studied, many whose judgment on other points was sound enough were confident that the instinctive programme of the democratic spirit was to prevent intellectual capacity of every kind from developing, for fear of the ascendancy which it would exercise. This is communism, and means democracy pushed to an impossible extremity, to a point from which it must rebound. No doubt, there is always a chance that a disturbance of the masses may for a moment wash over and destroy some phase of real intellectual distinction, just as it may sweep away, also for a moment, other personal conditions. But it looks as though the individuality would always reassert itself. The crowd that smashed the porcelain in the White House to celebrate the election of President Andrew Jackson had to buy more to take its place. The White House did not continue, even under Jackson, to subsist without porcelain. In the same way, edicts may be passed by communal councils forbidding citizens to worship the idols which the booksellers set up, and even that consummation may be reached, to which a prophet of our own day looks forward, when we shall all be forced by the police to walk hand in hand with "the craziest sot in the village" as our friend

and equal; none the less will human nature, at the earliest opportunity, throw off the bondage, and openly prefer Darwin and Tennyson to that engaging rustic. Indeed, all the signs of the times go to suggest that the completer the democracy becomes, the vaster the gap will be in popular honour between the great men of letters and "the craziest sot in the village." It is quite possible that the tyranny of extreme intellectual popularity may prove as tiresome as other and older tyrannies were. But that's another story, as the new catchword tells us.

Literature, however, as a profession or a calling, is not confined to the writings of the five or six men who, in each generation, represent what is most brilliant and most independent. From the leaders, in their indisputable greatness, the intellectual hierarchy descends to the lowest and broadest class of workers who in any measure hang on to the skirts of literature, and eke out a living by writing. It is in the middle ranks of this vast pyramid that we should look to see most distinctly the signs of the influence of democracy. We shall not find them in the broad and featureless residuum any more than in the strongly individualised summits. But we ought to discover them in the writers who have talent enough to keep them aloft, yet not enough to make them indifferent to outer support. Here, where all is lost or gained by a successful appeal to the crowd as it hastens by, we might expect to see very distinctly the effects of democracy, and here, perhaps, if we look closely, we may see them.

It appears to me that even here it is not so easy as one would imagine that it would be to pin distinct charges to the sleeve of the much-abused democracy. Let us take the bad points first. The enlargement of the possible circle of an author's readers may awaken in the breast of a man who has gained a little success, the desire to arrive at a greater one in another field, for which he is really not so well equipped. An author may have a positive talent for church history, and turning from it, through cupidity, to fiction, may, by addressing a vastly extended public, make a little more money by his bad stories than he was able to make by his good hagiology, and so act to the detriment of literature. Again, an author who has made a hit with a certain theme, or a certain treatment of that theme, may be held nailed down to it by the public long after he has exhausted it and it has exhausted him. Again, the complaisance of the public, and the loyal eagerness with which it cries "Give, give," to a writer that has pleased it, may induce that writer to go on talking long after he has anything to say, and so conduce to the watering of the milk of wit. Or—and this is more subtle and by no means so easy to observe—the pressure of commonplace opinion, constantly checking a writer when he shelves away towards either edge of the trodden path of mediocrity, may keep him from ever adding to the splendid

originalities of literature. This shows itself in the disease which we may call *Mudieitis*, the inflammation produced by the fear that what you are inspired to say, and know you ought to say, will be unpalatable to the circulating libraries, that "the wife of a country incumbent," that terror before which Messrs. Smith fall prone upon their faces, may write up to headquarters and expostulate. In all these cases, without doubt, we have instances of the direct influence of democracy upon literature, and that of a deleterious kind. Not one of them, however, can produce a bad effect upon any but persons of weak or faulty character, and these would probably err in some other direction, even at the court of a grand duke.

On the other hand, the benefits of democratic surroundings are felt in these middle walks of literature. The appeal to a very wide audience has the effect of giving a writer whose work is sound but not of universal interest, an opportunity of collecting, piecemeal, individual readers enough to support him. The average sanity of a democracy, and the habit it encourages of immediate, full, and candid discussion, preserves the writer whose snare is eccentricity from going too far in his folly. The celebrated eccentrics of past literature, the Lycophrons and the Gongoras, the Donnes and the Gombrevilles, were the spokesmen of small and pedantic circles, disdainful of the human herd, "sets" whose members rejoiced in the conceits and extravagance of their respective favourites, and encouraged these talented personages to make mountebanks of themselves. These leaders were in most cases excessively clever, and we find their work, or a little of it, very entertaining as we cross the history of *belles-lettres*. But it is impossible not to see that, for instance, each of the mysterious writers I have mentioned would, in a democratic age, and healthily confronted with public criticism, have been able to make a much wholesomer and broader use of his cleverness. The democratic spirit, moreover, may be supposed to encourage directness of utterance, simplicity, vividness, and lucidity. I say it may be supposed to do so, because I cannot perceive that with all our liberty the nineteenth century has proceeded any farther in this direction than the hide-bound eighteenth century was able to do. On the whole, indeed, I find it very difficult to discover that democracy, as such, is affecting the quality of such good literature as we possess in any very general or obvious way. It may be that we are still under the oligarchic tradition, and that a social revolution, introducing a sudden breach in our habits, and perhaps paralysing the profession of letters for a few years, would be followed by a new literature of a decidedly democratic class. We are speaking of what we actually see, and not of vague visions which may seem to flit across the spectral mirror of the future.

But when we pass from the quality of the best literature to the quantity of it, then it is impossible to preserve so indifferent or so

optimistic an attitude. The democratic habit does not, if I am correct, make much difference in the way in which good authors write, but it very much affects the amount of circulation which their writings obtain. The literature of which I have hitherto spoken is that of which analysis can take cognisance, the writing which possesses a measure at least, of distinction, of accomplishment, that which, in every class belongs to the tradition of good work. It is very easy to draw a rough line, not too high, above which all may fairly be treated as literature in *posse* if not in *esse*. In former ages, almost all that was published, certainly all that attracted public attention and secure readers, was of this sort. The baldest and most grotesque Elizabethan drama, the sickliest romance that lay with Bibles and with *billets-doux* on Belinda's toilet-table, the most effete didactic poem of the Hayley and Seward age, had this quality of belonging to the literary camp. It was a miserable object, no doubt, and wholly without value, but it wore the king's uniform. If it could have been better written, it would have been well written. But, as a result of democracy, which is still looked upon as the field of literature has been invaded by camp-followers of every kind, so active and so numerous, that they threaten to oust the soldiery themselves; persons in every variety of costume, from court-clothes to rags, but agreeing only in this, that they are not dressed as soldiers of literature.

These amateurs and specialists, these writers of books that are not books, and essays that are not essays, are peculiarly the product of a democratic age. A love for the distinguished parts of literature, and even a conception that such parts exist, is not common among men, and it is not obvious that democracy has led to its encouragement. Hitherto the tradition of style has commonly been respected; no very open voice having been as yet raised against it. But with the vast majority of persons it remains nothing but a mystery, and one which they secretly regard with suspicion. The enlargement of the circle of readers merely means an increase of persons who, without an ear, are admitted to the concert of literature. At present they listen to the traditional sonatas and mazurkas with bored respect, but they are really longing for music-hall ditties on the concertina. To this ever-increasing congregation of the unmusical comes the technical amateur, with his dry facts and exact knowledge; the flippant amateur, with his comic "bits" and laughable miscellanies; the didactic and religious amateur, anxious to mend our manners and save our souls. These people, whose power must not be slighted, and whose value, perhaps, can only relatively be denied, have something definite, something serviceable to give in the form of a paper or a magazine or a book. What wonder that they should form dangerous rivals to the writer who is assiduous about the way in which a thing

is said, and careful to produce a solid and harmonious effect by characteristic language?

It was mainly during the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century that this body of technical, professional, and non-literary writing began to develop. We owe it, without doubt, to the spread of exact knowledge and the emancipation of speculative thought. It was from the law first, then from divinity, then from science, and last from philosophy that the studied graces were excluded—a sacrifice on the altar of positive expression. If a writer on precise themes were to adopt to-day the balanced elegance of Evelyn or Shaftesbury's stately and harmonious periods, he would either be read for his style and his sentiment or not at all. People would go for their information elsewhere. No doubt, in a certain sense, this change is due to the democracy; it is due to the quickening and rarifying of public life, to the creation of rapid needs, to a breaking down of barriers. But so long as the books and papers which deal with professional matters do not utterly absorb the field, so long as they leave time and space for pure literature, there is no reason why they should positively injure the latter, though they must form a constant danger to it. At times of public ferment, when great constitutional or social problems occupy universal attention, there can be no doubt that the danger ripens into real injury. When newspapers are full of current events in political and social life, the graver kind of books are slackly bought, and "the higher criticism" disappears from the Reviews. We can imagine a state of things in which such a crowding out should become chronic, when the nervous system of the public should crave such incessant shocks of actuality, that no time should be left for thought or sentiment. We might arrive at the condition in which Wordsworth pictured the France of ninety years ago:—

" Perpetual emptiness! unceasing change!
No single volume paramount, no code,
No master spirit, no determined road;
But equally a want of books and men!"

When we feel inclined to forebode such a shocking lapse into barbarism, it may help us if we reflect how soon France, in spite of, or by the aid of, democracy, threw off the burden of emptiness. The intellectual destitution of that country at the beginning of the century and the passionate avidity with which, on the return of political tranquillity, France threw herself back on literary and artistic avocations, should strengthen the nerves of those pessimists who, at the slightest approach to a similar condition in modern England, declare that our intellectual prestige is sunken, never to revive. There is a great elasticity in the tastes of the average man, and when they have been pushed violently in one direction they do not remain fixed there,

but swing with equal force to the opposite side. The aesthetic part of mankind may be obscured, it cannot be obliterated.

The present moment appears to me to be a particularly unhappy one for indulging in gloomy diatribes against the democracy. Books, although they constitute the most durable part of literature, are not, in this day, by any means its sole channel. Periodical literature has certainly been becoming more and more democratic; and if the editors of our newspapers gauge in any degree the taste of their readers, that taste must be becoming more and more inclined to the formal and distinctive parts of writing. A few years ago, the London newspapers were singularly indifferent to the claims of books and of the men who wrote them. An occasional stately column of the *Times* represented almost all the notice which a daily paper would take of a volume. The provincial press was still worse provided; it afforded no light at all for such of its clients as were groping their way in the darkness of the book-market. All this is now changed. One or two of the evening newspapers of London deserve great commendation for having dared to treat literary subjects, in distinction from mere reviews of books, as of immediate public interest. Their example has at length quickened some of the morning papers, and has spread into the provinces to such a signal degree that several of the great newspapers of the North of England are now served with literary matter of a quality and a fulness not to be matched in a single London daily twenty years ago. When an eminent man of letters dies, the comments which the London and country press make upon his career and the nature of his work are often quite astonishing in their fulness; space being dedicated to these notices such as, but a few years ago, would have been grudged to a politician or to a prize-fighter. The newspapers are the most democratic of all vehicles of thought, and the prominence of literary discussion in their columns does not look as though the democracy was anxious to be thought indifferent or hostile to literature.

In all this bustle and reverberation, however, it may be said that there is not much place for those who desire, like Jean Chapelain, to live in innocence, with Apollo and with their books. There can be no question, that the tendency of modern life is not favourable to sequestered literary scholarship. At the same time, it is a singular fact that, even in the present day, when a Thomas Love Peacock or an Edward Fitzgerald hides himself in a careful seclusion, like some rare aquatic bird in a backwater, his work slowly becomes manifest, and receives due recognition and honour. Such authors do not enjoy great sales, even when they become famous, but, in spite of their opposition to the temper of their time, in spite of all obstacles imposed by their own peculiarities of temperament, they receive, in the long run, a fair measure of success. They have their hour, sooner or

later. More than that no author of their type could have under any form of political government, or at any period of history. They should not, and, in fairness it must be said they rarely do, complain. They know that "Dieu paie," as Alphonse Karr said, "mais il ne paie pas tous les samedis."

It is the writers who want to be paid every Saturday upon whom democracy produces the worst effect. It is not the neglect of the public, it is the facility with which the money can be wheedled out of the pockets of the public on trifling occasions that constitutes a danger to literature. There is an enormous quantity of almost un-mixed shoddy now produced and sold, and the peril is that authors who are capable of doing better things will be seduced into adding to this wretched product for the sake of the money. We are highly solicitous nowadays, and it is most proper that we should be, about adequate payment for the literary worker. But as long as that payment is in no sort of degree proportioned to the merit of the article he produces, the question of its scale of payment must remain one rather for his solicitor than for the critics. The importance of our own Society of Authors, for instance, lies, it appears to me, in its constituting a sort of firm of solicitors acting solely for literary clients. But the moment we go further than this, we get into difficulties. The money standard tends to become the standard of merit. At a recent public meeting, while one of the most distinguished of living technical writers was speaking for the literary profession, one of those purveyors of tenth-rate fiction, who supply stories, as they might supply vegetables, to a regular market, was heard to say with scorn, "Call *him* an author?" "Why, yes!" her neighbour replied, "don't you know he has written so and so, and so and so?" "Well," said the other, "I should like to know what his sales are before I allowed he was an author."

It would be highly inopportune to call for a return of the *bonâ fide* sales of those of our leading authors who are not novelists. It is to be hoped that no such indulgence to the idlest curiosity will ever be conceded. But if such a thing were done, it would probably reveal some startling statistics. It would be found that many of those whose names are only next to the highest in public esteem do not receive more than the barest pittance from their writings, even from those which are most commonly in the mouths of their contemporaries. To mention only two writers, but these of singular eminence and prominence, it was not until the later years of their lives that either Robert Browning or Matthew Arnold began to be sure of even a very moderate pecuniary return on their books. The curious point was that both of them achieved fame of a wide and brilliant nature long before their books began to "move," as publishers call it. It is not easy to think of an example of this curious fact more surprising than this, that

"Friendship's Garland" during many years did not pass out of one moderate edition. This book, published when Arnold was filling the mouths of men with his paradoxical utterances, lighted up all through with such wit and charm of style as can hardly, of its kind, be paralleled in recent prose; a masterpiece, not dealing with remote or abstruse questions, but with burning matters of the day—this entertaining and admirably modern volume enjoyed a sale which would mean deplorable failure in the case of a female novelist of a perfectly subterranean order. This case could be paralleled, no doubt, by a dozen others, equally striking. I have just taken up a volume of humour, the production of a "funny man" of the moment, and I see on its title-page the statement that it is in its one hundred and nineteenth edition. Of this book 119,000 copies have been bought during a space of time equal to that in which Matthew Arnold sold probably about 119 copies of "Friendship's Garland." In the face of these facts it is not possible to say that, though it may buy well, the democracy buys wisely.

It is this which makes me fear that, as I have said, the democratic spirit is influencing disadvantageously the quantity rather than the quality of good literature. It seems to be starving its best men, and helping its coarsest Jeshuruns to wax fat. The good authors write as they would have written under any circumstances, valuing their work for its own sake, and enjoying that state of happiness of which Mr. William Morris has been speaking, "the happiness only possible to artists and thieves." But while they produce in this happy mood, the democracy, which honours their names and displays an inexplicable curiosity about their persons, is gradually exterminating them by borrowing their books instead of buying them, and so reducing them to a level just below the possibility of living by pure literature. The result is, as any list of the most illustrious living authors (not novelists) will suggest, that scarcely a single man or woman of them has lived by the production of books. An amiable poet of the older school, whose name is everywhere mentioned with honour, used to say that he published books instead of keeping a carriage, as his fortune would not permit him to afford both of those luxuries. When we think of the prizes which literature occasionally offered to serious work in the eighteenth century, it seems as though there had been a very distinct retrogression in this respect.

The novel, in short, tends more and more to become the only professional branch of literature; and this is unfortunate, because the novel is the branch which shelters the worst work. In other sections of pure letters, if work is not in any way good, it is cast forth and no more heard of. But a novel may be utterly silly, be condemned by every canon of taste, be ignored by the press, and yet may enjoy a mysterious success, pass through tens of editions, and start its author

on a career which may lead to opulence. It would be interesting to know what it is that attracts the masses to books of this kind. How do they hear of them in the first instance? Why does one vapid and lady-like novel speed on its way, while eleven others, apparently just like unto it, sink and disappear? How is the public appetite for this insipidity to be reconciled with the partiality of the same readers for stories by writers of real excellence? Why do those who have once pleased the public continue to please it, whatever lapses into carelessness and levity they permit themselves? I have put these questions over and over again to those whose business it is to observe and take advantage of the fluctuations of the book-market, but they give no intelligible reply. If the Sphinx had asked *Œdipus* to explain the position of "*Edna Lyall*," he would have had to throw himself from the rock.

If the novelists, bad or good, showed in their work the influence of democracy, they would reward study. But it is difficult to perceive that they do. The good ones, from Mr. George Meredith downwards, write to please themselves, in their own manner, just like as do the poets, the critics, and the historians, leaving it to the crowd to take their books or let them lie. The commonplace ones write blindly, following the dictates of their ignorance and their inexperience, waiting for the chance that the capricious public may select a favourite from their ranks. Almost the only direct influence which the democracy, as at present constituted in England, seems to bring to bear on novels, is the narrowing of the sphere of incident and emotion within which they may disport themselves. It would be too complicated and dangerous a question to ask here, at the end of an article, whether that restriction is a good thing or a bad. The undeniable fact is that whenever an English novelist has risen to protest against it, the weight of the democracy has been exercised to crush him. He has been voted "*not quite nice*," a phrase of hideous import, as fatal to a modern writer as the inverted thumb of a Roman matron was to a gladiator. But all we want now is a very young man strong enough, sincere enough, and popular enough to insist on being listened to when he speaks of real things—and perhaps we have found him.

One great novelist our race has however produced, who seems not only to write under the influence of democracy, but to be absolutely inspired by the democratic spirit. This is Mr. W. D. Howells, and it is only by admitting this isolation of his, I think, that we can arrive at any just comprehension of his place in contemporary literature. It is the secret of his extreme popularity in America, except in a certain Europeanised clique; it is the secret of the instinctive dislike of him, amounting to a blind hereditary prejudice, which is so widely felt in this country. Mr. Howells is the most exotic,

perhaps the only truly exotic writer of great distinction whom America has produced; Emerson, and the school of Emerson in its widest sense, being too self-consciously in revolt against the English oligarchy, out of which they sprang, to be truly distinguished from it. But England, with its aristocratic traditions and codes, does not seem to weigh with Mr. Howells. His books suggest no rebellion against, nor subjection to, what simply does not exist for him or for his readers. He is superficially irritated at European pretensions, but essentially, and when he becomes absorbed in his work as a creative artist, he ignores everything but that vast level of middle-class American society out of which he sprang, which he faithfully represents, and which adores him. To English readers, the novels of Mr. Howells must always be something of a puzzle, even if they partly like them, and as a rule they hate them. But to the average educated American who has not been to Europe, these novels appear the most deeply experienced and ripely sympathetic product of modern literature.

When we review the whole field of which some slight outline has here been attempted, we see much that may cheer and encourage us, and something, too, that may cause grave apprehension. The alertness and receptivity of the enormous crowd which a writer may now hope to address is a pleasant feature. The hammering away at an idea without inducing it to enter anybody's ears is now a thing of the past. What was whispered in London yesterday afternoon was known in New York this morning, and we have the comments of America upon it with our five o'clock tea to-day. But this is not an unmixed benefit, for if an impression is now quickly made, it is as quickly lost, and there is little profit in seeing people receive an idea which they will immediately forget. Moreover, for those who write what the millions read, there is something disturbing and unwholesome in this public roar that is ever rising in their ears. They ensconce themselves in their study, they draw the curtains, light the lamp, and plunge into their books, but from the darkness outside comes that distracting and agitating cry of the public that demands their presence. This is a new temptation, and indicates a serious danger. But the popular writers will get used to it, and when they realise how little it really means it may cease to disturb them. In the meantime, let no man needlessly dishearten his brethren in this world of disillusion, by losing faith in the ultimate survival and continuance of literature.

EDMUND GOSSE.

A BASIS OF POSITIVE MORALITY.

THE desire for a basis of positive morality has greatly increased amongst thinking men during the last twenty years in the leading countries of Europe. The chief reason for this desire is the conviction that the existing foundations of morality are neither universal nor permanent. The theory is distinct from the practice, and there is no theory whatever that is generally accepted even in Europe, without mentioning the vast populations outside of it. Theories of morality are taught by the authoritative representatives of different religions, but they are not identical and they have not the same weight and importance relatively to ritual and dogma. Again, they are not maintained from age to age with the same steadiness and energy. A Church hardly ever fails to maintain its rites and ceremonies with scrupulous exactness, even under the most adverse conditions, but we know as a matter of fact that very powerful Churches, at times when their power was irresistible and almost beyond question, have failed to maintain morality amongst the laity, although that very laity was strongly attached to its own orthodoxy and proud of its religious belief. The most striking example is that of Louis XIV. and his courtiers—he a bigoted and intolerant Roman Catholic, hating Protestants, without the slightest respect for their superior morality, and setting, for his own part, the double example of undisguised adultery and unimpeachable orthodoxy. The power of the Church in France during the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was so tremendous that Nonconformists were visited with the heaviest disabilities, yet the morals of good society only went from bad to worse. Heresy was punished without mercy, and adultery was not punished, whilst immorality in dealings was so common that public corruption became as scandalous as it is now in Turkey or Morocco.

Rome itself, under the Popes, when ecclesiastical authority was strong enough to prohibit all freedom of thought and worship, ought to have been exceptionally moral, but although ecclesiastical authority could make the place a city of ceremonies, it never raised Papal Rome to a higher level of morality than the low level of Southern Europe. Few Churches have enjoyed more unquestioned authority than that possessed by the Anglican Church over the English aristocracy during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, yet drinking and swearing were much commoner in those days than they are now, and sexual libertinage was as frequent as it is to-day.

The inference is that although morality may be adopted and taught theoretically by a priesthood, it is not, in practice, held to be so important in religious fellowship as ritual. If morality held the first place, it would, of itself, form a bond of union stronger than ritual. Moral men of different religions would associate together in spite of ceremonial differences, and form a class, a sort of moral aristocracy, setting the example of a better life. Such a class would encourage the practice of truthfulness in word and deed, as well as of sexual purity. The actual state of things is entirely different from this imaginary one. It is the identity of outward ceremonial that forms the social bond, and truthfulness is so far from being a part of it that the false profession of religious beliefs is not a disqualification, but a passport. It is well known, too, that sexual immorality, provided only that it has not brought its practitioners into the divorce court, is more readily overlooked than unfashionableness in the choice of a religion. In France a moral Protestant has less chance of being looked upon as a gentleman than an immoral Roman Catholic, and unless English country life has greatly altered since I was familiar with it, the same is true in England with regard to Anglicanism and Dissent. Yet in both countries the social disfavour that weighs upon the weaker religious communities is not morally unfavourable to them; on the contrary, as they live more outside of the vanities of life than the aristocracies, they have a better opportunity for cultivating the austerer virtues. If the reader will look back over the history of England, France, and Italy, since the Middle Ages, he will find that the most immoral periods have usually coincided with the irresistible domination of a single creed, and that with diversity of religious beliefs has arisen a more advanced morality. In times of persecution the persecuted have usually been better men than their oppressors, and as sacerdotal authority has declined, the moral character even of the dominant priesthood has improved. This experience of the past is not encouraging for the theory that the moral direction of the world ought to be in the hands of some central religious authority, such, for example, as the Pope. Yet, on the other hand, whilst a diversity of religions is favourable to the growth of morality, it is evidently not favourable to an identity of moral views, as the different

creeds are likely to have a variety of moral standards, and this leads to the question whether it might not be possible to discover some basis of positive morality equally acceptable by all men.

Outside of the different creeds what have we? There is Custom, the guide of the unthinking and the refuge of those who are weary because they have thought too much. And there is Nature, which all philosophers interrogate and which gives the clearest answers on all physical questions and the most confusing answers, or no answers at all, on moral ones.

It is evidently in vain to take the custom of any one people and time with a hope of making it universal. Custom is in its nature both local and temporary, and not only is it local, but it belongs to class quite as much as to locality. There are three questions to be asked about every custom. In what place has it prevailed, at what date, and in which class? There is the custom of duelling, for example, once prevalent but now extinct in England, still surviving in France and elsewhere, but especially in France. If you ask the third question, "In which class?" you find that duelling occurs most frequently amongst journalists and politicians, more rarely amongst officers. Lawyers do not often fight; the duel very seldom happens in the commercial classes; whilst amongst peasants, clergymen, and professors it never happens at all. The custom is not national in the sense of being general in the nation, it is a class custom only, and chiefly localised in Paris. If from the custom you go to the opinion about its moral value, you find a wide-spread disapprobation, joined to a feeling that in certain cases it is inevitable, and that it is salutary as a discipline in courage. Present English opinion looks upon duelling with contempt, but this is quite a modern opinion, due in part to the notion that it is French. If we ask what moral guidance is to be had from custom and opinion in regard to duelling, the answer must be that such guidance can have no positive character, that it is not universal but local, and that even in the town where duelling most prevails, the opinion that imposes it is nothing but a class-opinion. Nor is there any reason for assuming that the duel, even in the classes which now practise it, will be a permanent institution. It now usually stops at the first wound, however slight, which is a sign of decadence, and it may become extinct in a hundred years.

The uncertainty of custom as a basis of positive morality is shown by the relaxing of former stringency about marriage. The well-known case of George Eliot was interesting in itself as evidence of the immensity of the sacrifices that a clear-headed woman will make where her affections are concerned, but it was still more interesting as evidence of a change in public opinion. As for George Eliot herself, her conscience was absolutely at rest. Her moral sense was exceptionally active, yet she did not find that it reproached her on account of what she regarded as her marriage with Mr. Lewes. There

is, however, a well founded belief that individual desires and affections do not in themselves constitute a basis of positive morality. The basis must be broader, two persons cannot alter public morality in their own favour. And yet these two did actually, in course of time, obtain a remarkable degree of tolerance for an irregular arrangement. Lord Acton once made a striking estimate of the social loss incurred by George Eliot on account of her *liaison*. Her position in London society might have been one of the highest, yet she chose a lot which involved almost complete retirement. Still, by the remarkable power of her own personality, and also partly by the visible and single-minded devotion of Mr. Lewes, George Eliot drew around her a circle which included the kind of society she most cared for. Her retirement was never isolation, and in course of time the outer world began to speak of her domestic life with respect, regretting only for her own sake that it had been a violation of ordinary rules. Half a dozen cases such as hers would seriously disturb the national ideas about marriage. If, then, on a subject of this supreme importance, public opinion is liable to modification, there seems to be more than ever a need for a basis of positive morality. It may be answered that, if lay opinion changes, at least clerical authority remains the same, yet nothing was so remarkable after George Eliot's death as the mild tone of the clergy who, without any exception that came under my notice, spoke of her most charitably as of a woman sincerely religious in her own way, though that way might not have been exactly theirs. That this mildness was not due to any blunting of the clerical moral sense we know from the rightful and outspoken clerical condemnation of those cases of adultery which are accompanied by fraud and deceit, and which destroy the peace of families. This admission of justice instead of a hard and rigid rule is, in the true and original meaning of the word *casuistry*, the consideration of cases. But when people become sufficiently just to take cases into consideration, they begin to reason, and if they reason they set an example which takes away from custom its essential authority, its right to settle everything at once and decisively before there can be any time for reasoning. To be just in such a case as that of George Eliot is to weaken the national custom in a matter of the highest social importance. When Charlotte Brontë wrote "*Jane Eyre*," she presented the problem with unexampled vividness and power. May a man whose home is desolate reconstruct for himself a happy domestic life when religious and national customs have not given him liberty to do so?" Charlotte Brontë's plain and safe answer was "No; he may not, he must endure his isolation." George Eliot's more perilous answer was, "If happiness is still possible for him he need not refuse it." This, however, forces us at once into *casuistry*, into the special consideration of cases, and then public morality is no longer simple and plain but a matter for detailed argu-

ment. The law of the land is perfectly neutral in the matter, except that it would not regard the children of such a *liaison* as legitimate.

Modern England has been forced to criticise her customs because some of those bequeathed to her were too bad to be maintained, and as reformers attacked these, the better customs were in danger of being rejected along with them. It is like the restoration of an old church, which involves destruction, and may cause irreparable loss. The ideal condition of a nation, as far as morality is concerned (though not for its intellectual powers), would be to have a set of good customs and stick to them with complete practical regularity, never even beginning to reason about them. There would then be no necessity to argue about morality, any more than the birds argue about it, their customs being moral enough for them. Modern reformers may not desire to destroy altogether the power of custom; they may wish to substitute good customs for bad, yet the real effect of every change brought about by reasoning is to weaken the authority of custom generally, and to substitute the caprice of individuals for the wisdom of all society accumulated during many generations. In an age like ours, when opinions of all kinds are very freely expressed, we have no assurance whatever that any custom will continue to hold its ground. There is marriage, for example, which seemed founded on nature as well as on religious authority, and therefore safe; but divorce courts weaken it in one way (by giving it a temporary character), and free love weakens it in another. The hearty reception of Mr. Parnell in Dublin was alarming, as a symptom of contemporary sentiment. His supporters, who included ladies and some priests, appeared by the warmth of their greeting to condone entirely his offence against the security of marriage, and a young girl actually presented him with flowers; yet if such offences as Mr. Parnell's are not to be discouraged by public opinion, it is hard to see how marriage itself is to be preserved. A society in which all men followed their instincts with the freedom of which Mr. Parnell set the example, might retain marriage as a formal ceremony, but that sense of safety which is its real advantage would be gone, and people might almost as well live in simple concubinage from the beginning.

As religion has rarely the power to enforce its best ordinances, and has usually failed to enforce them when it possessed the necessary authority, as custom is weakened by every infraction till the infractions themselves become customary, the idea has been sometimes suggested that if natural morality could be made authoritative we should have at least a basis that would endure with the human race. The difficulties here are two fold; the first is to ascertain what is strictly natural, and the second is to find a sanction to give force to the law. In one sense the highest civilisation is natural, being due to the successive satisfaction of natural desires for comfort, shelter,

society, and protection. In another sense, that of rejecting what is artificial, any savage who knows the use of arms and tools is already beyond the state of Nature. And if the argument is to be that each man must act according to his own nature, that could only originate once more the long series of conflicts, out of which mankind have emerged into their present artificial state. A variety of sexual arrangements are natural in early states of society which become abhorrent when the advance of civilisation has left them some distance behind. We say that lying and theft are vices, but no one can say that they are unnatural, whilst the violence of primitive hatred led on inevitably to manslaughter. In warfare the slaughter of prisoners naturally suggests itself, and religious institutions, in their early stages and later, have naturally silenced contradiction by killing off opponents. All these practices are not only in accordance with Nature, but they are in precise obedience to the dictates of primitive reason. If our own practices have in some respects and to a certain degree improved upon them, it is only because a better state of civilisation has made the improvement possible without injury to private interests, or rather, because the public interest is better understood.

The reference to Nature fails in another way. It is sometimes said that Nature is unfailing in her rewards and punishments, and that in this natural justice we may find a basis of positive morality. Unfortunately the rewards and punishments of Nature are for the most part nothing more than satisfactions and dissatisfactions attached to the individual idiosyncrasy. If each of us does what is in accordance with his constitution a sense of satisfaction follows; if he acts against it, though he may act better, there is a sense of dissatisfaction. A rich man inspects his cattle, detects in one of his cows the first faint indications of approaching mortal disease, and sends her off to the nearest fair, of course without mentioning her ailment. A poor man may buy her in ignorance, and incur what, to him, is a disastrous loss; yet, in a case of this kind, the vendor incurs no natural punishment; on the contrary, he is rewarded by the satisfaction attendant on a good stroke of business. An honourable man would suffer remorse after such an action; but an honourable man would never commit it. A man without principle, moral or religious, courts an heiress for her fortune; she is pious, and he wins her by cant and hypocrisy. Will he feel any regret for the means employed? He will congratulate himself on his own intelligence and skill; and there is nothing in all Nature to disturb his self-satisfaction, whilst all human society will pay deference to him on account of his wife's money. Students of the career of Napoleon the First will invariably find that satisfaction, in his case, was attendant upon the success of his schemes, however nefarious, and that he was never sorry for his sins, but only vexed with his failures. He was not punished at St. Helena for having

been a successful brigand, but for having failed to keep his booty at the right time, which he so easily might have done. His nephew afterwards committed perjury and slaughtered hundreds of innocent people in the streets of Paris, crimes which led him to all sorts of satisfactions, including marriage with one of the most beautiful women in Europe, and the Order of the Garter. There is not a trace of evidence that he ever felt any remorse; on the contrary, his manners were remarkable for their extreme tranquillity.

It is difficult in an article intended for general reading to speak quite plainly about what are called natural punishments for sexual irregularities. I used to believe, as we all do at first, inevitably, that there are real natural punishments for these sins; it seems, at first sight, obvious that it is so. Further reflection, however, shows that what seem penalties are most irregularly inflicted, and that to many of the worst crimes they are not applied by any natural process at all. There is no natural chastisement (I am not speaking of human arrangements) either for rape, or seduction, or adultery. The unmarried woman who has a child incurs just the same natural sufferings as the married woman and no more. So far as nature only is concerned she may be rewarded by the satisfaction of the maternal instincts which is denied to the sterile wife. I remember a man, the son of a woman whose lover died before marriage, and few married mothers have ever had a son so devoted, or derived so much happiness from maternity. Every one who knows something of the lower classes is aware that mere cohabitation often gives the substantial happiness that is sought in marriage, whilst legitimate wedlock may be a dismal failure, full of misery and disappointment. It is true that immoral men, who are at the same time imprudent, incur dangerous risks to health, but maladies are not a necessary consequence of immorality. The poor are much more exposed to them than the rich, and these ailments are far more terrible for ignorant savages, without medical help, than they are for Londoners and Parisians. Besides, they are frequently inflicted on the innocent, which a true punishment would never be, and the worst of them is becoming less virulent, showing a difference of severity from age to age. The same irregularity in the application of punishment, if it really were punishment, would be manifest in the consequences of other errors. Two barristers neglect what are called the laws of health in the struggle for professional success. One of them injures his nervous system and breaks down, the other escapes without injury, and is rewarded with celebrity and wealth. The effects of constant smoking and drinking are slight on some constitutions and deadly on others. All this unfairness is, however, as nothing compared with the cruel punishments apparently inflicted by Nature for doing what is absolutely right. An honest man prefers marriage to immorality, and gets tied for life to an ungrateful and faithless

woman; he obeys natural laws by procreating children, and his life is embittered by extravagant and undutiful sons. A poor man begets a large family, and every year that remains to him will be a struggle for pecuniary peace. A poor, honest, hard-working Frenchman said to me: "I was at the battle of Solferino, and I have often thought that if an Austrian bullet had put an end to me there, my lot would have been better than it has been with my large family to maintain." The virtue of truthfulness is often very severely punished by human intolerance, yet Nature has never interfered to save the truthful man from persecution. He used to be tortured, imprisoned, and burnt to death; in milder times he has been calumniated and ostracised, yet Nature has never protected him. The conclusion to which a thousand facts compel us is, that what seem to be Nature's punishments for doing wrong, and also for doing right, are not really punitive, but are simply consequences. A man is ill from overwork undertaken to support his family; a few years ago we should have been told that he was punished for violating natural law. We should now say, simply that his strength, mental or physical, had not been equal to the strain upon it. He is no more punished than a bridge is punished when it breaks down under excessive weight. Diseases are inflicted on some who appear to have deserved them, and on many who have not deserved them; they are consequences of conditions favourable to their culture and propagation; there is no need to seek further. Nature is not immoral in the sense of being against morality, she is only something else than moral. It is clear that what are called "the laws of Nature," or, more accurately, natural consequences, do not offer a basis of positive morality. They would do so if vice were punished invariably and exactly, and virtue duly rewarded; but that is not the case, neither is it true that Nature, without human authority, defines for us in what vice and virtue consist.

These views of Nature are not so remote as they may seem, from the practice of the Christian Churches, which has been in many ways a warfare against Nature for the attainment of a higher life than hers. A modern philosopher might agree with the clergy in the belief that man ought to do what his conscience affirms to be right, whether Nature rewards or punishes him for it; but whilst Christian asceticism looked upon Nature as an enemy to the soul, modern philosophy inclines more and more to the belief that Nature is not hostile but indifferent, and that she provides a ground which, by its very roughness and imperfection, and by the absence of succour, is favourable to the exercise of virtue.

The inevitable conclusion is that there is no basis of positive morality, but although this conclusion may seem at first discouraging it ought not to paralyse our efforts. To accept the idea that morality is relative instead of positive, and that it changes with different social states, is not to abandon morality. On the contrary, it encourages

the hope that a better social state than ours may evolve a higher morality than that which is now practised. Some of the greatest moral evils in our present state are due to the eager desire for wealth, which is respected, however gained, and to the shame attending upon poverty, which is despised, however honourable. A social state more genuinely democratic might relieve citizens from the obligation of becoming rich in order to win consideration, imposing upon them only the far lighter obligation of perfect solvency, and this would be the easier to fulfil that a truly democratic state would not exact from any one the maintenance of appearances beyond his means. Again, in a genuine democracy manual occupations would not be despised, so that there would be less dread of losing caste by marrying on small means and having many sons and daughters who could not, all of them, be genteel. The remarkable increase in liberty of discussion that we have witnessed during the last few years is directly favourable to the cultivation of truthful habits, and such habits are helpful to other virtues. Modern publicity favours morality by giving unprecedented weight and rapidity of action to public opinion, and this leads each of us to feel a sense of moral power and responsibility. We know that public opinion can enforce its decisions as, for example, in the United States against the introduction of polygamy, and in France against the traffic in decorations, whilst in England and Ireland its strength has been tested by the Parnell case. In the future the only probable change will be to make public opinion more efficient still. It is we ourselves who have to form it, or at least prepare the form of it, for the next generation. We have it in our power to lower the moral standard or to elevate it, but we need not hope to elevate it without a closer union amongst lovers of a high moral ideal, notwithstanding differences of religious creed. If it is objected that "a high moral ideal" is a vague phrase with nothing positive about it; the answer must be that moral ideals have never been precisely scientific, but that, notwithstanding their changeableness and uncertainty, the pursuit of them has raised mankind to its present varying levels of truth, justice, purity, and honour.

In writing this article I have felt inconvenienced, especially towards the conclusion, by the necessity for compressing matters of the utmost possible importance within very narrow limits. With the permission of the Editor, I propose to recur to the subject in a future contribution. This will allow me to examine rather more fully the possible grounds of agreement between persons now divided by chasms of theological and philosophical dissension, but who, nevertheless, all equally believe that a generally accepted morality is desirable, and that it ought to have the sanction of a vigilant public opinion.

P. G. HAMERTON.

SOFIA REVISITED.

ON my way to the Bosphorus last autumn I travelled by railway, *via* Vienna and Belgrade, and through Bulgaria, stopping at Sofiá and Philippopolis. I had taken the same route more than thirty years ago, long before the railway from Belgrade to Constantinople was thought of. Nothing, therefore, could be more interesting than to note the changes which had taken place in the condition of the country, and especially in that of its capital, Sofiá.

In riding through Bulgaria by what was in some sense the main highway of the country, but which was hardly practicable, except on horseback, one passed through vast plains which had every look of being of fertile soil, but where there was little appearance of population. The people had been driven from these districts by oppression of the Turkish Begs, or landowners, or by misgovernment and arbitrary exactions of Pashas, and had transferred themselves to remote and little frequented valleys in the mountain districts, where they formed settlements in the nature of congested districts, not dissimilar to what are known by that name in the west of Ireland, and with the same conditions of poverty.

The city of Sofiá was to all appearance a Turkish town, with narrow and tortuous streets, and with numerous mosques and minarets. The people appeared to be miserably poor, and there was little or no trade. I lodged there, as at other places on the route, in a Turkish khan, where little was supplied except the floor and roof. Further south, beyond the range of the Balkans, in what is now called Eastern Roumelia, there was more appearance of activity, for the cultivation of roses for the well-known attar was extending, and this was reckoned one of the richest provinces of Turkey; it afforded also the best opportunity for plunder on the part of the Pashas sent from Constantinople.

Like almost all other Englishmen of the time, I was profoundly ignorant of the very existence of a people of Bulgarian race. It is curious indeed, in looking back, to have to make the admission that I was under the impression, even when travelling through this country, that the population consisted of Turks and Greeks. It was indeed a common assumption that the Christian population of the district were Greeks in race, as they were in religion.

It was not till I reached Constantinople, and made acquaintance with the late Lord Strangford, then attached to the British Embassy, who alone of then existing Englishmen knew anything of the Balkan Peninsula and its people, that I learned the existence of a Bulgarian people with a past history and a possible future. My ignorance even after passing through the district was not without some excuse, apart from the general lack of information in books on the subject, for the Bulgarians suffered under a kind of double eclipse; namely, by the Turks in the first instance, and secondly by the Greeks. They had been subjugated 400 years ago by the Turks, who, with their usual disdain of races conquered by them, had allowed the people to retain their religion, and with it much of the jurisdiction of their bishops in civil matters, such as inheritance, wills, civil suits, education, and the like; but the able and supple Greeks of Constantinople, mindful of their past rule over this country in Byzantine times, and ambitious of filling the same *rôle* in the future, had succeeded in persuading their masters at the Porte that the Bulgarians, being of the Greek Church by religion, ought therefore to be subject to the authority of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople, and by virtue of this concession had obtained for themselves immense power, in this province. They appointed pure Greeks as bishops. The Greek language was substituted for the Slavonic dialect in the churches and schools. As agents and secretaries of the Turkish Pashas in the administration of the district, the Greeks succeeded in becoming a kind of inferior ruling class under the ægis of the Turks, who were the real masters.

It was not till some years after my visit that the Bulgarians began to make a stand against this domination of the Greeks, and still later before they contemplated emancipation from the Turkish rule. Both movements had their origin in the spread of education among those of them in easier circumstances. There were no facilities for this in the province, but the younger men were sent to foreign schools and universities. No agency was more useful and more fruitful of result than the Crawford College at Roumeli Hissar on the Bosphorus, established by American philanthropists. Numerous Bulgarian young men received at this noble institution a modern education of the best kind, which fitted them to become the leaders of the new movement. A sensible proportion also of the men who, since the creation of an

independent Bulgaria, have come to the front and who have guided the policy of their country through the difficulties which beset it, and who have distinguished themselves in the Legislature, were educated at this institution.

I was told at the college that the Americans had found great difficulty in obtaining the consent of the Porte to its establishment. For many years the application was persistently refused. Fortunately, however, after the conclusion of the civil war between the Northern and Southern States, the Government of the United States sent a powerful squadron to the Mediterranean, to show their flag. On its appearing in Turkish waters, the Turks thought there must be some deep diplomatic object in this exhibition of force, and looking about them, could only discover a possible cause in their refusal to assent to the establishment of Crawford College. They hastened therefore to give their assent to it. They were perhaps justified in their first instinct that knowledge was power, and would be used against them; for in fact the college by providing a sound education to so many Bulgarians has proved to be a most powerful agent in the resuscitation of the country, and in the attainment and maintenance of its independence.

Lord Strangford was the first diplomat and writer of Western Europe who discovered the existence of these people, and who recognised the solidity of their qualities and their capacities for independence, and who made them known to the public. His frequent letters to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1867 and 1868 teemed with references to them; in the later year he referred in one of these letters to an interesting statement of the Bulgarian case by one of their race at Constantinople, which, he said, was the first appeal which any Bulgarian had ever addressed to an independent European public in person. So lately has this ancient nationality been restored to life and action! In the same year the Porte, at the instance of Russia, made a most important step in the same direction by abolishing the prerogatives of the Greek Patriarch over the Bulgarians, and by conferring "Berats" or civil jurisdiction on the Bulgarian Exarch and the bishops under him, thus restoring to the Bulgarians their national Church, and undermining and ultimately destroying the predominance and influence of the Greeks.

It is not necessary for me to advert here to the subsequent events of 1876 and 1877, which led to the war between Russia and Turkey; to the atrocities which were perpetrated by the Turks in Roumelia; to the effect which these had in deterring England from pursuing its traditional policy in support of Turkey against the advance of Russia; to the final defeat of the Turks under Osman Pasha at Plevna, and under Suliman Pasha at Shenova by General Skobeloff; to the advance of the Russians on Constantinople; to the treaty of San Stefano

which the largest possible extension was given to an independent Bulgaria, short of driving the Turks from Constantinople, or depriving them of their sway on the northern shores of the *Ægean Sea*; to the Treaty of Berlin, and the boasted success of Lord Beaconsfield in reducing the limits of Bulgaria, and dividing it into two provinces or States—the southern half, as Roumelia, to be more directly tributary to the Sultan, and liable to occupation and fortification by the Turks. Nor is it necessary to tell the story how all the predictions, anticipations, and fears on which this policy of Lord Beaconsfield was conceived and carried into effect have proved to be unfounded and futile; how Bulgaria has not, in fact, proved to be the tool of Russia, but has asserted its independence; how the union of the two provinces was practically effected in 1885 in spite of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, and, by a curious inversion of parts, against the vehement protest and diplomatic opposition of Russia, and with the more or less active support of England and Austria.

Those who joined in the agitation in England in 1876-7 on the subject of the Bulgarian atrocities to protest against British force and British influence being used to support the Turks in their retention of Bulgaria, find it most interesting to mark the progress which has been made by this people. It is difficult for any one who has not seen Bulgaria under the old and the new *régime* to appreciate the magnitude of the change, and the gulf which already separates the present from the past. It may be safely asserted that nothing more remarkable has occurred in modern Europe than the resuscitation of the Bulgarians, the capacity they have already shown for self-government, and the results they have already achieved. Thirty years ago, and even up to a later date, the province was hopelessly and helplessly under the dominion of the Turks; and there appeared to be not the slightest hope of its being freed from this condition. It had been so long degraded and depressed that there was no sign of revolt. It had no popular leaders; not a single Bulgarian had for centuries raised himself from the level of the common people, or had made his name known to Europe.

Nothing, it will be recollected, was more severely commented on in certain Philo-Turk quarters than the hope expressed by Mr. Gladstone during the agitation I have referred to, that the pashas, zaptiehs and the bimbashis would be driven bag and baggage out of Bulgaria. It was said to imply a wish that the Bulgarians would retaliate upon their oppressors by bloody reprisals. It meant really no more than that the instruments of Turkish rule should be withdrawn into Turkey proper, and that Bulgaria should be endowed with self-government. This is precisely what has happened, and with the happiest results. Many men, however, of reputation for political sagacity and foresight, were of opinion that the Bulgarians were so

debased, and so unfitted for self-government by the long tyranny of the Turks, that they would be wholly incapable of governing themselves, and that either anarchy would result from the withdrawal of the Turkish employés and tax-gatherers, or that the country would necessarily fall under the rule of Russia.

The Bulgarians have belied all these expectations, and have proved themselves worthy of the freedom which has been conferred on them with the assent of Europe. The principle of self-government has asserted itself, and has been successful beyond the expectation and hope of the most sanguine believer in this remedy for misgovernment and oppression. The people have equipped themselves with all the machinery of a most advanced democracy. They have a single Representative Chamber, elected by universal suffrage, and with Ministers responsible to it. Their Prince is the constitutional head of the State, the real power being in the people. They have adopted and enforced a free and compulsory system of education; they have already built schools in every commune; they have erected many technical schools and a university at Sofiá; they also maintain a considerable number of bursars in foreign universities; they have adopted a system of State railways, and already several lines have been constructed, which are doing well. They are making new harbours at Bourgas and Varna. They have adopted military conscription. Their soldiers—of whom a taste had been given by the bravery of the volunteers who served with the Russians in 1877—have proved themselves in the short but brilliant war with Servia to be of admirable quality. They have 30,000 men under arms, with 108 guns, and nearly 100,000 in reserve—a force which must be reckoned with in any proposed advance of Russia without the consent of the Bulgarians.

Everywhere there are signs of improvement; the people from the congested districts have come down into the plains, and are beginning to cultivate the fertile land. The country is one of peasant ownerships. Nearly all the peasants have at least a pair of oxen and forty to fifty sheep. Their farms are seldom less than fifteen acres. A large number of them grouped together form a village community, to which a large extent of common land or "*mera*" is attached, where the farmers can turn out an almost unlimited number of cattle or sheep. It appears that an agrarian reform had been carried out by the Turks some thirty or forty years before the war. The land had previously been owned by large proprietors, called *Begs*, most of them Moslems. These men oppressed the peasantry, and failed to pay taxes to the Government. A firman was issued, which conferred fixity of tenure on the cultivators, and imposed on them the obligation of paying the taxes, and the Turkish Government appears to have undertaken to compensate the expropriated *Begs*. As a result, a numerous peasant proprietary was established. The benefit of the change, however, was

apparent till independence was achieved. The industry of the country is almost exclusively agricultural; the methods of cultivation are of an antiquated description, and the small farmers are said to be slow to adopt improved methods for the scientific treatment of the land. In this they follow the conservative habits of the same classes in other countries. The Bulgarian Government is making every effort to initiate improvements by establishing model farms and agricultural schools.

The peasants are a saving, thrifty class, and their representatives in the *Sobranje* reflect this quality, for they have managed the finances of the State with prudence and economy. Their budgets maintain an equilibrium between expenditure and revenue which is rare with young States. Their public debt is very small compared with those of Greece and Roumania, not more than £3,000,000, and the whole of it has been expended on making railways, which represent an asset of an equivalent value. Compared with other European countries, their commercial policy is that of Free Trade. They have recently made commercial treaties with England, Austria, and some other countries, and have agreed to reduce their customs duties to a maximum of 8 per cent. There can be no manner of doubt that, as regards all the essential elements of industrial and social life, the new State is making great and most satisfactory progress. Life and property are secure; justice is fairly administered; the responsibility of the authorities to public opinion is fully recognised; freedom of the press, and the right of public meeting are secured.

The population now consists (including Roumelia) of 3,200,000. Of these, 2,800,000 are Bulgarians, of Slav race; and 400,000 are Mussulmans. The latter have largely diminished in number since the release from Turkey; upwards of 400,000 are said to have emigrated to Asia Minor. This has not been in consequence of any maltreatment by the new Government. On the contrary, every effort appears to have been made by the authorities to induce them to remain. Their religion has been respected; their mosques and their *Vaceufs* (or Church property) have been preserved to them. There is complete religious equality before the law. There are twenty-five Mussulman representatives in the Assembly, where they have made no complaint of the treatment of their sects. A friend told me that he asked a Turk some little time ago how he liked the new order of things in Bulgaria. His reply was that his co-religionists, as a rule, were perfectly satisfied; they had better wages and more certain work; and, if dispute arose, they got justice; but he said that many of his neighbours told him that, on their return home after the war, their hands were examined by the Christians, and, if clean, they were treated well; but if a single speck of blood was to be found on them, it was made uncomfortable for them, and they were obliged to emigrate. When one remembers what took place at Philippopolis and other

Roumelian towns in 1876-7, under the auspices of Shefket Pasha and other emissaries of the Porte, one cannot be surprised that those tainted with these crimes should have found it expedient to make themselves scarce.

A large number of the Mussulman population consisted of Tartars and Circassians, who had emigrated from the Crimea and the Caucasus, and who had been specially located in Bulgaria and Roumelia, with the object of forming a population on which the Porte could rely in the event of a rising of the Christians. It was these people who were the agents of the Government in the horrors which led to the war. They have now made tracks elsewhere, mostly to Asia Minor, where it is alleged they are again the source of trouble in the districts where they have been planted.

The indigenous Mussulman population, many of them of Bulgarian race, were of a different temperament, and, as a rule, did not get on badly with their Christian neighbours. Great efforts have been made by Khojas and priests from Constantinople, to induce these people to emigrate. The mosques have resounded with exhortations to them to leave a country subject to the Giour, and to put themselves under the rule of the Sultan. Offers of land in Asia Minor have been freely made. Many have followed this advice. Where a race or religious sect has been long dominant, it does not easily submit to the new order, which has reversed the position and established equality.

It was, I think, Mr. Spurgeon who once said that history showed that every religious sect had at one time or other persecuted others, excepting only his own, and that exception was only due to the fact that it had never yet had an opportunity of doing so. It would not be a matter of surprise, therefore, if the Christian population of Bulgaria should be induced to pay off old scores and to persecute the Mussulmans. I cannot, however, find that the Mussulmans have any reason to complain of their treatment. The Government fully recognises that emigration of these men is injurious to the prosperity of the community, and have done their best to oppose obstacles to it. Those who have gone have sold their lands. The neighbouring peasants have borrowed money at excessive rates from money-lenders in order to buy them, and have got deeply into debt.

It would be interesting to inquire into the fate of these emigrants from Bulgaria, and also of the Circassians, who in such vast numbers have in successive migrations transferred themselves from the Caucasus to Asia Minor, and to discover how far the promises of the Sultan have been fulfilled. It is to be feared that a large proportion of them have perished from disease and famine, owing to the want of preparation for them, and the misappropriation of funds intended for their relief. The Mussulmans who remain in Bulgaria are said to make good citizens. The soldiers enlisted from them by conscription, fought

well in the Servian war. Their representatives in the Assembly have the reputation of always supporting the Government, whichever party be in power. It is probable that many of their distinctive habits, inculcated by their religion, will disappear at the instance of the progressive spirit which now surrounds them.

There can be no doubt whatever as to the general content and happiness and prosperity of the bulk of the population as compared with their past under Turkish rule. A friend at Constantinople who had recently travelled through the greater part of Bulgaria, told me that on his return he was asked by a Philo-Turk what difference independence could really have made in the lot of average peasants in Bulgaria, seeing that their taxes were somewhat higher now than they used to be. My friend in reply said he had put that very question to a Bulgarian; the answer was that "it was true that they paid more in taxes than they did to the Turkish Government, but the difference was that they now got something in return for them—namely, good roads, good schools, and security for property and life; the money paid with one hand was spent by the other for themselves, while under the Turkish rule they got nothing in return for their taxes. He and his wife could not, under the old state of things, go out of the town, where they lived, to visit a vineyard which they possessed in the neighbourhood without being protected by thirty or forty well-armed persons. Now they could go there alone in perfect safety. They lived there without fear during the summer, unguarded. Always when there, they rejoiced in their new position; sometimes they shed tears, thinking it was too good to be true, and that the Turks must be coming back."

When we recollect what the Bulgarians endured, and what they have now gained, we cannot wonder that their papers should now and then make severe attacks on the Government of Turkey. The editor of one of these newspapers told my friend that on one occasion an ambassador at Constantinople, well known for his sympathies with Turkey, complained that he had not in his articles dealt with Turkey in a Christian spirit. In reply, the editor said his own experience of the Turks was this: he had received a good education at an European university as a doctor of medicine; he had been arrested and imprisoned by the Government four years before the war; he never knew what his offence was; he was sent to St. Jean d'Acre, and remained in close confinement there for eight years; he thus lost the best years of his life; he was released after the war through the efforts of Sir H. Layard, together with forty-six other educated men who had been subjected to the same treatment. It might be excusable, he said, if some of these men found it difficult to describe the Turkish system with the same charity as was possible to an ambassador who had succeeded in his career, namely, by his devotion to the Turkish cause.

Of all the cities in the East the greatest improvements have been effected in Sofia. The old town has been almost bodily swept away. The Turkish quarter has been expropriated, and its inhabitants moved into new houses in the suburbs. A new city is rising up in its place with a rapidity which resembles the growth of towns in the Western States of America. New streets and boulevards are being laid out; lofty houses on the Parisian model, and public buildings are being erected, and the city is fast becoming one of the best in Eastern Europe. In lieu of the Turkish khan there is now an excellent hotel.

It was interesting to find that the British consul is "censé" to have no official relations with Prince Ferdinand and his Government, as the election of the former, out of deference to Russia, has not been recognised by the Great Powers. This, however, is only on the surface, and does not prevent the Consul having any communication which he finds necessary with the Bulgarian Government.

The Bulgarians do not appear to be the worse for this official boycott by the Great Powers. Their people, equally as their leaders, have on the whole shown a remarkable capacity for public affairs in the difficult position of their short existence. Few States in the same time have experienced events of greater interest than in the career of Prince Alexander of Hesse, from the time when he was elected as Prince of Bulgaria till that when he resigned in 1886 as a peace-offering to the wounded jealousies of Russia; in the gradual emancipation of the State from the coils of the Czar; the brief and glorious war with Servia; the forcing the hands of Europe by the union with Roumelia; the forcible abduction of the Prince by the agent of Russia, his return and his abdication. His successor, Prince Ferdinand, though an able and conscientious man, has not the same personality as Prince Alexander, and interferes less with his Ministers. The real master of the country, and the director of its policy, is M. Stambouloff, a statesman of remarkable energy and skill, though somewhat of an autocrat, the representative of the Bulgarian party which is most determined to maintain the independence of the State, whether of Russia or Turkey. He has steered the State through the dangerous intrigues which resulted in the execution of M. Panitza; and he has gained great diplomatic victories at Constantinople. There can be no doubt that the action of the Bulgarians in repudiating Russian domination and in maintaining their independence has given rise to great disappointment and hostility on the part of that power. Russia will not lightly abandon its policy of subjecting Bulgaria to its influence and of using it as a base for some future advance upon Constantinople. There are many people who believe that the majority of the people are thoroughly Russian in sympathy, and that M. Stambouloff's majority in the Assembly has only been obtained by a gross abuse of the influence of

the Government at the last election, and they look forward to some kind of *pronunciamento* on the part of the people, organised by Russian agents, which will overturn M. Stambouloff's Government and place in power those devoted to Russia.

On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the people, having tasted the benefits of self-government, will readily submit to the arbitrary and centralised bureaucracy of Russia. All the best and most active and ambitious men are in favour of maintaining the independence of the State, and the people, of whom a large proportion are intensely ignorant of political questions, will in the main be guided on such questions by the men of enlightenment amongst them. There is unquestionably a strong feeling of gratitude to Russia throughout the whole population. When questioned on this point by a recent visitor, the frequent answer was, "We find Russian graves all over our country, but we find no British or Austrian graves." Gratitude for their freedom from slavery, which was unquestionably achieved by Russian arms, and which never would have been attained by any other means, is a very powerful sentiment for the Russians to appeal to. It is not inconsistent, however, with an equally strong desire to hold their own, to govern themselves, and with a dislike of the Russian system of government and of Russian agents.

I should add that the Bulgarians, without exception, express their unbounded gratitude to Mr. Gladstone for the great part which he took with his voice and pen in assisting their cause in 1876. It is fully recognised that but for him England would have thrown its protecting ægis over the Turks, and would have interfered to prevent the Russians crossing the Danube. The landing of a comparatively small British force at Varna, the blockade of the Russian forts in the Black Sea, and the use of gunboats and torpedo boats on the Danube, would undoubtedly have turned the scale against Russia and have secured these provinces to Turkey for another long period.

It is also quoted as proof of the prescience of Mr. Gladstone that not only did he never swerve in his confident belief and expectation that the Bulgarians would be capable of governing themselves, but that he frequently expressed his conviction that a self-governing and prosperous State would be a far more effectual barrier to Turkey against its enemies than a disaffected and oppressed province. This is now at last very fully recognised by British diplomacy. It has formed the basis of all recent actions of Lord Salisbury in his advice to the Sultan, and in his attitude towards Russia.

It is believed that the Russians in the secret negotiations with those of the Bulgarians, who are most favourable to them, assert that they have no desire to interfere with the substantial liberties of the people; the arrangement they suggest is that which constitutionally binds Finland to Russia rather than that of Poland. But the measures

now being taken by Russia against the autonomy of Finland, to Russianise its administration, and to centralise all power in the bureaucracy of St. Petersburg, must necessarily show to the Bulgarian Opposition how dangerous is the alliance to which they are invited.

In a more recent overture to the Bulgarian Government, the Russians have somewhat abated the demands of even a year ago. They no longer insist on the withdrawal of Prince Ferdinand; they are prepared to recognise him, and to support Bulgaria in its claims on Macedonia. In return for this, they ask that the Bulgarian army may be placed under the command of Russian officers, and that the port of Bourgas may be handed over to them. The demand has been rejected by the Prince's Government. The Bulgarians have the defect of newly constituted States of a love of intrigue; and there are doubtless many who will not object to use Russian influence to obtain power. The abduction of Prince Alexander and the inner conspiracy which was discovered at the Panitza affair, show that the unofficial agents of Russia are perfectly unscrupulous, and are ready to make use of any means to attain their ends. It is impossible to predict, then, what *coup* may not be executed at any moment; but, to all appearance, the Prince and his present Government are firmly established, and under them Bulgaria will hold its own.

Their present policy is to maintain friendly relations with the Porte and to endeavour to obtain by negotiations whatever concessions are possible. They have recently scored a great diplomatic success in this direction by inducing the Sultan to concede civil jurisdiction to the Bulgarian Bishops in two districts of Macedonia—a concession which has aroused the most violent jealousy on the part of Greece. The Bulgarian Government is evidently bent on further concessions.

It is obvious that it is equally the interest of the Sultan, by whatever concessions he can reasonably make, to secure the friendship or, at all events, the neutrality, of Bulgaria and to detach it from alliance with Russia, for in such case Constantinople will be safe from any advance of Russia, either from the Danube or through Bourgas.

The difficulty in the way of a permanence of such a policy is the condition of Macedonia, and the fact that districts containing upwards of a million of Bulgarians, which, by the Treaty of San Stephano, were included in the proposed Bulgaria, were, by the Treaty of Berlin, handed back to Turkish rule. It is universally recognised that the condition of the people in Macedonia is not only no better, but worse, than it has ever been, that brigandage is more rife, that misgovernment, oppression, and excessive taxation without benefit to the people, are more to be complained of. In the North-western parts of this province, bordering on Albania and Servia, the position is complicated by the fanaticism and insubordination of the Arnauts, who may be described as a ruling class of Mussulman landowners, of

Slav descent, who, while they oppress the Christian peasantry far more than the pure Turks do, are themselves thoroughly disaffected with Turkish rule, and scarcely recognise the authority of the Pashas from Constantinople. Further to the eastward the population is more purely Bulgarian and Christian. Large numbers of these people migrate during parts of the year to Bulgaria to find work as masons and labourers, and they carry back with them accounts of the advances made under a free and native government, which cannot fail to arouse the desire for freedom among those still subject to Turkish rule. Unless, then, a great and speedy change takes place in the system of administration of Macedonia, and especially in those parts of it most allied to Bulgaria, the question of the treatment of its people, and their claim to share in the benefits which have been secured to their neighbours in Bulgaria and Greece, must inevitably be forced to the front, and will find expression in local disturbances and outbreaks.

The solution of this question will be of enormous difficulty in view of the rival claims of Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia. There is a Turkish proverb which says, "Do no good and no harm will come to you." This principle of action, however, which has so long guided their policy in respect of their subject races, will hardly avail the Turks in the difficult position in which they will find themselves in their few remaining provinces in Europe. If most serious difficulties, even an European war, are to be avoided, the most strenuous efforts of diplomacy should be directed towards inducing the Sultan to change his system of government in these provinces, and to make the comparison between their condition and that of the neighbouring free States less invidious to those who have the misfortune to be still his subjects, by the intervention of the Great Powers, and for whose condition England and Austria must be held mainly responsible.

G. SHAW LEFEVRE.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE EARTH.

I.

THE earth had been inhabited for about twenty-two million years and its vital history had been divided into six progressive periods. The primordial age, or formation of the first organisms (infusoria, zoöphytes, echinodermata, crustaceans, molluscs—a world of the deaf and dumb and almost blind), had taken not less than six million years to go through its different phases. The primary age (fish, insects, more perfect senses, separate senses, rudimentary plants, forests of horse-tails and of tree ferns) had then occupied more than six million years. The secondary age (saurians, reptiles, birds, forests of coniferæ and of cycadaceæ) in order to accomplish its work, required two million three hundred thousand years. The tertiary age (mammals, monkeys, superior plants, flowers, fruits and seasons) had lasted half a million years. The primitive human age, the time of national divisions, of barbarism and of militarism, had filled about three hundred thousand years; and the sixth age, that of intellectual humanity, had reigned for nearly two million years.

During that long succession of centuries the earth had grown older and the sun had become colder. In the beginning of the ages the terrestrial globe was entirely covered by the waters of the ocean. Upheavals caused first islands, then vast continents, to emerge; the surface of evaporation diminished in extent; the atmosphere was saturated with less vapour and could not so well preserve the heat received from the sun; so that a gradual decrease of temperature was brought about. During the first human age three-quarters of the globe were still covered by water and the temperature remained high. But from century to century a portion of the rain was penetrated through the soil to the deep rocks and returned no more to the ocean, the quantity of water diminished, the level of the

sea was lowered, and the screen of atmospheric vapour afforded only an insufficient protection to the nocturnal radiation. There resulted a slow, century-long decrease in temperature; and then a spreading of the ice, which at first covered only the high mountains and the polar regions, but little by little invaded the temperate regions and insensibly lowered the line of perpetual snow.

On the other hand, the sun, the source of all light and all heat, radiating perpetually without an instant of cessation, in the centre of cold, obscure and empty space, slowly lost the calorific power which caused the earth to live. Of an electric and almost blueish white, saturated with incandescent hydrogen, during the geological periods which witnessed the appearance of terrestrial life, it gradually lost that dazzling whiteness, to acquire the colour, perhaps apparently warmer, of glittering gold, and such was its real colour during the first three hundred thousand years of human history. It then became yellower and even reddish, consuming its hydrogen, oxidising itself, metallising itself. This slow transportation of its photosphere, the increase of its spots, the diminution of its protuberant eruptions, brought about a correlative decrease in the emission of its heat.

In consequence of these various causes the terrestrial temperature had, from century to century, become lower. The geographical aspect of the globe had metamorphosed itself, the sea having several times taken the place of the land, and *vice versa*, and the extent of the sea having considerably diminished, and been reduced to less than a quarter of what it was at the advent of humanity. The seasons which had begun in the tertiary age had perpetuated themselves through the centuries, but with a decreasing intensity for the summer heat. Climates insensibly approached each other near the equator; the glacial zones (boreal and austral) inexorably forced back the temperate zones to the place of the ancient torrid zone. Warm valleys and equatorial regions alone were habitable. All the rest was frozen.

From century to century humanity had attained forms of exquisite beauty, and no longer worked materially. A network of electricity covered the globe, producing at will all that was needed. It was then a unified race, entirely different from the rude and heterogeneous races that had characterised the first period. Doubtless the absolute equality dreamed of by the poets had not been attained, and there were still superior and inferior beings, seekers and indifferent men, active and inactive men, but there were no more scandalous unfortunates nor irremediable miseries.

About the year 2,200,000 after Jesus Christ, the last great focus of human civilisation shone in the centre of equatorial Africa, in the brilliant city of Suntown, which had already been several times raised again from its ashes. It was more than a hundred thousand years

since the spots where Paris, London, Rome, Vienna, and New York had stood were buried beneath the ice.

The capital of this aristocratic republic had attained the last limits of a luxurious and voluptuous civilisation. Leaving far behind it the childish amusements of Babylon, of Rome, and of Paris, it had thrown itself heart and soul into the most exquisite refinements of pleasure and enjoyment; and the results of progress, the achievements of science, art, and industry had, during several centuries, been applied to raising all the joys of life to their maximum of intensity. Electricity, perfumes, music, kept the senses in a state of over-excitement, so that under the brilliant light of enchanting nights, as beneath the veiled shadows of the day, the nervous system could no longer find a moment's rest, and about their twenty-fifth year men and women dropped dead of total exhaustion. Perceiving the increasing coldness of the planet and the approach of eternal winter they had early maintained about themselves a warm and oxygenised atmosphere, milder and more exciting than the old breezes from the woods and prairies, had lived more rapidly and rushed more rashly to the inevitable end. The elegance of costumes, the beauty of forms, had gradually risen to an unexpected perfection in consequence of a passion selection, which seemed to have no other object than immediate happiness. Wives no longer became mothers unless by accident. Besides, some of the women of the lower classes alone remained in condition to undertake the duties of motherhood, fashion having for some time been able to suppress the necessity in the upper social spheres.

Then it was seen that the women of the lower classes were the first to feel the deadly effects of invading cold, and the day came when it was recognised that amid the blind enjoyment of pleasure no woman was a mother or could become one. They no longer desired the inconveniences of maternity, which had so long been left to the inferior women, and they reigned in all the splendour of their unblemished beauty. It was only when a law was passed that the entire fortune of the republic would be given to the first woman who would give birth to a child, that they understood the irreparable extent of the misfortune that had befallen the last inhabitants of the earth.

Doubtless the end would not have long delayed its coming, the sterilised soil being henceforward incapable of feeding its children. But they were deluding themselves with the thought that perhaps by some ingenious proceeding it would become possible to put off the fatal period, to gain time; and who knows, they said, if the climate may not become better, and the sun again smile on the unfortunate planet.

But recriminations, regrets, sorrows, reproaches, accusations, pair—all were now superfluous. Life had been, if not dried:

its source, at least rendered irremediably unfruitful. A special congress of the last surviving members of the Medical Academy produced no satisfactory result. They disputed violently, each member being accused by his neighbour of having lent himself to the spreading of that insane fashion; they nearly came to blows; as the issue of the meeting the President of the Academy and the chief of the protectors were even compelled to quench their mutual anger by a duel with swords; and more than a year was spent in physiological and political discussions without obtaining any result.

But a youth, the last of that race, young Omegar, born in the lower ranks of society, came with his mother, already advanced in age and a rare survivor of the mothers, and before the assembled representatives recalled the improvidence of the governors, stigmatised the public immorality, pointed out to them the general folly of which the human race was the victim, and demanded that the last constructed electric aërostat made in the government workshops should be put at his disposal. He engaged to conduct an expedition over the whole of the equatorial zone which still remained habitable, and to see whether any human groups still existed on any spot.

The proposition was received with enthusiasm; a real aërial flotilla was constructed; and all the strong men flew away to discover the land of increase.

III.

Alas! the entire earth had disappeared beneath snow and ice. Everywhere the desert, everywhere solitude, everywhere silence. Snow followed snow, hoar frost followed hoar frost, An immense shroud covered the continent and the seas. Sometimes a solitary peak rose above the frozen ocean; sometimes a dismantled ruin, a spire, a tower, marked the site of a vanished city. Even tombs and graveyards were no longer to be perceived; ruins themselves were destroyed. Everywhere nothingness, ice, silence. Days followed days, and every night the red disk of the sun set behind the white plain which slowly, at each twilight, took the violet tints of death.

Already half the members of the expedition had died of hunger and cold, when the flotilla thought they saw from their airy heights an immense ruined city near an unfrozen river. They steered towards the unknown city, and thought themselves dreaming, when they discovered on the banks of the river a group of men walking. A cry of happiness and wonder sounded from every breast, and in an instant all the aërial skiffs were tied up by the river banks.

They were received as unexpected saviours by men who had long believed themselves to be the only survivors of terrestrial humanity, looking on with despair at the last days of the world. At the head of the group stood an old man enveloped in reindeer skins. Of

commanding stature, his hollow black eyes shaded by bushy white eyebrows, with a long beard as white as snow, and his skull as yellow as antique ivory—it was felt that his was one of those energetic characters who have endured all the trials of life without yielding, but whose heart has bidden farewell to every hope. However, his countenance lit up with joy at the arrival of the newcomers. His sons and their companions threw themselves into the arms of the aerial travellers.

They made large fires and seated themselves at a modest meal composed principally of fish which had just been caught. The newcomers informed their hosts that they were about the last survivors of equatorial Africa, that they came from the celebrated metropolis now deserted, and they asked if their aerial route had not deceived them, if they had not left the equator, and if they had landed at the mouth of the Amazon River, as their calculations indicated.

"My friends," replied the old man, "the ancient Amazon River, whose waters still flow over the circle of the equator, no longer rolls between its shores the impetuous floods which, if we believe tradition, caused it formerly to be compared to a sea. At the period, long since vanished, when the empire of Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and Colombia flourished in South America, when North America was divided into confederated States; when France, England, Germany, and Russia struggled for supremacy in European politics, the Atlantic Ocean extended, as we see on the maps, from the ruins of New York to those of Havre, and from Pernambuco to Dakar—ruins which are now for ever buried beneath the ice. The great continent of the West Indies was, it appears, cut up into innumerable small islands, scattered over an immense sea. The oceans were far vaster and deeper than to-day, the rains frequent, the rivers inexhaustible, ice and snow never showed themselves in our country, and the rays of a beneficent sun fertilised the earth in its youth, giving birth everywhere to flowers and fruits, nests and love.

"But now all is over with this planet and all the works which have illustrated its history. The earth revolves more slowly on its axis, the days have become longer, the moon is more distant, and the sun has become colder. The prediction of the astronomers is fulfilled. The waters of the oceans which the solar heat caused to evaporate in the atmosphere, and which gave birth to the clouds, the rains, the springs, the brooks, and the rivers, have from century to century been partially absorbed by the deep rocks; the air has become drier and drier, and ceased to be a protecting cover for the preservation of the heat received; the nocturnal and even diurnal evaporation has caused all the heat borrowed from the sun to radiate into space, and the cold of the poles comes gradually nearer and nearer the tropical and equatorial zones.

"The summits of the mountains had already been long frozen

because above them the atmosphere was too dry and too rarefied to preserve the heat; but life established itself in the plains and valleys, along the streams which traversed the surface of the globe. The limits of vegetation and, at the same time, the conditions favourable to life, insensibly descended. The last zone of terrestrial life has been the zone of the equatorial plains along the thermic equator, which traverses on one side South America, where we are, and on the other, Central Africa, whence you came.

"When Europe had disappeared beneath the invading glaciers coming from the North Pole, from Siberia, from Lapland, from the Alps, from the Caucasus, from the Pyrenees, being finally reduced to the shores of the Mediterranean, many centuries had already elapsed since civilisation had abandoned it to shine in America, along which continent it gradually descended. In consequence of a strange social organisation all the States of Europe had perished in their own blood; had mutually opened each other's veins. Some governments had convinced millions of citizens that the greatest happiness, the supreme honour, and the highest glory consisted in wearing uniforms of all colours, and killing each other to the sound of music. They believed that until the day when the Chinese invasion came and confiscated them like a band of schoolboys.

"The annals of modern times report that anciently expeditions had been sent through the ice to find the ruins of Paris, of London, of Berlin, of Vienna, of St. Petersburg, and that they had principally found forts, barracks, arsenals, arms, and ammunition on nearly all the territories. It was doubtless a primitive race hardly differing from the animal races.

"This opinion is, moreover, confirmed by the books of ancient history preserved in the libraries, showing a state of rude barbarism in the customs of these populations. We find, among other things, a long list of curious tortures. Criminals were murdered with the sword, with poison, or with a remarkable choice of varied weapons. Then they cut up the bodies into small pieces. Society in turn killed the criminals in various ways. Here their heads were cut off by means of axes, swords and guillotines; there they were strangled or hanged; further on they were impaled or drowned. On certain days of revolution, in the midst of the capitals of this pretended civilisation, the victors were seen to place the vanquished quietly along the walls and shoot them down by the hundred. Historians state that at a period not far removed the most civilised nations kept executioners who were exercised in crushing the limbs, quartering, taking off the skin, burning with red-hot irons, pulling out the eyes and the tongue, breaking the limbs, and torturing in every manner the victims, whom they generally ended by burning in the public squares on holidays. The commentators are right in saying that these ancestors of our species did not yet deserve the title of men.

"If the end of the world had taken place at this period, the destruction of the race would not have been a great loss. But this ancient race made way for ours, and we too must perish. We perish of cold. Sterile nature no longer produces anything. For many centuries past there has been no more wheat or vines. For many centuries there have been no more pastures or flocks. We are now reduced to the last fish. But," added the old man, "the table will still outlive the guests, for there are no new-born babes among us; there are actually only men here, those that you see, the last child of the other sex, my poor little Speranza, not having survived her birth."

This declaration produced on all the members of the expedition the effect of an electric shock. The fall of a thunderbolt in the midst of the assembly would not have brought about a greater confusion.

"What!" cried the chief of the flotilla. "There is no longer a single woman among you?"

"Not a single one," answered one of the guests.

"We had just come," added the young chief, "in search of female companions with whom we could associate. Our country is still wealthy, and had we found but one single wife all the riches of our country would have been hers."

"You have also no women?"

The travellers exchanged a glance and remained silent.

IV.

Some time before these events happened in Africa and in America, the island of Ceylon, now attached to the southern point of Asia through the diminution of the seas, found itself to be the last refuge of the human race in Asia, and there, in this former earthly paradise not far from the equator, at the foot of Adam's Peak, twelve women remained the sole heiresses of the last unextinguished families.

The male sex had completely disappeared. For a long time the number of girls had been far above that of boys—a condition of things which corresponded, besides, with the successes obtained by women, and their increasing authority in politics and in the universal direction of business. They had gradually substituted themselves for the effeminate and enervated men as deputies, lawyers, physicians, and, in general, in the greater number of social professions, in commerce and industry, arts and literature, pure and applied sciences. The education of the boys had been more and more neglected, and finally there were no longer even competent gardeners or agriculturists to be found among the men. What the women did not do directly with their own hands in the way of industries was accomplished by ingeniously constructed and indefatigable machines. The slow decrease of organic forces of the globe had also manifested itself here

diminution of the births, by a weakening of the average life, and it was only in rare circumstances, and by a sort of heredity, that families counted, as in former times, a large number of children. As in our day, in some countries, more girls than boys were born on the average. This tendency increased from generation to generation, and towards the end of the days that remained, for Asia as for the other parts of the globe, there were at the period of which we speak only three living families, and by an unfortunate chance, the two boys having died in infancy, twelve beings of the feminine sex were left alone to represent the present and the future.

The youngest, little Eva, was a child of three years of age; her mother had reached forty. The last survivor of the fathers had died of aneurism of the heart on the day of his wedding.

The interest which attaches itself to things, and which seems to be the cause of life, had diminished with the decrease of population and of business, and with the more and more imminent threat of a definite end. Formerly immense and populous, the city had disappeared beneath a poor but invading vegetation; all those ancient dwellings were empty, deserted, ruined, partly hidden beneath the moss and weeds, and the traces of the ancient boulevards and principal streets were hardly visible to the eye. As humanity had retired so Nature had resumed her rights; polar plants, larches, pines, some snow-birds, and more recently penguins and bears, had arrived near the ancient city. The last building which remained standing was the public library, in which the purely literary works had nearly all been abandoned to the insects, and in which were to be found only the scientific treatises written on the supreme question of the end of the world, and the historical annals of the departed centuries; humanity not having consented to its own extinction, and having clung to all that personified it. But the fatal day had come. The world must end.

The decline of human forces had brought about the decline of the inventions and usages which seemed but lately the most indispensable. They had wearied of all, even of hope. The electric motor had fallen into disuse. There was no more travelling after the invasion of the ice. No attempt had even been made to repair the interrupted telegraphic communications. Only a few centuries before, all the inhabitants of the globe, in whatever portion they may have dwelt, had constant intercourse with each other as though they had inhabited the same country, conversing and hearing each other, whatever may have been the distance that separated them, and there was but one nation and one single language for all the globe. But now isolation and separation had returned as in the primitive ages; the three groups remaining in the world no longer knew each other; and the population of Ceylon, although composed only of women, had lost all spirit of domination, all sentiment of curiosity, all energy, and all vitality.

Henceforth, deprived of all desire of pleasing, of all idea of rivalry, and of all coquetry, they formed among themselves but one family of sisters, associated in a common misfortune, and they had all adopted a sombre mourning costume, a sort of black and misshapen religious garment.

But this little population itself had rapidly diminished. Fifteen years had sufficed to reduce it by more than half. At the moment when the events narrated above took place, there remained but the youngest of the Ceylonese, then eighteen years of age, with four of her companions.

V.

We have left our aerial expedition in the midst of the stupefaction caused by the avowal of the Americans. No more women in America. The same situation, or almost the same, in Africa. Europe buried beneath the snows. Asia forgotten for more than a century, and doubtless sharing the same fate as Europe. There was nothing left for the travellers but to return to their own country, and that was decided on the very next day.

They visited the ruins of the American metropolis, the glories of which had been celebrated by the historians, and which now lay forgotten. For one instant they thought of uniting in one group the two wrecks of male humanity, and of all leaving together for Suntown; but, on the one hand, these men wished only to sleep for ever in the tombs of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, the travellers, who had carefully concealed the existence of women in their own country, did not insist on this brotherly project. They resumed their way through the air, deciding, however, as they had come by the east, to follow the same direction along the equator on their return, in order to see whether, by some unforeseen circumstance, they might not discover some other last living tribe.

Thus it was that after having crossed the immense Pacific Ocean, and having stopped over all the points that emerged above its surface, even at the moment when they had noticed that the eternal winter announced by scientists extended over the lands of Siam, of Java, of Sumatra, and of Malacca, entirely deserted, they noticed in Ceylon a region less invaded than the others by the ice and snow, and stationing themselves for some time above a ruined city, they discovered a small group of women in mourning.

In one instant, and before they had had time to recover from their surprise, the celestial travellers were at their feet. At other periods, when the right of might governed humanity, these last five daughters of Eve would have been rudely seized and carried away at full speed through the air toward the African city, perhaps not without a struggle, for the number of the men was superior to that of the women. Bat

for a long time they had ceased to exert their strength: sentiment, reason, intelligence, freedom of choice, always decided.

They told the object of their explorations, and had no difficulty in convincing the fair Asiatics. Their despair, which had seemed eternal, disappeared like a mist; their brows were cleared, their lips smiled, and a few hours after the arrival of the *aëronauts*, the five nuns in mourning had given way to the most elegant of women.

They even discussed the advantages of a return to *Suntown*, and it seemed that from the point of view of peace, happiness, and tranquillity, it would be preferable to remain in *Ceylon*. But the old provision stores were well nigh exhausted, the fields and gardens were wanting, the ice was near; while in *Africa* the fatal moment seemed perhaps many years off. From the first interview, *Omegar* and *Eva* had experienced the effects of a mutual attraction, and had understood each other as though they had met again after a long separation. *Omegar* had a deep affection for his mother, and would be proud to present his companion to her. A fortnight after their arrival, the explorers, rich in their discovery, embarked on their *aërial* flotilla and set sail for *Suntown*. The resurrection of humanity was assured. What a triumph and what rejoicing on their return!

But what was their disappointment, on arriving above the antique city, to see none of their fellow-citizens come forward to receive them; to find the public square, where they were in the habit of meeting, silent and deserted; to have before their eyes naught save a sort of desolate cemetery! Descending from their *aërial* boats, they first rushed with their companions to the government palace. A frightful spectacle offered itself to their gaze. Their relatives, their friends, lay around, dead or dying. The population of the city, reduced after the departure of the travellers to about thirty persons, had undergone during their absence of a few months a snow cyclone, which had destroyed the last vegetable growth and part of the habitable dwellings. The small remnant had chosen as a refuge the spacious and stronger rooms of the palace; but an epidemic, a sort of typhus, had attacked first the weaker constitutions and had afterwards stricken the others. The strength of the bravest had finally given way, and the first care of the travellers was to assist their unhappy fellow-citizens.

Unfortunately the cold increased daily, a bitter wind blew unceasingly, and the pale rays of the sun could not even penetrate the thick mists. The only means of preserving a little heat was by keeping up fires and cutting off almost every communication with the out-door air; but the bravest, the most courageous, lost all hope. At every new death, they counted each other. From fifteen they descended in a few weeks to ten, then to five; and at last *Omegar* and *Eva* remained alone, seeing without delusion the fate which awaited them, and well knowing that no other spring would ever bloom on earth.

However, after a long succession of disastrous days, the sun showed itself in a clear spot between the clouds, the wind ceased, the blue sky reappeared.

The young couple then rose in an aerial boat to judge of the last invasions and the snow, and perceived that the whole city was buried, and that it was only towards the north that the country had been a little spared.

Carrying away with them all the provisions they could find, they decided to follow the direction of the spared districts and see if some oasis could not be found in the midst of the immense fields of ice.

VI.

In consequence of the nature of the soil, and because of the scarcity of rains, of snow, and of clouds in that region, the great African desert that extends south of the Sahara had remained one of the least cold zones of the globe, and a warm current blowing from that desert on Nubia and Arabia, to return to the equator by Ceylon, had for a long time left a part of Egypt free from the invasion of ice and snow. Following the indicated direction, the last human couple hovered above the regions formerly watered by the Nile, henceforth frozen. They perceived from afar the Great Pyramid, ruined, but still standing.

This first monument of humanity, this testimony to the antiquity of civilisation, was still standing. Its geometric stability had saved it. It was perhaps the only human idea that had attained its end. Created by Cheops to eternally protect his royal mummy, this tomb had survived the revolutions which had destroyed everything else. The last man came to join the first king and shelter himself beneath his shroud.

But the wind of the tempest was blowing again. A fine powdery snow was spreading over the immense desert.

"Let us stop here and rest," said Eva, "since we are condemned to death; and, besides, who has not been? I wish to die in peace in thine own arms."

They looked for a cavity among the ruins and seated themselves beside each other, contemplating the endless space covered with powdery snow.

The young woman crouched feverishly, holding her husband in her arms, trying to struggle with her energy against the invasion of the cold that penetrated her. He had drawn her to his heart and warmed her with his kisses. But the wind and the tempest had resumed their sway, and the fine snow beat in clouds around the pyramid.

"My beloved," he resumed, "we are the last inhabitants of earth, the last survivors of so many generations. What remain all the glories, of all the countries, of all the works of the

mind, of all the sciences, of all the arts, of all the inventions? The entire globe is at this moment only a tomb covered with snow."

"Yes," she said, "I have heard of the beauties who reigned over the hearts of kings and shone like admirable stars in the history of humanity. Love, beauty, all must end. I love you, and I die. Oh! how I would have loved that dear treasure, the one who will never live. But no, we must not die, must we? No! . . . Come, I am no longer cold. Let us walk."

Her feet, already frozen and benumbed, had become inert. She tried to rise and fell back.

"I seem to be sleepy," she said. "Oh, let us sleep!"

And throwing her arms around Omegar, she pressed her lips to his. The young man lifted her beautiful form and laid her on his knees. She was already asleep.

"I love you," he said again. "Sleep, I shall watch over you."

Then his fixed gaze, shining with a last light, lost itself in a search for the unknown in the desolate grey sky and in the silent and endless plain. No sound came to trouble the death of Nature; the snow wind alone moaned around the Pyramid, and seemed to wish to awaken the old Pharaoh sleeping in its depths for so many million years.

Suddenly the noise of footsteps and moans was heard, lost in the distance. Was it some lethargic awakening in the interior of the monument? Was it a heavy bird, thrown by the tempest against the dismantled steps? Was it some polar bear come with the snow? The noise ceased. A joyful cry sounded, and with one bound a dog, broken by fatigue, jumped on the sleeping couple.

It was Omegar's dog that had looked for him, followed him (how?), and found him in spite of the distance, the solitude, and the snow.

He called his master and mistress, licked their face and hands and covered them with his body to warm them. But they did not awake.

And the snow continued to fall in a fine powder on to the entire surface of the earth.

And the earth continued to turn on its axis night and day, and to float through the immensity of space.

And the sun continued to shine, but with a reddish and barren light. But long afterwards it became entirely extinguished, and the dark terrestrial cemetery continued to revolve in the night around the enormous invisible black ball.

And the stars continued to scintillate in the immensity of the heavens.

And the infinite universe continued to exist with its billions of suns and its billions of living or extinct planets.

And in all the worlds peopled with the joys of life, love continued to bloom beneath the smiling glance of the Eternal.

CAMILLE FLAMMARION.

THEOLOGY AT KING'S COLLEGE.

THE Church of England is within a measurable distance of dissolution. In fifty or a hundred years' time, unless it undergoes a radical change, it will have practically ceased to exist. There may still be an institution comprising bishops, priests, and deacons, but it will appeal exclusively to the intellectual dregs of the community, and could only therefore in the bitterest irony be called a National Church. In one of his humorous poems, Oliver Wendell Holmes speaks of an old couple who had been accustomed for many years to drive about in a "one-horse shay." It never seemed to be much the worse for wear; but on one occasion, as they were going along in the usual fashion, it suddenly collapsed—into dust. Now this, I am afraid, may be an emblem of the fate which is in store for the English Church. To superficial observers it appears prosperous and flourishing; but nevertheless the end may be near. And the end is near, unless the clergy can be awakened to a sense of the danger before it is too late.

Institutions, like organisms, must, if they would survive, adapt themselves to their environment. Want of adaptation is death. Human society is constantly changing, in its modes of thought, in its experiences, in its needs. And unless the Church changes correspondingly it will be destroyed—destroyed by the very society which it claims, and is supposed, to mould. But the clergy, with few exceptions, persistently refuse to recognise this necessity for adaptation. The modern priest as a rule expects as much credulity on the part of his devotees as did the old medicine-men and rain-makers. He talks about miracles—Gadarene pigs, and what not—as he might have done at a time when natural laws had never been heard of, when everyone believed, not in the uniformity, but in the irregularity of nature. He talks about inspiration and revelation, as if he did not know that

much of the teaching of the Bible had been equalled and even surpassed in other sacred literatures, and that some of the sayings of Christ Himself—including even the golden rule—had been anticipated by “pagans” hundreds of years before the Christian era. The dogmas of orthodoxy were formulated in the third or fourth century, and yet he goes on repeating these antiquated shibboleths, as if he were not aware that since the days of St. Augustine men’s views of the universe, and therefore of the God of the universe, had been revolutionised. Change and progress are hateful to the truly clerical mind. Stagnation is the ecclesiastical ideal. Instead of leading the race, it has always been the mournful prerogative of the clergy to lag behind. Instead of aiding development, they have eternally hampered and opposed it. No wonder that men begin to ask themselves if they might not dispense with the “benefit of clergy,” if they would not be better off without a Church than with it. The influence of the priesthood is everywhere on the wane; over the cultured portion of the community it is already almost *nil*. There are at present amongst the clergy some scholars of deservedly high repute. But even they can scarcely in the strictest sense be called educated. Education does not consist in a knowledge of Hebrew, nor even of the Fathers, but in acquaintance with the best thoughts and achievements of the race. The scholarly clergy, with hardly an exception, know but little of science and philosophy; and they care less. They are absolutely out of touch with modern thought. And every year their ranks are being recruited from a lower intellectual class. The Church nowadays possesses no attraction for young men of conspicuous ability. At the English universities in the olden time the most distinguished graduates usually took orders; but what was formerly the rule is now the exception. So that the want of adaptation, which is already so apparent between Society and the Church, seems likely to increase rather than diminish. Just in proportion as the laity are better educated, the clergy become less capable of understanding them. And when the priests of the Church are altogether impotent, the Church itself may be considered dead.

There are, however, some clergymen who have not bowed the knee to Baal, who have refused to worship the past, who have determined to do all that in them lies to avert the threatened doom. But they are so few in numbers, and the ecclesiastical inertia which they have to overcome is so tremendous, that their task seems almost hopeless. They are regarded as black sheep. Their clerical brethren look askance at them. They are not considered “safe.” They are hated for “disturbing the tranquillity of the Church,” though it is a tranquillity which, like the painlessness of mortification, betokens and precedes death. They are not as a rule openly attacked; for their opponents are generally acute enough to know that the blood of the heretics is

the seed of rationalism. But even the negative opposition they experience is sufficient to show that their clerical brethren are absolutely ignorant of the fact that adaptation to environment is the first law of life.

This fatal ignorance, together with certain other ecclesiastical idiosyncrasies, were strikingly illustrated some time ago at the college where I have the honour to hold a chair.

Shortly after the appearance of my book on "Inspiration," I received a letter from the Principal, in which he upbraided me for relating a certain well-known anecdote about Smith's "Biblical Dictionary." * He enclosed a note of expostulation from Dr. William Smith; and he also added that he was much shocked at many of my theological views. I replied that the story in question was a very old one, that it had existed in print for many years in Colenso's "Pentateuch," but that I should be happy to publish any disclaimer which Dr. Smith thought fit to send me. I made no reference to my theological heresy; for, though I had all possible respect for Dr. Wace as Principal, I could not manage to regard him as my bishop. Sometime afterwards I received the following letter:—

"KING'S COLLEGE, March 11, 1889.

"DEAR DR. MOMERIE,—I mentioned to you a short time ago that some statements in your new volume occasioned me grave anxiety in reference to your position as a member of the staff of our theological department. You took, however, no notice of my observation, and have thus obliged me to consider the matter without further personal reference to yourself.

"Having thus considered it with much care and anxiety, and, as I hope, with due respect to your work and position, I am sorry to say I have come to the conclusion that it is my duty to ask the Council whether the theological students should for the future be allowed to attend your lectures. I do not mean to suggest that the opinions you have expressed are inconsistent with your tenure of the professorship of Logic and Metaphysics in King's College. It is requisite for that purpose that you should be a member of the Church of England, but not that you should agree to all that is required of her ordained ministers. Nor need I even inquire how far your opinions are capable of being so interpreted as to be not inconsistent with your position as a clergyman in our Church. But I feel bound to ask the Council whether they are consistent with the particular office of preparing young men for ordination. Such statements as that on p. 10, that 'there is a practically infinite difference between the God of the Patriarchs, who was always repenting, and the God of the Apostles,' or on p. 13, that there is a 'super-human cruelty in the Jehovah of the Pentateuch;' or on p. 42, that 'it is strange that persons who have read the 25th chapter of St. Matthew should still believe in the doctrine of Justification by Faith;' though it is expressly asserted in the Thirty-nine Articles; or on p. 201, that 'the Christianity of Christ and the Christianity of Christendom are two distinct things, so distinct as to be often antagonistic and contradictory;' or on p. 208, that 'there will come a time when the hollowness of orthodox Christianity will be discovered, and when the real Christianity of Christ will take its place.' Statements like these, printed and published by a member of our theological

* Of this Dictionary Dr. Wace was co-editor,

staff, seem to me calculated to undermine in the thoughts of our students the authority of the formularies which, as a theological school, we engage to enforce. It will be for the Council to judge how far this is the case; and they will of course be glad to consider anything that you may desire to urge to the contrary. The matter will come before them on Friday next, and I will read to them any letter that you may think fit to write in reply to this one; and if you would kindly be in attendance at four o'clock on that day, they would no doubt, if you desired it, be glad to see you.

"I remain, yours truly,

"HENRY WACE."

In two days the whole matter would have been decided at a small, ordinary meeting of the Council.* I thereon wrote to a few of the governing body with whom I was personally acquainted, among others to the late Dean of Wells, protesting against this unseemly haste, and I sent a letter to the Principal, with the request that he would read it to the Council. In this letter I said:—"I have no desire to retain the theological students, if for any reason the Council think fit to withdraw them. But I should have been glad if time had been given me to send a copy of 'Inspiration' to every member of the governing body; and had I been allowed to do so, the ultimate decision would have been more likely to represent the opinions of the majority." Dr. Plumptre was also good enough to write to the secretary and to the Bishop of London "protesting against action being taken on such short notice and with such imperfect materials for a decision, and proposing that the book should be referred to the Bishop of London, the other bishops on the Council, and the Deans of St. Paul and Westminster, to consider and report thereon." The protest brought me immediately another epistle from Dr. Wace.

"KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, *March 14, 1889.*

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, enclosing a letter to the Council of the college.

"As the first observation you address to them is that if sufficient time had been given you, you would have sent to every member of Council a copy of your book, in order that it might be 'criticised as a whole and not from certain passages selected and put together antagonistically,' I write at once to say that I will send word by to-night's post or by telegraph to all members of the Council, that the matter will be postponed until their meeting on the 12th of April next. Meanwhile I will send to all of them copies of my letter to you, of your reply, and of this letter.

"As you refer to the Bishop of London, I beg to say that of course I should not have taken the action I did without consulting him, as chairman of our Council when the Archbishop of York is absent.

"I am sorry that you have nothing to say to myself on the subject, and

"I remain, yours faithfully,

"HENRY WACE."

* According to the constitution of King's College, the governors—among whom are the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, the Home Secretary, the Speaker, the Lord Mayor, the Duke of Cambridge, the Marquis of Salisbury, and Mr. Gladstone—belong *ex officio* to the Council, but they do not, of course, attend the ordinary meetings. It is only in the case of the appointment or removal of a Principal that the sanction of the governors is essential.

On receipt of this communication I at once sent copies of my book to the governors and all other members of the Council; and, lest by any oversight they might not be informed of the meeting, I wrote a letter to each of them, acquainting him with the date on which it would be held, and requesting him, if possible, to be present.

At the time appointed a very large number of the governing body assembled. Mr. Gladstone * made the speech of the day. I do not know exactly what he said, for the discussion was conducted with closed doors. But when I met him shortly afterwards he expressed the hope that some compromise might be arrived at between the Council and myself. So this, I imagine, was the tenor of his speech. Nothing definite was decided at the first meeting; but the Bishop of London, as chairman, was requested to talk the matter over with me.

I had an interview accordingly with his lordship. I will give to the best of my recollection the gist of what he said:

"There was considerable difference of opinion among the members of the Council as to whether or not your views could be legitimately held by a clergyman of the Church of England, but they all agreed in deploring the manner in which you are accustomed to deal with sacred subjects. The story, for example, on p. 22! When a man commissioned by God to preach to his fellow sinners tells good stories, disgrace is brought upon religion and the Church. Your style of preaching and your heterodoxy may damage the reputation of the college, and the bishops may in consequence refuse to accept our students as candidates for orders. Besides, you are likely to do great harm to the students themselves. After attending your lectures, they may read your books. Well, the subjects you discuss and your manner of discussing them are bad enough even in the case of a man like yourself, but if the ordinary theological student attempted to follow in your steps, the results would be shocking."

With regard to the theological opinions expressed in "Inspiration," his lordship had not much to say. He thought that in one instance I had flatly contradicted myself; for though I said the Bible as a whole *was not*, I admitted certain parts of its teaching *were*, unique.† He thought that in calling the author of Ecclesiastes a cynical voluptuary, I had gone beyond the limits of legitimate criticism.‡ He thought,

* Twenty-five years before he had been present at a similar meeting, when it was proposed to remove Frederick Maurice from his chair. "I stayed for the King's College Council, but without effect," wrote Mr. Gladstone on October 27, 1853, to his friend the Bishop of Oxford. "They have done the deed—i.e., declared Maurice's statements to be of dangerous tendency, and resolved that his connection with the theology of the College ought not to continue. I moved that the Bishop of London be requested to appoint theologians to examine, but in vain. Sir J. Patteson, Sir B. B. Brodie, and Mr. Green were with me. I imagine there will be no small uproar about the business. I hope you did not disapprove my suggestion."

† I was unable to see the contradiction; but, out of deference to the Bishop's judgment, I have since made the admission more circumspectly, and without using the word unique.

‡ My reasons for this view I have given elsewhere at length. See "Agnosticism," Part 2.

lastly, that I had misrepresented Luther's doctrine of justification by faith.*

After these remarks and criticisms, the Bishop asked me if I would think it all over, and afterwards tell him what, under the circumstances, I considered it right to do.

When I reflected on my conversation with his lordship, I became much impressed with the idea that I might possibly be injuring the college. Under the old system my chair belonged to the department of theology, and all the theological students were obliged to attend my lectures. If the bishops refused to ordain men who had been brought under my influence, the theological department of the college would become "almost a nullity." I felt it my duty to do what I could to prevent such a catastrophe, and it seemed to me that the threatened danger might be avoided, if my classes were made for the future optional instead of compulsory. I therefore wrote to the Bishop to that effect. "I see no reason," I added, "for pointedly *excluding* the theological students. I do not suppose they will have the time, even if they had the inclination, to undertake extra subjects; and if any one did propose to take up mine, he could be privately advised by the Principal not to do so. In fact I think the change might be professedly based on the students' want of time."†

After this I had another interview with the Bishop, who agreed to my proposal, with the exception of the last sentence. He said that the Council would soon meet again, and that a motion would probably be made to the effect that my chair should be changed from the theological to the scientific department. He asked me if I should approve of this, and I said, Yes, secretly admiring the ingenuity of the compromise. Before I left, the Bishop gave me some parting advice—I must say in a kind and fatherly fashion—concluding with the words: "You are undoubtedly one of the ablest men we've got, but if you persist in telling good stories you will ruin your career."

At the second meeting of the Council, Mr. Gladstone was again present. He proposed and carried the resolution which the Bishop had mentioned. The Master of the Temple proposed a vote of censure on "Inspiration," but this was lost.

The Council sent me the briefest possible intimation of their proceedings in the following secretarial letter:—

"KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, W.C., April 19, 1889.

"DEAR PROFESSOR MOMERIE,—At a special meeting of the Council held to-day, it was resolved that in future the Professorship of Logic and Metaphysics be attached only to the General Literature and Science Department

* I have added an appendix to the second edition of "Inspiration," in which this objection is disposed of by quotations from Luther himself.

† I have often heard it said that the theological students of King's College have to do three years' work in two.

of the College. The Bishop of London stated that this arrangement had his own concurrence.

"I remain, dear Professor Momerie,

"Very truly yours,

"J. W. CUNNINGHAM

Some time afterwards Dr. Vaughan wrote to me as follows:—

"LLANDAFF, August 7, 1881

"MY DEAR SIR,—Hearing that some very incorrect rumours have found their way into the papers with reference to some late proceedings in the Council of King's College, I have thought it most respectful to you to set you the true account, leaving you free to use my letter as you may think fit.

"It appeared to me that the proposal to remove your Professorship from the Theological to the General Department of the College was one which was in straightforwardness, inasmuch as it assigned no reason for the change, and was also calculated to show a comparative indifference on the part of the Council to the soundness of the teaching of non-theological students.

"Believing that there was a substantial agreement amongst us as to the character (in certain respects) of the volume brought before us for examination, I proposed that we should plainly express the regret which we felt at some of its doctrinal statements, and as to the tone of its dealing with sacred subjects—both of which points I believed to have been touched upon by the Bishop of London in private conference with you—and that we should leave the matter there, without proceeding to any such action as should cast a stigma upon you, in the form of a virtual prohibition of the attendance of candidates for ordination at your lectures. I thought that the verbal expression of regret might have weight with you, and might produce the result which all desired, without calling public attention within or outside the College to the discussion which had arisen.

"I did not imagine that in making this suggestion I should be thought of as bearing hardly upon you, inasmuch as others were proposing a *præcensure*, only to be justified by such a disapproval as my amendment pressed, and open, in my judgment, to serious objections on the ground which I have indicated above.

"I do not ask what your own view of the question might be as it affects my conduct in the matter. I am only desirous that you should know what that conduct was, and should not suppose me to have taken a line conspicuously unfriendly.

"Believe me, my dear sir,

"Sincerely yours,

"A. VAUGHAN

I received from several of my old students letters expressive of sympathy and regret. I give one here, but withhold the writer's name, because he is in orders, and his sympathy was perhaps, ecclesiastically speaking, ill-advised.

"October 8, 1881

"DEAR SIR,—Thank you very much for your prompt reply to my letter of inquiry.

"In common with other students of the theological department who have attended your lectures, I feel the deepest concern at the loss we have sustained in the transference of your chair to another department of the College. You are completely severed from the very men who most stand in need of and who most would profit by, your teaching. The subjects of logic and metaphysics do not now form part of the course of study in our department, and this sudden change is very much felt by those of us who entered the College under the distinct impression that these subjects would continue to be part of the course of study.

"To the new students this change is not of course a matter of course

they cannot be expected to miss what they never expected to have. But I can assure you that to many of those who have sat under you in the past, the rumour that you will no longer lecture to this department, confirmed by the absence of your subjects from the time-table, has come as very ill news indeed.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours very faithfully,

"_____"

I am glad to have the opportunity of placing the history of the controversy on permanent record. The short accounts which have hitherto found their way into print have been very incomplete and misleading, and it seems to me that the whole business is full of material for reflection. I have no intention, at the present moment, of defending either my views or my style. But the treatment which "Inspiration" has received suggests several questions, which I will content myself with merely asking. Some time or other these questions must be definitely answered, and the answers which are given will seriously affect the future of the Church.

I. Why was the meeting of the Council held with closed doors; and why was the public so carefully kept in ignorance of its proceedings? The matter under discussion was no mere personal controversy between myself and them. It involved the education of hundreds of future clergymen, and through them would affect, to some extent, the future of the entire Church. Incorrect rumours which had been published in the newspapers were officially contradicted, but no account was vouchsafed of what had actually happened. Why? Were the members of the Council disturbed by recollections of a similar meeting, in which many of them had taken part twenty-five years before? The College is still suffering from the stigma of having turned out Frederick Maurice. Of a truth theological prosecutions are fraught with danger. They are almost as risky as the casting of the boomerang. There is so apt to be a recoil. On the present occasion the Council may have had a vague feeling that the public, or, at any rate, posterity, would not approve of their decision. Or, did they act as they did from a tender regard for me? Was the secrecy kept up for their own reputations' sake or for mine? If the latter, it was mistaken kindness, as I should much have preferred publicity. If the former, were they justified in protecting themselves at my expense? The public knew that something had been done to me, but they did not know what, nor why. I am unable to imagine any motive for the secrecy other than those I have suggested; but if the Council really had a sufficient reason for their conduct, what was it?

II. Have not the members of King's College Council a somewhat curious conception of the priestly office? When my chair was removed from the department of theology, the study of logic was eliminated from the theological course. So far as I am aware, no steps have been taken to supply the deficiency. Because the style of a certain

Professor happened to displease the Council, the priests of the Church of England, so far as King's College is concerned, are not in future to have any acquaintance with the science of reasoning. I should have thought that for clergymen, who must, or ought to, grapple with the deepest mysteries and problems of existence, a knowledge of logic was a *sine quâ non*, and that they, more than most men, require to be well grounded and disciplined in the principles and practice of reasoning. But the Council seems to be of opinion that, so long as the students can be kept in ignorance of heterodox views, so long as they can be shielded from the temptation to adopt a popular style, they will be fully equipped for the Christian ministry.

I cannot but ask, Is this conception of the ministry a worthy one? And what is likely to be the future of a Church whose priests have never been taught the difference between an argument and a fallacy?

III. Why is it that ecclesiastics as a rule so passionately detect "good stories?" Of course, every one is agreed that certain stories would be inapplicable to certain subjects and occasions, and some persons, no doubt, object to any story on any occasion. *De gustibus non est disputandum*. But I have looked carefully through the whole of my book, and I can only find one story; and even that had been considered worthy of quotation by the author of a learned treatise. It may be said there are other things in "Inspiration" which might provoke a smile. Well, there are. But if everything of this description were omitted, the book, which now consists of 320 pages, would still contain 318. Yet the Bishop and the Council would seem to have been more perturbed, if possible, by these two pages than by the theological heresies scattered pretty freely over the rest. Why? What is the cause of the perturbation? Has it any rational justification; and, if so, what? Is it quite certain that there is eternal antagonism between seriousness and smiles? And may not pulp conventionality be more injurious to the cause of real religion than the keenest sense of humour?

IV. Why were the Principal and some members of the Council so upset by the "doctrinal statements" contained in "Inspiration"? Few of those statements were new; and most of them were at least as old as Colenso. Mr. Gladstone is said to have given quotations from the Fathers which showed that I was, to some extent, supported by those eminent antiquarian authorities. The supposition that the Church of England is in the main orthodox is the most curious of all delusions. Take any set of opinions you please as the standard of orthodoxy, and it will still remain true that the majority of the clergy are heterodox. Dean Stanley said, and proved, that if a literal acceptance of the Prayer Book were required of the priests of the Church of England, *all* must come out "from the Archbishops at Lambeth and Bishopsthorpe down to the humblest curates in Wales and Westmoreland." As I have shown, in an article that will shortly appear

in the "Forum," there is not a single doctrine or ceremony in regard to which the clergy are agreed. Why, then, did "Inspiration" call forth an outburst of orthodox zeal? Macaulay says that English people are subject to epidemics of virtue. While the disease rages they are virulent and dangerous. But it soon passes away, and then they relapse again into their usual condition of indifference. It would seem as if English ecclesiastics were sometimes afflicted by a similar epidemic of orthodoxy. Almost all the "doctrinal statements" of "Inspiration" have been argued in the Law Courts and declared legal, and, indeed, since 1865 it would be very difficult to prove that any doctrinal statement was illegal. For at that time the subscription of the clergy was changed. Instead of giving "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the Prayer Book," we have now only to declare our agreement with "the doctrine of the Church of England." And as Mr. Buxton explained in the speech which he delivered before the House of Commons, "the word doctrine was used in the singular number, for the purpose of showing that it was the general teaching of the Church, and not every part and parcel of that teaching, to which assent was given, and to make it possible for men to minister at the altars of the Church though they might dissent from some of her teaching." Had the Principal forgotten 28 and 29 Vict. caput 122? Besides, the doctrinal heresies of "Inspiration" are accepted by many clergymen besides myself. They are accepted even by dignitaries of the Church. What was the meaning, then, of the sudden scare which my book produced? And why was I selected as a scapegoat? To any one who is acquainted with English theology, the attack on "Inspiration" seems almost as ridiculous as what happened a few years ago in Manchester, when a ritualistic clergyman, named Green, was cast into prison, and another ritualist—Knox Little, who agreed with him precisely in doctrine and practice, was promoted to a cathedral stall. I cannot but ask whether this want of consistency and common sense is not more injurious to the Church than any possible heresy.

V. Would it not be well if the Church of England began to learn the lesson, which has been in some degree recognised by the Church of Rome, that there may be "diversities of gifts, but the same spirit?" Amongst the members of any large society difference of opinion and difference of method are inevitable. The Church of England in the past has been accustomed to ignore or to suppress individuality. to Might she not in the future endeavour to utilise it? When I returned the College, after my fate had been decided, the porter was kind enough to say he was glad to see me back, and he added with a smile, "We cannot all think alike." Was not the smile of the porter more philosophical, more Christian, more in harmony with the evolution of the race, than the frown of the Reverend Principal?

ALFRED MÔMERIE.

NATIONAL PENSIONS :

ONE WAY OUT OF DARKEST ENGLAND.

LAST summer the attention of the civilised world was arrested by the story which Mr. Stanley told of Darkest Africa and journeyings across the heart of the Lost Continent; this winter, only has the attention of the civilised world been arrested by Gen Booth's description of Darkest England, but the heart and conscience have been touched—the heart by pity for the sufferings of the submerged tenth, and the conscience roused to a sense of its responsibility. Whatever may be the outcome of the General's experiments, whether their success is more complete than the most sanguine expectations, or their failure more disastrous than the most adverse critics have prophesied, that book will have done permanent service by the knowledge which it has spread of the condition of a large portion of our fellow-countrymen, the extent to which it has stimulated the public conscience, and the hope it has excited as to the possibility of finding a way by which the submerged tenth may be brought out of darkness and despair. While wishing the General of the Salvation Army every success in his effort to reclaim the down-

TEMPERANCE AS A ROAD OUT.

Much of Darkest England is the fell shadow of the gigantic upas tree of Drink. If Parliament will cut off some of the branches of that tree by closing public-houses on Sundays, and curtailing the hours on Saturdays, they will lessen the extent and density of the dark shadow. If our law-makers will boldly permit localities where public opinion desires it to root out public-houses altogether, or reduce them to such dimensions as they themselves decide, they will do much towards clearing and draining Darkest England, for they will then make it possible for earnest men in every town and district to work with the prospect of success at uprooting the curse in their own locality. But while I believe temperance reform to be the most effective method of making a clearance through the depths of degradation of Darkest England, I think there are other paths which require to be hewn through the forest as means of escape, and it is to one such path I specially want to direct attention; it is the path by which we may make easy and happy the lot of our aged working population, and secure them comfort in their declining years, and thus light up one dark corner of Darkest England with hope and joy.

ECONOMIC INSTABILITY OF POSITION OF WAGE-EARNERS.

Before pointing the way out, it will be well to sketch roughly the plan of the country, in order to show that there is no satisfactory road at present, and therefore a road requires to be made; in other words, I must ask your attention to the position of the wage-earning classes—*i.e.*, of three-fourths of the nation. The position is one of economic instability. Paid weekly, the money they receive on Saturday is required to meet the wants of the coming week. For the most part they possess, beyond the furniture in their houses, very little stored-up wealth.* As their income is dependent on the actual number of days' work performed, it ceases when anything occurs to prevent their working. A few weeks' sickness will speedily absorb all a working man's resources and reduce him to a condition of abject destitution. Furniture sold, clothes pawned, credit exhausted, situation lost, his condition is hopeless in the extreme; once down, his poverty keeps him down, and only with great difficulty, or unusual good fortune, can he regain his position in the world.

Even when a man keeps his health, he may find himself and his family cast into the depths of poverty by events which he can neither

* The large funds of the Friendly Societies are sometimes referred to as evidence of the accumulated wealth of the working classes. Dividing the funds by the number of members, it will be found that the formidable total represents from £1 to £7 per member, and as most of these are heads of families, the stored-up wealth of each household is small. The same applies to Trades Union funds and Co-operative Societies.

foresee nor control. A new invention, a change in the direction of trade, a deficiency in the wheat harvest of America, a change of fashion in India, rash speculation of merchants in Southern Africa, and many other causes equally remote, may cause a falling off in the demand for his labour and throw him out of employment. Thus, without a particle of blame attaching to him, the wage-earner may be reduced to the utmost destitution.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES AS A MEANS OF ESCAPE.

Conscious of the extreme instability of their position, and that they live on the brink of a precipice down which they may at any time be hurled, our wage-earners endeavour to protect themselves by means of Friendly Societies and Trades Unions. These societies for self-protection, on the whole, reflect the greatest credit on the independent spirit, intelligence, business capacity, and powers of self-government of our manual workers, and excite the admiration and envy of foreigners. Friendly Societies are not perfect; the financial condition of some is far from being satisfactory; many have failed in time of need, and left their members unprotected. Some have collapsed through fraud; more through miscalculations for which their founders can hardly be held responsible. Learning by the mistakes of the past, the Friendly Societies are year by year improving and extending. If Government will only insist on greater publicity being given to their accounts, and a satisfactory audit,* the experienced and capable men who guide their action will gradually introduce such amendments as will render the Friendly Societies as thorough a protection from the financial disasters to which sickness renders workmen liable, as any arrangements devised and carried out by men can well be. We may say that within the reach of our weekly wage-earning population there is a way out of the evils consequent on loss of work through sickness, provided it be not of such prolonged duration as to become virtually permanent disablement.† If a man fails to take advantage of this means of self-protection, we may, roughly speaking, say he must take the consequences of his negligence, and not expect much pity. Or, if we cannot go quite so far as that, we may look to the steady growth of the Friendly Society system to provide a way accessible to the whole population, whereby they may escape from sinking into the depths of poverty by sickness.

* In the United States every association doing insurance business, while left entirely free as to the methods it employs, is subject to the Insurance Commissioners of each State, to whom authority is given to inspect its finances, make a valuation of assets and liabilities, and ascertain whether its public statements are true representations as to its financial position.

† After twelve months, the Friendly Society payment is generally very small.

The present membership of Friendly Societies includes a very large proportion of the adult population.*

TRADES UNIONS AS A MEANS OF ESCAPE.

Trades Unions of the older type perform all the functions of a Friendly Society, and in addition secure their members from the evils consequent on loss of employment through the fluctuations of trade. They have a membership of about 750,000. These Unions consist almost exclusively of skilled workmen, and do not touch the great mass of unskilled labourers. The new Unionism, which at present is little more than a mere fighting organisation, is mainly recruited from the ranks of the unskilled. These newer, more aggressive organisations have done important work in bringing about co-operation and united action among those who had hitherto seemed hopelessly without any possibility of cohesion. United for fighting purposes now, they are sure before long to extend their range of action so as to make adequate provision for out-of-work benefit, even if they leave sickness to be dealt with by the Friendly Societies; therefore we may not unreasonably look to the development of Unionism to provide a road out of the difficulties consequent on irregularity of employment—a road along which a very large proportion of the weekly wage-earners may escape if they will.

But neither Friendly Societies nor Trades Unions make effective provision for that failure of working energies which is the natural and necessary consequence of old age. Old age does not necessarily imply sickness. An elderly man may not be able to do a full day's work, and yet be unable to obtain a certificate from a club doctor, which will entitle him to sick pay. It is true that some do become chronic invalids, and so draw sick-money which is virtually a pension. As Friendly Society tables are calculated on the basis of sickness, and not for providing pensions, this has occasioned some of their financial difficulties; but Friendly Societies are now alive to this danger, and more stringent in their demand for evidence of *bonâ fide* sickness. The Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, by the advice of their able actuary, Mr. Reuben Watson, now cease paying sick allowance when a man reaches sixty-five years of age.† Some few of the richer Unions do grant superannuation allowances to members unable to follow their employment, but they find such allowances a heavy burden on their resources. The miners of the North of England, through the

* From the returns of the various societies for the year 1888 I estimated the total membership as about 6,000,000, and during the last two years this number has been considerably augmented.

† Those who wish to insure so as to secure a superannuation allowance, can do so by making a special payment, but only a few dozen have availed themselves of the opportunity.

Permanent Relief Fund, attempt to grapple with the difficulty as far as miners of the North are concerned, but the financial position of the fund is not very satisfactory.

THE POOR LAW THE ONLY PROVISION FOR OLD AGE.

Broadly speaking, the great mass of the weekly wage-earners have no provision secured for their old age. As a consequence, the only prospect before them after a life of honourable toil is penury and privation, ending, if life be prolonged, in the grudgingly given pauper dole of out-relief, or in imprisonment in a workhouse. It is imprisonment. An inmate cannot go in and out when he chooses; his life is regulated in every detail; his food is good, but not such as delights his palate, and is measured out in definite and not over bountiful quantities. Separated from his partner in life, should she survive, cut off from the friends and companions of his choice, never cheered by the play and prattle of children, his days are dreary and cheerless. We sympathise with Mr. O'Brien, because he has to undergo six months' imprisonment for doing his duty to his country, but we treat with philosophic indifference the virtual imprisonment for life of thousands of our aged countrymen who have done their duty to their country—the duty of steady, persistent toil for upwards of forty years.

Talk about the hoary head being a crown of glory! We rob it of any glory when we submit it to the indignity of a suit of workhouse clothes. Life ended—

“We rattle the bones over the stones,
Only a pauper whom nobody owns.”

All through life the dark shadow of an old age of penury and pauperism hangs over nearly three-fourths of the population of this the richest nation in Europe—a gloomy prospect. Hard work for fifty years or more, and then after all the toil and effort to sink down into the submerged tenth at last. There ought to be, there must be, some road out of this corner of Darkest England.

IS THRIFT A POSSIBLE ROAD OUT?

We are sometimes told that there is a road out. The wage-earners capable of foresight know what is before them; they can by the exercise of thrift make provision for their old age. This solution of the problem sounds plausible; let us examine it. Let us assume that 5s. a week would be a reasonable pension for those who work for weekly wages. This is twice as much as is generally given as out-relief. It would not be affluence, but it would enable most men to end their days in comfort, for there is generally some relative or connection willing to let an old man sit at their fireside, if only he be

not a burden on the slender resources of the household. Five shillings a week will provide an old man's food, and fill his pipe with the solace of tobacco.

If we take the Post Office tables, an annuity of 5*s.* a week at sixty-five costs £125 13*s.* 4*d.* The Post Office tables are based on an interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. A good insurance society, which calculates its rate of interest at 3 per cent., will give an annuity of 5*s.* a week for £100, but as a working man is not able to judge which is a good society, the Post Office alone ensures absolute security. Can we expect the mass of weekly wage-earners to have £125, or even £100, standing to their credit in the bank at sixty-five.

Is it reasonable to expect such thrift of the average agricultural labourer, even if he has been fortunate enough to earn a regular wage, all the year round and every year, of 12*s.* to 15*s.* a week, out of which he has paid to his Friendly Society, and perhaps his Union subscription? An investigation of the registers of some agricultural parishes, made a few years ago by Canon Blackley, showed that 45 per cent. of the deaths over sixty years of age were those of persons who had been in receipt of poor relief—*i.e.*, nearly one-half over sixty were paupers. Can we expect such thrift from the unskilled labourers in towns whose average wage in consequence of irregularity of employment is scarcely, if at all, above that of the agriculturalists? Manifestly we cannot. We can expect such an heroic exercise of thrift from a few of the more highly paid and frugal of the skilled artisans. For the vast mass of our countrymen, however, the only prospect in old age is the parish. As master of King James' Hospital, a charity whose object is the granting of pensions to aged men, I have been much impressed with the number of old men who have saved for their old age, and who find their life lasting longer than their savings, and how they practise a rigid economy in the hope that they may eke them out sufficiently to prevent recourse to the parish. It is a pitiable struggle for independence which too often proves unsuccessful. As things are, we impose an impossible task, and then punish the wage-earners for not performing it. That is irrational and cruel. It is natural that under the circumstances of their position the mass should acquiesce in the inevitable, and look upon the parish as the necessary misfortune of a long life. Unable to escape that goal, they naturally think there is no use in trying to do anything at all. We cannot blame them if they do not regard our social organisation as perfect, nor look upon this as the best of possible worlds.

THE NUMBER WHO REACH SIXTY-FIVE.

It is sometimes said that the evil of old-age pauperism is not so serious as I have represented, because, owing to the hard conditions

of their lives, comparatively few of the weekly wage-earners reach old age. A glance at the following table will dispose of such a contention.

Of 100 persons who reach their twenty-first birthday, the number who reach—

		Dr. Ogle's Tables.		Oddfellows' Tables.
60 years of age will be	. . .	54.01	...	59.47
65 "	: . .	43.9	...	49.19
70 "	. . .	32.8	...	37.59

From this it appears that the experience of the Oddfellows, whose members consist exclusively of the wage-earning classes, is that the number who reach the advanced ages is in excess of the average longevity of the country.* If we take sixty-five as the age at which a man enters upon the period of failing powers and becomes unable to earn an adequate livelihood, we see that nearly one-half our wage-earning population reach that age. There are some whose vigour fails earlier; some whose vigour lasts longer; but, in view of the fact that the larger Friendly Societies fix sixty-five as the age for superannuation, we may take that as the age at which men should expect to have to cease work. If some above the average strength retain their full vigour, they have earned by that time the right to rest, and none would grudge them the possession of such health as would enable them to enjoy a few years' rest before they shuffle off this mortal coil.

ONE IN THREE A PAUPER.

What percentage of those who reach sixty-five sink down into the depths of penury and poverty?

The results of Canon Blackley's investigation, to which I referred, though not conclusive, because of the limited area over which the inquiry extended, are an indication of the probable proportion of old-age pauperism among agricultural labourers—viz., nearly one-half.

Those experienced in poor-law administration will be disposed to regard the estimate as fairly representative of the position of aged wage-earners in rural districts.

Here is the testimony of the *Times* as to one aspect of the question in the metropolis:—"The poor very seldom die in their own homes." In London one in five of the deaths occurs in a workhouse or public hospital. If we eliminate those above the wage-earners the proportion will be something like one in three for all ages. If we

* This may be partly accounted for by the fact that only sound lives—those who can pass a medical examination—are permitted to join Friendly Societies. The experience of the Foresters as to longevity closely corresponds to that of the Oddfellows.

take those of sixty and upwards, one in two will more accurately represent the proportion.

In order to obtain more accurate information on this subject, Mr. Burt moved, in the House of Commons, for a return of the number of persons in England and Wales above sixty, sixty-five, and seventy years of age, respectively, who were in receipt of poor-law relief on August 1 of last year. The number over sixty-five years of age was 245,687, out of an estimated total of 1,300,000 persons in England and Wales—nearly one in seven of all classes, rich and poor alike.

But the number is really much greater than this, as "lunatics, vagrants, and persons in receipt of relief, constructively, by reason of relief given to wives or children," were not included. Further, not only was the return made in summer, when many manage to dispense with relief, but also it was at a period of specially prosperous trade, when almost any one who could work at all could get employment. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that this return gives the number on a single day, and not the number for the year; and previous investigation has shown that the number of individuals who have recourse to parish relief during the year is about three and a half times the number relieved on any particular day. As the very aged may be regarded as the more permanent element among our paupers, if we only multiply by two we get a total of 490,000 persons over sixty-five years of age in receipt of relief during the year—over one in three of the whole population of that age—and even this takes no account of lunatics or the large number who struggle on in feeble bodily health, or eke out an existence of semi-starvation on their little savings, dreading nothing so much as that they should survive their slender store and be driven to the parish, and the house at last.

We have now before us some idea of the extent of the poverty and suffering, consequent on old age, of the number of the submerged tenth, who, aged and infirm, are unable to earn a reasonable subsistence. We have seen that for the mass of our countrymen there is no possible road out of old-age poverty, and the consequent hopelessness of the prospect casts its gloomy shadow over their lives.

IS THERE A WAY OF ESCAPE?

We have now to consider whether some way of escape cannot be devised—some road out of this corner of Darkest England.

When a boy I used occasionally to visit Greenwich Hospital, where a grateful nation fed, clothed, and lodged in a royal palace sailors who had grown old in the service of the navy. The old pensioners looked very picturesque in their quaint uniform as they wandered

about the corridors, or sat smoking their pipes on the benches in sun, talking of battles fought and won. When one saw these sailors, lodged in a royal palace and surrounded by such comforts, felt that the English people were not always ungrateful, that they recognised the duty of providing for those who had given the best years of their life to the service of the country. But a day arrived when these old pensioners were allowed the option of remaining in the palace, taking with them a pension less than the cost of their maintenance in the palace, or going to reside in the humble homes of their friends. With scarcely an exception they chose the latter where they would have their wants attended to by those to whom they were bound by ties of affection, rather than the palace, with its grandeur and dull routine. It was better for them and better for their relatives also, for the care of the aged is an education in domestic affection. It is good for grandfather to be cheered by the prattle of the children, good for the grandchildren to have to take care of grandfather, and minister to his little needs.

Why should we not treat the aged inmates of our workhouses in the same fashion, throw open the doors of our Poor Law Bastilles, allow the option of living at home on a pension equal to the cost which we expend on their maintenance in the house? God meant men to live in families, and when we adopt a policy which breaks up the family, we, as Mrs. Poyser would say, "fly in the face of Providence," and that is always disastrous.

Poor Law doctrinaires will exclaim that such a proposal is a gigantic measure of out-relief, and as such demoralising, and subversive of independence and self-help. Not so. The suggestion I have made does not apply to the able-bodied, those who can work and ought to work—only to those who, after a life of toil, are, in consequence of enfeebled powers, unable to work any longer. No one proposes to treat them after the fashion of some savage tribes, and let them starve; therefore it is merely a question as to the best form of relief.

I am willing to admit that as the sufferings consequent on old age can be foreseen, every one ought to make provision for them; but things now are, it is practically impossible for the mass of our working classes to make such provision. Render it possible by a well-devised system of insurance, and then those who will not escape by that route out of old age poverty must take the consequences, and may be reasonably treated with severity.

COST OF A PENSION.

A pension of 5s. a week, which costs £125, can, owing to the cumulative power of compound interest, be purchased at—

Age.	Single Payment.	Annual Payment.	Weekly Pence.
	£	£ s. d.	
18	13·043	0 12 4	2·85
21	14·49	0 14 3	3·29
25	16·73	0 17 4	3·99
30	19·09	1 2 7	5·21
35	24·4	1 10 0½	6·93
50	29·75	2 1 4	9·54

That which seems so impossible, when stated in the form of a single payment at sixty-five, does not seem very unreasonable when stated as a weekly payment from early life.

WHY WAGE-EARNERS DO NOT INSURE.

There are, however, several reasons which militate against insurance for pensions by our wage-earners. One is want of adequate security. No working-man can be sure that a society into which he enters at twenty-one will be able to fulfil its obligations forty-four years later, when he becomes a claimant for a pension. Nothing but a national guarantee can give such security.

Another reason arises from the migratory habits of our working population, which render it uncertain whether a man will be able to keep up his connection with any one society during his whole working life. An insurance system of a national character would better than any other meet this difficulty.

But greater hindrance than all is the doubt which arises from the uncertainty of employment. A man may contribute for years, and then, owing to depression in trade or other cause, may be unable to keep up his payments, and so lose both pension and contributions. No system of insurance will provide an effective means of escape from old-age pauperism which does not overcome this difficulty. The plan adopted by the Germans in their new law is probably as effective as any that can be desired. Each insurer is provided with a card divided into forty-seven squares; each week, as he makes his weekly payment, a stamp is fixed to one of the squares, as is done with our Post Office Savings Bank cards. When the whole forty-seven spaces are filled, he has thus made what is regarded as one year's contribution. He is thus allowed five weeks in every year for holidays and broken time. If out of work, he simply does not get his squares filled up, and when he comes to claim his pension the number of years during which he has been a contributor is determined by the number of cards he has filled; thus a period of voluntary or enforced idleness does not deprive him of a pension, but only slightly diminishes the amount he can claim. Nothing but a national system can well overcome this difficulty.

THE NATION OUGHT TO PAY PART OF THE COST.

The expenditure of our working population on intoxicants is sufficient evidence that they could pay the requisite contribution to secure a pension; but it would be unfair to throw the whole burden upon them. At present the majority of the working population who are incapacitated from work by the infirmities of age are supported by contributions levied on property to the extent of several millions per annum. If the wage-earners make provision for their old age by insurance, property will be relieved of a burden it now bears, and the burden transferred to those least able to bear it. Property has been bought and sold with its known liability to poor rate. The abolition or extensive reduction of the poor rate would simply have the effect of handing over to the landlords what may be regarded as now the property of the poor—all that is left to them of their once extensive common rights. I for one have no desire to see a repetition of the process of handing over from those who have least to those who have most, such as was effected under the Enclosure Acts. Justice demands that a portion of the cost of the maintenance of people in their old age should be borne by taxation levied on property. The contribution from taxation should be a fixed proportion. If the minimum pension be 5s. a week, one-third, say, should be paid from taxes on property. If a man desires to insure for more—say 7s. 6d. a week—he must secure the whole of the extra 2s. 6d. by his own payments. The State's duty ends with securing a minimum provision which shall be the same for all—the same for Lord Tom Noddy as for the agricultural labourer.

As the number of persons over sixty-five years of age in England and Wales is about 1,309,000, the burden on taxation, in order to provide one-third of a pension of 5s. a week for every one of all ranks would be £5,672,333 per annum, but from this would have to be deducted, the considerable number who, in connection with the Civil Service, Army, Navy, and Police, receive pensions at present, probably about 100,000—say, 109,000; this would reduce the total cost to £5,200,000. But from this we must deduct the amount now spent on the 250,000 paupers over sixty-five; and as this averages £10 10s., we have to deduct a further sum of £2,625,000, leaving a total of £2,575,000 as the additional burden on the general taxation of the country—not an excessive sum, compared with the benefit which would result from preserving the whole of our aged poor from sinking down into the misery of the submerged tenth.

If the scheme were confined to wage-earners, the cost might be less, but the more logical course would be for all of every social grade to insure. The nation has no security that any of her members will not be reduced to poverty; commercial speculation, the turf, or

intemperance may and sometimes do reduce the wealthiest to the lowest depths of poverty.

It is fair and reasonable to throw part of the burden on general taxation—that is, on the strong, healthy, and wealthy. A man would pay his direct contribution to the pension fund, and during working life would contribute his proportion to the general taxation, and therefore his proportion of the maintenance of those incapacitated by old age; so when he in his turn became a pensioner he would receive the value of the annuity he had purchased, and an equivalent for the contribution he had paid out of his earnings to taxation for the benefit of aged persons. This would merely be an adoption by the nation of the principle of the family—viz., that the younger and able-bodied help to supply those past work with the necessaries and some of the comforts of life, they in their turn to be assisted, should they reach old age, by their children.

SHOULD THE EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTE?

Should the employer contribute towards the pension? In Germany he pays one-third, the workman one-third, and the State one-third. There is much to be said in favour of this division. Those who have grown old in the service of a particular industry have a claim on the profits of that industry when they can no longer continue to labour. This is generally recognised. We act on this principle in our Civil Service, our Local Government, and our Corporations, and now elementary teachers are seeking a similar recognition. Our great railways, being companies without a soul, are not disposed to charity, yet they recognise the principle, and endeavour to form pension funds, which they largely subsidise. Over and above any moral claim which those who have worked for many years in any employ may have, there is a distinct economic advantage in a pension fund. Even in these days of severe competition, men are not altogether heartless, and only the worst employer will readily dismiss an aged servant when he knows the dismissal involves starvation. To keep that man on is economically wasteful, because of the low efficiency of his labour. If dismissal means retirement on a pension, the employer can give the man notice without compunction, hence he finds contribution to a pension fund a profitable expenditure.

It may be said that working men have opposed the formation of these pension funds, and they do not desire to make provision for old age. The opposition of the wage-earners has been to a pension fund connected with a single industrial concern, because such a fund would interfere with the workman's freedom of movement from one industrial concern to another. If he leaves his employment he loses his claim to a pension, and this is likely to stand in the way of asserting his

claims to higher wages, or resisting reductions, by making the older men timid, as vigorous action would imperil their pension. These objections would not hold good in the case of a national system of insurance, as the same pension conditions would prevail in every employment, and a man would not suffer loss of pension by dismissal from any one firm.

COLLECTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

People naturally ask how it would be possible to collect contribution from employer and employed for any national system of pension. The German method is very ingenious, and very simple. Every man when he receives his weekly wage receives from his employer a stamp which represents in value the amount which the employer has deducted from his wages for his pension subscription and the employer's own contribution. For example, a man working for 18s. a week would receive 17s. 11d. in cash, and a twopenny stamp, which he would fasten in one of the forty-seven squares of his insurance card. The third penny would be provided from the national revenue. This system is found to work with satisfaction to all concerned, and is economical. The cost of management of the German National Insurance amounts to about 9 per cent. of the premiums, whereas our collecting societies expend from 38 to 60 per cent. on management.

There is much to be urged in favour of permitting those wage-earners who desire to do so to pay up the whole of their portion of the contribution in the early years of their life, for that is the time at which the manual worker can best afford to do so. At eighteen or thereabouts a labourer, or at twenty-one or thereabouts an artisan, receives the full rate of wages. As he grows older that wage does not increase; it tends to decrease, because the average number of days' sickness increases as years go on. Also the young and vigorous are better able to secure employment in times of depression in trade. When he first enters upon the receipt of full weekly wages, a man is generally only himself to maintain, but as he grows older he generally has a wife and family to keep on the same wages as he had at first for himself alone.

THE MATRIMONIAL PROSPECTS OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

The consequence is that if a working-man marries at all it is actually prudent that he should do so as early as possible. He will never be so well off, and if he rears a family and gets them out into the world before sickness and advancing years, with their consequent irregular employment, decrease his average earnings, he may be able to obtain some assistance in the years of adversity, and in the old age.

his old age, from the children he has reared. This condition of things, whereby it becomes, among our largest and poorest class, a matter of prudence, from the point of view of the individuals composing that class, to marry as early as possible, is a consequence of our modern industrial system, which began to prevail from about the year 1763. It has not been the sole cause, but it has been an important factor in the increase of our population by leaps and bounds during the last century. It is a powerful contributory influence to the early marriage and rapid increase of the poorest section of all, for on them it acts most strongly, and thus has much to do with that keen competition which prevails in the least skilled employments, and which renders "sweating" possible. Therefore the encouragement given to early marriages and to the rapid increase in numbers has a very pernicious influence on the wage-earning classes as a body, and is a cause which tends to the aggravation of our social difficulties.

The Rev. Canon Blackley, in his proposals which attracted so much attention a few years ago, laid great stress on this feature in the economic position of wage-earners, and coupling it with the cumulative powers of compound interest, advocated a compulsory payment of £10 by the age of twenty-one. This he considered would provide sick-pay for life, and a pension at the age of seventy. I have previously advocated that such portions of the contributions for pensions as are required from the wage-earners should be deducted from wages during the three years between eighteen and twenty-one, or twenty-one and twenty-four, but I now am of opinion that it should be left to the insurer to select the method of payment which seems to him most suitable. Those who are wise and far-seeing will prefer to avail themselves of the privilege of paying larger amounts for a short period, rather than a smaller weekly payment extending over life.

COMPULSION.

Should a national pension scheme such as I have sketched be compulsory? A strong defence can be made of compulsion. It is the duty of every man to make provision for the known contingencies of life. This is a duty which every man owes to himself and to his neighbour. No one, when there are means of avoiding it available, ought to so order his course of life as to deliberately become a burden on his friends or fellow-citizens. The community may reasonably and justly take measures to compel every man to perform a duty which is by the *communis sensus* recognised as his.

For example, when men reside in towns, every man, in the interest of his neighbour as well as himself, ought to have his refuse removed, and the path in front of his house kept clear of snow or other

obstruction. In the interest of the community, we compel a man to do this, or compel him to pay for having it done.

Even in this matter of maintenance of the aged, we exercise compulsion now. We compel the owners of property to pay poor rates, and very often that means that we compel the thrifty to support spendthrifts. There would be more justice in a scheme of compulsion which compelled every one to avail himself of a means of provision for the necessities of old age. Now we imprison in the workhouse all who do not perform an impossible task of self-help. This is justifiable; but we should, when there is a national scheme of insurance, be justified in treating harshly those who neglected to provide for themselves.

COMPULSION MUST NOT DESTROY SELF-HELP ASSOCIATION

No compulsory or national system ought to destroy existing voluntary associations which are effective and financially sound, nor ought it to discourage their formation. As the Education Act of 1902 was passed for the purpose of covering the ground not previously occupied, supplementing and not supplanting existing efficient schools, so should it be with a national and universal compulsory system of insurance.

It may be said that it would be impossible to collect subscriptions from a large proportion of our wage-earning population employed in casual employments. At first that might be so, but year by year that difficulty would diminish. When the Education Act first came into operation, a very large number of children remained outside its influence, but year by year the meshes of the educational net were drawn tighter and tighter, till now comparatively few children are left out of school altogether. So would it be with Compulsory Pension Insurance; all engaged in regular employment in factories and workshops would at once be reached, and year by year its operations would be extended, as one section after another of those who at first remained outside were brought within its sphere.

A study of the German system makes it evident that an Act of Parliament could, without serious difficulty, be framed so as to include within its operation all but a very small proportion of the weekly wage-earners.

While a compulsory national system would be just, wise, and beneficial, it may be expedient to prepare the way by an experiment of a voluntary and permissive character. If, through the Post Office or some distinct Government department, a subsidy were offered towards pensions of those whose average weekly wage did not exceed, say, 40s. a week, provided they insured for a certain amount, we believe that a large number of our wage-earners would not be slow to avail themselves of the opportunity.

avail themselves of the benefit, and that many of the largest industrial organisations in our country would co-operate with their employes to secure it. If, for example, the Government were to offer to every recipient of less than 40s. a week, who insured for a pension of 3s. 8d. per week, to add 1s. 4d., and make the pension 5s., arrangements would soon be made by a multitude of employers to assist their workmen to gain this benefit, partly by themselves contributing, partly by deducting and paying over their weekly contributions of the men to the national fund, and thus taking upon themselves the trouble and expense of collection.

Once established, the benefits would be so manifest that the prejudice against a compulsory system would disappear, and the nation would soon come to the conclusion that the kindest thing we could do for the less thrifty would be to compel them to join, and that this was also the course most advantageous to the community at large.

Now, no provision at all is made for old age because the task is practically impossible, and as no help at all will be given from the rates as long as a man has any resources of his own, it is really good policy not to attempt to make provision; but when a man has secured a pension of 5s., anything that he can do further will be so much increase to his comfort.

I have shown that there is a road out of that corner of Darkest England which is peopled by the aged and infirm; it is a road which requires no great engineering skill to make.

The only defect in the scheme I have sketched is that it hardly goes far enough; it does not make provision for those permanently disabled before reaching sixty-five years of age. Personally, I have no objection to a scheme which goes further. I would be content, at first, with pensions pure and simple, leaving disablement to be dealt with by the sick funds of Friendly Societies.

DR. HUNTER'S SCHEME.

Dr. Hunter, M.P. for Aberdeen, goes further than this, and proposes for Scotland a scheme of pensions at sixty-five, or on disablement, and an allowance for orphans till they reach the age of sixteen. He has had careful actuarial calculations made, and by his courtesy I am able to give the figures of his estimate, which, like that of Germany, reckons forty-eight weeks as one year.

Rate of Weekly Wage.	Contribution from Workmen.	Contribution from Employer.	Contribution from State.	Weekly Pension.
6s. to 11s. 11d. . .	1d.	1d.	4d.	5s.
12s. to 17s. 11d. . .	2d.	2d.	4d.	7s.
18s. and upwards . .	4d.	4d.	4d.	10s.

The scheme is bold, comprehensive, and, from the point of view of the State, expensive. 16s. per annum for every adult in the country is a heavy subsidy. This proposal will have to undergo discussion and criticism, and probably will in the process be extensively modified. But there it is, a calculation of what may be done, and what some desire shall be done, for Scotland. Is Scotland always to lead the way? In 1853 it obtained its Sunday Closing Act; in 1891 England's is still in the future. In 1890 Scotland obtained Free Education; we are only talking of it. Is it to be the same with National Insurance? I trust not.

Speaking at the National Liberal Federation meeting held in Sheffield last autumn, Mr. John Morley, when giving a *résumé* of the Liberal programme, said:—

“Could not the State use its influence in the direction of something like a national insurance? The most afflicting thing to be seen in modern society was that after men had worked, after they had spent all their natural force, they were so often left beggars. That statesman would deserve well, would deserve even more than the winners of battles, who could bring knowledge, experience, and accurate methodical thought to that great problem.”

Who more capable of bringing knowledge, experience, and accurate methodical thought to that problem than the member for Newcastle-on-Tyne. Will he do it?

W. MOORE EDL.

THE PROTECTION OF WILD BIRDS' EGGS.

A RECENT proposal, much discussed in the newspapers, for the organisation of "an oological expedition to the land of the Great Auk," and the invitation which accompanied the announcement of the scheme to all who might wish to share in the division of a promised "haul of at least 20,000 eggs, including many beautiful and rare varieties," to send in to the promoters, "at once," if anxious to avoid disappointment, their pounds or ten-shilling-pieces, has again called public attention to the most interesting question of the preservation of our rare British birds.

The scheme in its intention was abominable. But in Shetland, as elsewhere, landowners have still some rights and powers left; and, in however much greater proportion, "the craft of man" may have increased, "the bird's resources of defence" have happily not yet been altogether distanced. Many of them, the rarer kinds especially, have still a very fair notion how to protect themselves, and—helped, as most of those which lay on the ground are, by the marvellous imitative paintings of their eggs, which make it often scarcely possible for a practised eye, at the distance of a very few feet, to distinguish them with certainty from the pebbles or dry weeds among which they are laid—can still meet even the "experienced oologist" on tolerably even terms.

If the Birmingham Company had floated, which it did not, probably more than one investor, when the time came for the division of the spoil, as he unpacked a few common gulls or oystercatcher's eggs, labelled, perhaps, with more dignified names, would have felt a little flat, and wished he had kept his money in his pocket.

The promoters will, without intending it, have earned the gratitude of every lover of birds, if, before the motive power generated by the

blaze of indignation lit by their programme, has exhausted itself, nothing can be done to prevent such cold-blooded schemes in future make the protection of wild birds easier than it now is.

The question, what to do and how to do it, is not so simple as may seem to some people; and it would be unfortunate if, under the influence of one of the sudden unreasoning waves of impulse to which large bodies of men and herds of lower animals are alike subject, any hasty and ill-considered measure were hurried through Parliament.

The Texan rancher becomes every now and then aware, however why he can scarcely tell, that unless he is prepared to run the risk of losing his usually peaceful beasts, he and his cow-boys must be on the night in the saddle. The Laplander's reindeer for months browse as quietly as cows knee-deep in an Aylesbury Vale pasturage, till, on a sudden, every head is raised and the herd is off, to be recovered only after days of tedious tracking. Legislative Assemblies are apt at times as suddenly to take up a question which has been lying unnoticed for years, and rush off with it, to jump, like the Man of Thessaly, into a quickset hedge, with every probability of being soon after driven to follow farther his historical example—prototype in allegory of law-making by sentiment, pure and qualified—and,

“When they see their eyes are out, with all their might and main,
Jump straight into another hedge to scratch them in again.”

If Mr. Pease's Bill for the Protection of Wild Birds had been introduced and passed in its original shape, as, from the mood of the House of Commons at the moment, seemed at one time not unlikely to be the case, it would have been an instance of the kind. He has now withdrawn it for further consideration. But, as it is to be introduced in an altered form at a later period of the Session, it is possibly still be worth while to glance at a few of the details of the text, as communicated to the *Times* in February last.

The Bill is in two parts. The first deals with the birds themselves and proposes to grant a not undesirable extension of the close season. The second part—to which alone the remarks offered in this paper relate—deals with eggs, and proposes that it shall be illegal to take any but those of some sixty or seventy birds named in a “Black List” attached as a schedule to the Bill.

The list has no doubt been drawn up upon some principle, though when one finds among the proscribed birds “Wrens,” “Grey” “Yellow Wagtails,” and “Redstarts,” all of them insect feeders, the one bird said to be peculiar to England, the “Cole-Tit”—it is difficult to guess what the principle may have been.

It is not necessary to look beyond the schedule to find proof sufficient of the extreme difficulty—indeed practical impossibility—

drawing distinctions between "rare" and "common" birds' eggs, the one to be protected by law, the other left unprotected.

To take the gulls first. There are three named in the Black List—the "Black-Headed," the "Common," and the "Great Black-backed." Three-fourths of the eggs which in Shetland and many other parts are, during the nesting season, valuable, and almost everyday articles of food in almost every cottage and farmhouse, are those of the "Herring," or "Lesser Black-backed gull," neither of which is scheduled among the birds whose nests may be robbed. To forbid the collection of the eggs of these gulls would be to inflict a cruel and quite unnecessary hardship on hundreds of poor people. To allow their collection would be to make the Act useless for the protection of the "Great Skua gull," the threatened extermination of which has been made the chief argument for a more stringent protective law.

The eggs of the Great Skua are laid on the ground, and in measurements and colour so closely resemble hundreds of those of the Herring gulls to be found commonly not far from them, that it would be impossible for any one, unless he had happened with his own eyes to see the bird on it, to swear to a Skua's egg in court.

Again, there are two small gulls fairly plentiful on most parts of the coast, the so-called "Common gull" (*Larus Canus*)—less common certainly than more than one other British gull—and the Kittiwake (*Larus Tridactylus*). Excepting in one or two very trifling details of feather and feet—imperceptible at any time to any but very close observers, and when the birds are in summer dress, scarcely perceptible even to those—the two are in plumage, measurements, and habits, and in the size and colouring of the eggs, identical. The eggs of the one are to be taken. The eggs of the other must be left. The Bill does not say who is to tell the bird's-nester or the magistrate before whom, if he makes a mistake, he is to be taken, which is which.

The third of the scheduled gulls—the Great Black-backed—is a robber and murderer, who, no doubt, for his evil deeds worthily deserves to be punished, and, on the ground of moral character, it would be hopeless to plead for him. But, like the eagle, against whom even worse charges might be brought, he is a grand and comparatively scarce bird, and one could almost have wished that when the Black List was prepared he had been lost sight of in the great flocks of his lesser protected namesake.

Rookeries of the Lesser Black-backed gull, containing hundreds of nests, are to be seen without difficulty in many places. It has only once been the good fortune of the writer to see the solitary nest of the larger bird.

When one turns from the gulls to the little birds, confusion is even worse confounded, and the difficulty of any selection for proscription or protection still more apparent.

There are some eighteen or twenty of our small summer visitors—slender-billed, insect-eating little birds—classed by most writers as “Warblers.” Four of these—more than one of them building a nest and laying eggs the same in architecture, size, and colour as those of others of their tribe which are protected—are scheduled as unprotected.

They are the “Blackcap,” the “Reed-warbler,” and “Sedge-warbler,” and, of all birds to select to be gibbeted, the little “Willow-wren”—the first to arrive of our foreign songsters—the typical summer migrant, whose journeyings, a week in advance of his mate, Kingsley, in one of his prettiest sketches, has followed from the winter home among the palm-trees in the African oasis, “up the Portuguese coast and through the gap between the Pyrenees and the Jaisquivel, and up the Landes of Bordeaux, and through Brittany,” across the Channel to the familiar spot where last year a half-domed, feather-lined nest with six or seven small spotted eggs—both nest and eggs, by-the-by, exactly like those of the luckier “Chiff-Chaff,” which the Bill protects!—had been successfully hidden in the long grass and wild flowers of a bank under English skies.

Other cases in plenty might be quoted in which it would be impossible to justify the selections of the framers of the schedule, and as impossible to tell them how to do the work better; but those given already are enough.

A law for the protection of birds' eggs, of general application, such as would, if enforced, cover the eggs of sparrows and the common finches which swarm in every farmyard, and would drive British plovers' eggs from the markets, would by common consent be out of the question. Mr. Pease has done good service to the cause he has at heart by giving in his Bill an object-lesson proving that a discriminating law is as impossible, and that, if anything of practical use is to be done by legislation, it must be by an Act drawn on very different lines.

The chief difficulty in the protection of birds and their nests lies in the pernicious maxim of the Common Law that there is no property in animals, *feræ naturæ*, which come and go.

At the bottom of your garden is an old cherry-tree. There are a few sour cherries upon it, and a few feet from the ground, in the hollow of a broken bough is a wren's nest, which you and your children have watched from the time that the first scrap of moss was laid until the eight or nine eggs are within a few hours of hatching. A dozen or two of your cherries are taken and so is the nest. You can prosecute, if you care to do it, the boy who takes your fruit, with a reasonable certainty of a conviction; but the boy or man who has stolen the nest, in exchange for which you would not have taken a peck of cherries, can laugh at you.

In the hedgerow beyond, a nightingale—the only one perhaps which has been known to nest in the neighbourhood for years—to your delight has built. You can make an example of the old woman who has gathered a few sticks from the fence near the nest to boil her kettle, and, to secure peace and quiet for the birds, are half tempted to assert your rights. But when on your next visit to the nearest market-town you recognise in the bird-stuffer's window your nightingale's nest with the four olive eggs "blown," which when last you saw them were filled with the promise of "the music of the moon," all you can do is to "grin and bear it" as best you can; unless you are prepared to face the certain worries of a civil action "for damages," in the very uncertain hope of gaining a case.

There is one, and perhaps only one, instance on record of a successful action of the kind.

A party of gentlemen who have taken a lease of the Farnes with the object of protecting the birds which gather there to nest, and keep at their own cost watchers on the chief Islands of the group during the breeding season, obtained in 1889 a County Court judgment for £1 against an egg-stealer.

It is at best a slow and clumsy remedy. The eggs were taken in June, and the case did not come on until October, when, as an example for that season, the judgment was useless. Though nothing in the end came of them, rumours of Appeal were for some time afloat.

The principle that owners and occupiers of land have—Common Law notwithstanding—legitimate rights and interests in the birds found on their land, has already been recognised by the Wild Birds' Protection Act of 1880; and if, instead of making further attempts to draw distinctions between indistinguishables, Mr. Pease and his friends could induce Parliament to go a step farther in the same direction and place on the Statute-Book a simple enactment to the effect that birds' eggs shall be considered the property of the owners or occupiers of the land on which they are laid, and that any one taking them without the leave of one or the other shall be liable to be punished for stealing, as if the eggs were apples, there should no longer be any very great difficulty in securing all reasonable protection for our rare birds.

If the roots of wild flowers and ferns which are now dug up and carried off wholesale with impunity could be bracketed in the new Act with birds' eggs, the country's debt of gratitude to the promoters would be all the greater. Flowers which once were common are already in places becoming as rare as the Great Skua, and may soon, if nothing can be done to prevent it, be as extinct as the Great Auk.

T. DIGBY FIGOTT.

pleasure, is one way, but only one, in which those conditions may be satisfied. Whatever the true motives or policy of the measure may be, it is a one-sided and voluntary act on the part of the legislature of the United States.

There is no need to remind any one that, apart from this Act of Congress, the rights of a British author to protect his work from unauthorised multiplication in the United States were simply none. In some cases he could obtain some protection by incorporating the work of a friendly American colleague with his own; and a well-known author could, by means of advance sheets, give an American publisher a start in the American market, which was worth paying something for. But these makeshifts were often precarious at best, and the breaking down of what was called the courtesy of the trade among American publishers had deprived advance sheets of much of their value. The new estate of the British author must now be sought within the four corners of the "Act to amend title sixty, chapter three, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to copyrights." Formerly, the Statutes enabled copyright to be acquired only by "any citizen of the United States or resident therein" who, being the author or proprietor of the work, should take the steps pointed out. These words have now disappeared, and the person acquiring a copyright need not be either a citizen or a resident. But a new condition is imposed. Two copies of the work, as heretofore, must be delivered or deposited in the mail (to deposit in the mail is Congress-English for to post or despatch by post) for the Librarian of Congress:

"Provided that in the case of a book the two copies of the same required to be delivered or deposited as above shall be printed from type set within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom."

And this must be not later than the day of publication in the United States, or in any foreign country. This proviso was framed solely and avowedly to protect American printers from the competition of European labour, and it is followed by a prohibition (with minute exceptions which need not be now considered) against importing foreign-printed copies, or foreign-made stereotype plates, of any copyrighted book. Compliance with this proviso may be troublesome and expensive, but it can be complied with by the foreign author or publisher who thinks an American copyright worth the price of having the book composed and printed in the United States, either alone or concurrently with the production of another edition in his own country. The final section of the Act contains another condition which cannot be satisfied by any act of the individual foreign author, but only by the laws of his nation.

"This Act shall only apply to a citizen of a foreign State or nation, when such foreign State or nation permits to citizens of the United States of

America the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as its own citizens; or when such foreign State or nation is a party to an international agreement, which provides for reciprocity in the granting of copyright, by the terms of which agreement the United States of America may at its [sic] pleasure become a party to such an agreement."

The President of the United States is to determine whether either of these conditions is fulfilled. I believe that our copyright law does fulfil the first of them; whatever doubt exists can, at any rate, be easily removed; and this brings us to the next point, What are the rights of the American author in Great Britain?

A citizen of any friendly State can secure copyright for his book throughout the British dominions by a first, or (it seems and is commonly understood) simultaneous, publication of it in England—certainly if at the time he is resident within the British dominions, and probably whether he is so resident or not. This last point, as to residence, has never been decided. It was judicially discussed in the House of Lords in the case of *Routledge v. Low* in 1868. Lord Westbury and Lord Cairns thought residence in British territory at the date of publication was not necessary; Lord Cranworth and Lord Chelmsford thought it was; Lord Colonsay declined to express an opinion. It would be an unexpected event if any English-speaking tribunal were now to hold that Lord Westbury and Lord Cairns were wrong together on such a point. But, so long as the point is at all capable of doubt, it may be alleged to be doubtful whether this country (in the strange jargon which it has pleased the draftsman of the American Act to use) "permits to citizens of the United States of America the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as its own citizens." Lord Monkswell's Bill for consolidating and amending our own Copyright Acts, now before the House of Lords, proposes to remove the doubt by expressly conferring copyright on authors, whether British subjects or aliens, provided their works "shall have been first published in some part of the British dominions."

Under the earlier Copyright Act of Queen Anne, a book would, perhaps, not have been held to be published in this country unless actually printed here. But it must be observed that only in quite modern times has it been a practicable commercial operation to print in one country and publish in another; and, down to the early part of this century, one might indeed say down to the present reign, the possibility of thus dividing the production of a book was so little thought of that "print" was constantly used as a mere synonym for "publish." However that may be, I am not aware of any authority on the strength of which it could have been argued with much prospect of success, at any time within the last twenty years, that printing in this country was required by the Copyright Act of 1842 as a necessary part of publication. The International Copyright Act

of 1886 has now extended the range of publication in space to the whole of the British possessions; it makes the Copyright Acts (enumerated in a schedule) "apply to a literary or artistic work first produced in a British possession in like manner as they apply to a work first produced in the United Kingdom." * And this appears to conclude the matter. Parliament cannot have intended that a British author should not have the benefit of this enactment if he caused his work to be printed in one part of the British Empire, and issued to the public in another. But, if publication included printing as a necessary element, such would be the result. On the whole, then, it appears that any one who publishes a book in the United Kingdom or any British possession can make sure of British copyright under our general law by a temporary residence on British territory, and that it does not matter where the book is printed. Subject to possible modification in particular colonies,† his rights extend over the British Empire.

In point of fact, it is by no means an unknown practice to have books printed abroad for publication in England. Some American books are issued at the same time here and in their own country, by sending the American sheets to England, and having them bound up with an English publisher's title-page; or, in the case of a house having branches in both England and America under the same firm, identically similar copies may be issued on both sides. A few scientific and philological English works are, I believe, printed on the Continent; and much of the finer kind of scientific and artistic illustrated work is habitually done for English publishers in France or Germany; not because it is cheaper (in Paris it is probably not cheaper at all), but because, in the present state of English technical education, it cannot be so well done in England. I have never heard of any question being raised, either before or since the Act of 1886, as to the validity of British copyright in publications of this kind. Any restrictive condition about printing must be imposed by fresh and deliberate legislation, if at all. As against the United States it would be clearly within our rights, and would not prejudice the acquisition of American copyright by British subjects, as we are not bound by any treaty in the matter, and we should still be conceding to citizens of the United States the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as our own citizens.

The Bern Convention has little or no direct bearing on these questions, inasmuch as the United States are outside it. But Article 3 of the Convention appears to secure all the benefits of the Convention to Americans, or other citizens of non-contracting Powers, publishing

* 49 & 50 Vict. c. 33, s. 8. "The expression 'produced' means, as the case requires, published or made, or performed or represented" (s. 11).

† See the International Copyright Act, 1886, s. 8, sub-ss. 3, 4.

their works in any of the countries of the Union. And by Article 18 other countries may at any time join the International Copyright Union established by the Convention. It seems, therefore, that we could, if necessary, claim the benefit of the American Act under the second as well as the first of the conditions above quoted from its final section. Nothing is said in the Convention about the place of printing as distinct from publishing, and I cannot see that there is anything in its terms to prevent "the conditions and formalities prescribed by law in the country of origin of the work," as mentioned in Article 2, which is the principal operative clause of the Convention, from including the condition that the work, if it is a book, shall be printed in that country. Whether it would be considered in accordance with the spirit of the Convention to impose any such condition is a question for diplomatists rather than lawyers. I wish, however, to guard myself against being thought to assume that any party to the Convention could enact a printing clause similar to that of the American Act without incurring some risk of diplomatic difficulties. In the same way, the existence of that clause might be a practical obstacle in the event of the United States wishing to join the Bern Convention. But I am not aware that they have any such desire. It has been sufficiently explained that the rights of American citizens in respect of their works published in the United Kingdom are wholly independent of the International Copyright Acts, and are secured by our ordinary law. The facts above set forth also show that we have given citizens of the United States all that can be given in the way of facilities for acquiring British copyright, and, through the Convention of Bern, European copyright also. We have no valuable consideration to offer them in return for any further advantage to our own people.

Turning from the law to its consequences, we find a great apprehension in this country that British authors will be driven in effect to become American authors. They must print in America to get American copyright, and rather than incur the expense of printing in England also they will supply the English market with copies of American manufacture. Hence, we are told, will flow disaster to British printers, American innovations in our spelling and literature, and other perils and sufferings. Some people think, on the other hand, that the dislike of the British reading public to American spelling will more or less protect the British printer by maintaining a distinct demand for books of the accustomed English appearance. This appears to me but a slender hope. I do not believe the majority of readers here have any such strong feeling about American paper, print, or spelling, as will make them insist on being supplied with editions of home manufacture. Several American magazines already have a large English circulation, and I doubt whether many of these

who read or skim them pay any attention to the spelling. My own eye is much less caught by Webster's variations of English orthography than by such forms as *Teil, Rat, Tat, Not*, in recent German printing. And I confess that I dislike them only in a lukewarm way. So far as there is any right or wrong in the anarchy of English spelling, I think Webster's changes are mostly right; but I think them too small to justify the trouble of making a difference between English and American usage. Until we can abolish all spelling rules whatever for a generation or two, and see what comes out at the other end (in which we should only be following the example of our ancestors three centuries ago), the common tradition of the printing-office is no worse than anything else. But I do not think British authors or publishers will be found ready to sacrifice any considerable part of their gains as confessors against the Websterian heresy, or that the public will largely rally to the cry that Britons never, never, will spell *defence* with an *s*. It is not at all clear, however, that other and more practical considerations will not often make it worth while to print in both countries. If an English author decides to print his work only in the United States, it will take the better part of three weeks for the American printer to send out a proof and receive the author's corrections. In the case of a revise being required this time will of course be doubled. Another week must be added for the original despatch of copy to the printers. And, on the whole, it seems not too much to say that passing a book through the press under these conditions will, on the average, entail a full month's delay in publication. To this must again be added the time requisite for the transmission of plates or printed sheets, as the case may be, to England; and, finally, there must be a margin of some days to ensure perfectly simultaneous publication, as the copyright in either country would be lost by a day's priority of issue in the other. The risk of losing MS. or proofs in transit is not great, but in the total of a publishing business I suppose it is appreciable. Time and risk would clearly be saved by printing in England first, and sending out corrected sheets to be reprinted in America. When these were ready for publication, and the publisher at home so advised by cable, the two editions would issue on the same day. It would be possible, and might in many cases be sufficient, to send out a carefully corrected type-written copy in the first instance, and trust the American printer for the rest. But it is also possible that many authors might object to this. It remains to be seen whether the saving in time and convenience by printing a double edition will not be found to outweigh the expense as often as not. And it must be remembered that the British authors who will most largely avail themselves of the American Copyright Act are those who are in a position to make their own terms in matters of

this kind, and whose works command so large a sale that there is no occasion for author or publisher to measure the cost of production over-narrowly. Meanwhile, the work of English printers in producing fresh issues of standard books in which copyright has expired will remain unaffected. I do not know what may be the proportion of this to the work done in printing new books, but I imagine it must be a great deal more than most people think. Moreover, as Mr. Scrutton pointed out some time ago,* "that class of [British] writers for whose works there is a small but genuine demand in the States, so small that they are not worth pirating, but so genuine as to send orders to England, will not be affected in any way by the Bill." Many kinds of expensive and scholarly books are in this category. The British printer will be unmolested as regards all these. Altogether I am disposed to think that the price we have to pay for the benefit of American copyright will turn out to be much less heavy than is feared by the representatives of the trade interests concerned.

There is one point in the Act which will favour American reviews and magazines at the expense of English ones. By the eleventh section, every number of a periodical is to be treated as a separate publication. An English periodical printed in England, this REVIEW for example, cannot acquire American copyright. Hence an English author collecting review articles for republication, or publishing a novel which has appeared in serial form in an English magazine only, can acquire American copyright only by publishing the collected work, in the manner required by the American Act, with additions or alterations. Such additions or alterations are, by section 5, capable of being copyrighted, save that a very ill-expressed clause at the end of the section appears to withhold all protection from works of which any part has been first published in a serial form outside the United States before July 1, 1891; but I am not sure that I rightly understand it. Having sometimes had occasion to criticise the form of our own statutes, I must admit that this time the Congress of the United States has attained a pitch of bad English, awkward and obscure construction, and general clumsiness, wholly beyond any recent performances of Parliament, and barely surpassed, if at all, by the Copyright Act of 1842 itself.

Learned friends who may do me the honour to read this paper will perhaps think I have insisted too much on elementary legal conclusions. But there are amateur lawyers as well as learned and qualified lawyers, and the law of copyright is a rather favourite hunting-ground of amateurs. When an amateur lawyer once goes a-mare's-nesting among Acts of Parliament, there is no knowing what falls may ensue to him, or any one who follows him; and my only fear in this respect is that I may not have been elementary enough.

FREDERICK I

* *Lancet Quarterly Review*, iv. 348.

THE COLONISATION REPORT.

TO judge the value of the Report of the Colonisation Committee of the House of Commons * it is essential that the terms of the reference should be borne clearly in mind. The objects of the inquiry are set forth in the first paragraph of the Report as follows :

"Your Committee was appointed to inquire into various schemes which have been proposed to her Majesty's Government to facilitate emigration from the congested districts of the United Kingdom to the British colonies or elsewhere; to examine into the results of any schemes which have received practical trial in recent years, and to report generally whether, in their opinion, it is desirable that further facilities should be given to promote emigration; and, if so, upon the means by and the conditions under which such emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed."

The custom of referring matters of grave public importance to Committees of the Houses of Parliament is theoretically admirable and politically expedient. Gentlemen of means and leisure, devoted to public affairs, representatives of the nation and with a stake in the country, form an ideal tribunal, before which intricate detail can be made plain, and ambitious interests reduced to their true proportions. Another and a less admirable feature in the system of Parliamentary Committees on subjects of national interest, is the tendency to drug the national conscience with the idea that the thing really is being done which ought to be done, whereas it is only being talked about. There exists much evidence on this point. The Commission on the Housing of the Poor was the answer to the "Bitter Cry." It satisfied public opinion for the time, but the very poor are living in one rack-rented room in pretty much the same style as before the Prince of Wales and Sir Charles Dilke devoted so much of their time to the investigation of the problems of overcrowding. The Sweating Committee lulled the sense of individual responsibility

* As published in the *Times* of March 18.

that alone can end the evils produced by a combination of long hours of labour, low pay, unnecessary middlemen, pauper immigration and the consequent impossibility of organised combination among unskilled, or slightly skilled, workmen. In like manner the Pauper Foreigner Committee enabled the public conscience to go to sleep on the question of allowing the poor work-girls of Bethnal Green and the Tower Hamlets to maintain the traditions of England by recourse to the streets to gain the livelihood of which they are deprived by the unrestricted ingress of the scum of Eastern Europe.

Whether the Labour Commission and the Hospitals Committee will end in a similar deception, time will show; but the Report of the Colonisation Committee I am about to consider omits so much that is essential to a real understanding of the subject, and evades so pointedly the issues raised by the terms of the reference, that it is to be feared the result of its deliberations is unlikely to add materially to the knowledge that alone will enable us to solve the riddle the social *Œdipus* presents at every turn of existence. In other words, the Report does not reveal any serious intellectual effort to grasp the subject-matter remitted to the Committee for consideration. It seems to be the work of an amateur ignorant of or bored with the whole subject, anxious to bring it to a close, and at all events persuaded that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

The Committee frankly own "that the intention of the House of Commons in their wide order of reference was to elicit a report which should form a guide to the future action of Parliament and of her Majesty's Government on this important question." A careful study of the Report, as published in the *Times*, fails to show signs of any such talisman of authority on matters relating to colonisation as is shadowed forth. On the contrary, the document does not on the face of it reflect the character of the House of Commons as an assembly of fair-minded and business-like gentlemen. It is not fair, because important, and indeed indispensable, evidence was pointedly excluded; and it is not business-like, because it does not even colourably comply with the conditions set forth in the reference—viz., "to examine into the results of any schemes which have received practical trial in recent years, and to report generally whether in their opinion it is desirable that further facilities should be given to promote emigration, and, if so, upon the means by and the conditions under which such emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed."

The reference practically instructed the Committee—"Tell us what has been done in recent years in colonisation; what are the schemes worth; and if colonising is a good thing, where are the best place the people to go." Instead of answering those four questions the Committee belabour the Poor Law aspect of the question, appa

ignorant that the Colonies will have no pauper immigrants at any price, and tell the House of Commons and the country a great deal about migration,—a subject not named in the reference, and irrelevant to the subject under consideration. The Committee also insert the following clause in their Report:—

“No instance has been brought to the notice of your Committee of a company accomplishing colonisation with financial success in the absence of some assistance, either in the shape of free passage or of free grants of land. *The Colonists' Aid Corporation*, in terms of an agreement with the Government of New Zealand, brought out and settled permanently 3000 persons on an estate, already referred to as the Feilding Settlement, of 105,000 acres, with a profit of over 5 per cent. to the shareholders for a period of fifteen years, the land costing them 15s. an acre in an unimproved state, and requiring twice that sum per acre for development previous to sale; the only extraneous assistance they received being the payment of the actual passage of the colonists at £16 a head. A large number of the persons brought out were married, with children. If a similar scheme could be carried out as was proposed by the New Zealand Government in 1884, for a crofter settlement in the province of Dunedin, at no greater cost to the British public, it would seem a more satisfactory solution than the problematical refund of a sum ten times greater. At all events, the experiment seems to be worth trying, whether alone or simultaneously with one entirely State-worked.”

The Committee do not state that one director of this company is (according to the “Directory of Directors”) the Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson, the Chairman of the Colonisation Committee, and that another director is Mr. Henry Kimber, also a member of the Colonisation Committee. The company was, it appears, registered on December 17, 1869, as the Emigrant and Colonists' Aid Corporation (Limited), by which name it is curiously referred to in the above clause. The name has since been changed to the Colonists' Land and Loan Corporation (Limited). It is a highly respectable company. The directorate is composed of most honourable and influential men, including the Chairman and one other member of the Colonisation Committee. It is, perhaps, not surprising under the circumstances that the excellent work done long ago under conditions now obsolete by this admirable Company did not escape the favourable notice of the Committee. But it would have been wiser on the part of the Chairman of the Committee, while permitting, if he did not himself indite, a laudatory paragraph on the work of a company in which he himself and a colleague are apparently pecuniarily interested, if he had not pointedly refused to hear evidence proffered, not on behalf of an Association working under the stimulus of gain, but the final result of gratuitous experiments in South Africa, undertaken by one of the least known and the most noble women of this era, the late Lady Ossington, the wife of a former Speaker of the House of Commons. It may be that this evidence would have been worthless; but such as it was, no Report purporting “to examine into the results of any

schemes which have received practical trial in recent years " was complete which did not at least consider the practical results of Lady Ossington's work—an enterprise undertaken with the single object of presenting to the House of Commons and to the country an object-lesson in the methods of practical colonisation under existing conditions.

It is unfortunate that, as the person responsible for Lady Ossington's work, it is indecorous for me in this connection to set forth the practical and financial success which has crowned a series of costly failures. To do so would create an invidious comparison between the splendid work of the Crofter Board and my own humble efforts; and it would not unnaturally establish an impression of soreness at the absence of any reference to South Africa, and to the details of the work carried on there for so many years by the present writer. I prefer to deal with the matter on a broader basis.

At the same time there are others to be considered. The Hon. Sydney Holland, one of my colleagues in the work, who was left by Lady Ossington as a trustee to carry on the scheme established by her (and recently further endowed with a gift of £10,000 from Miss Phillimore, Miss Alice Phillimore, and Miss L. E. Denison), writes as follows:—

" *March 19, 1891.*

"The Colonisation Committee were appointed, amongst other things, 'to examine the results of any schemes which have received practical trial in recent years.' It seems to me quite inexplicable why the scheme originated by you, and to which the late Viscountess Ossington subscribed so largely, should be entirely ignored. Of course every one engaged in working at any one scheme thinks his own of the first importance, and that will be the retort we shall meet with in making our complaint public. We shall be told that our colony in South Africa is insignificant, that the experiment is a small one, that our first colony failed, and so on. But let the public once know the recent facts concerning these families sent out by Lady Ossington, and settled two and a half years ago in South Africa, and I feel certain that the example of our settlement experiment will be largely followed. Let the public realise that, of the families sent out—families taken from the poorest agricultural population of Hampshire—the poorest of them all was in January estimated to be worth now £119. If this fact is grasped, and it is known that this prosperity has been attained by no other means than simply cultivating the soil, and in years of considerable and special difficulty, I do not think we shall be thought unreasonable at feeling hurt—let us own it—at no mention of the experiment being made. It is, I suppose, impertinent of me to criticise the Report of a Parliamentary Committee, but none the less I will risk this, by saying that it seems quite incredible that no mention of South Africa at all should have been made in the Report, and that all attention should be directed to Canada, a wheat-growing country, with five months' winter, with comparatively few markets, and in direct competition with India, with its better climate, low wages, and better railway facilities. I can understand from the composition of the Committee that their should naturally have been directed towards Canada. I do not mean offensively. I recognise to the full the good work those members " interested in Canada have done. I only mean that knowing the

being interested in that country, they would naturally give prominence to any evidence concerning it, just as I would wish to give prominence to South Africa, because I know of the advantages to settlers in that country. I can understand such a bias, but I cannot understand it having led them totally to ignore in their Report any mention of South Africa, though they admit that it has lately been found necessary by the Emigration Bureau of the Colonial Office to furnish information regarding the South African Republic. Nor can I understand why they should totally have ignored a scheme of colonisation in South Africa which is so full of lessons, and is now so certain and established a success."

When all eyes, including Lord Randolph Churchill's, are turned to South Africa, its avoidance by the Committee as one of the quarters to which emigration can most advantageously be directed, is so marked as to be attributable to some deeper cause than mere repugnance to unofficial evidence. On my return from a sixth visit to the Cape Colony in connection with Lady Ossington's work, and after many years' careful study of the subject in all its bearings, in every European emigrating country and in Canada, I respectfully tendered my evidence to the Committee at a time when evidence was still being taken, and continued to be taken after the date of my offer. The offer was declined.

Those who chance to have seen an article of mine on Colonisation that appeared in THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for last October, will remember that a case was urged for colonisation in the Cape Colony which, so far as I know, has never been refuted or even answered. Briefly summarised, the arguments are these:—Canada is an excellent place for isolated emigrants, but is not so well suited for colonising purposes: (a) because of the long winter; (b) because of the enormous land transport; (c) because of the competition with the Hindoo ryot, who works for three annas a day; and (d) because political considerations, or, as the Committee's Report has it, "the interests of the British Empire," are not specially and directly advanced. I further sought to show that Australia was out of the question as a site for colonising operations: (a) because of the omnipotent aversion of the Australian Trades' Unions to anything that can lower wages; and (b) because of the great distance from the mother country. I then attempted to indicate the enormous expansion of British trade and employment for men and capital that would follow the introduction of eight thousand English voters to the Cape Colony, where work can be carried on out of doors every day in the year; where no tyranny of Trade Unionism exists; where the products of the soil are so various that the most miscellaneous population finds remunerative employment; where the *hinterland* extends to Algiers; and where any man who will consent to work, and will refrain from drinking bad spirits, is sure of a comfortable existence. These arguments have not only never been met, but they seem to have convinced so astute a man of the world as "General" Booth. With all the kingdoms of this earth

before him, with no political sensibilities to consult, and with every conceivable incentive to succeed in his enterprise, and with the power of obtaining the best advice in England, he writes in Chapter IV. of his book,* entitled "The Oversea Colony, Where should it be?": "It is proposed to secure a large tract of land in some country suitable to our purpose. We have thought of South Africa, to begin with." My reason for introducing "General" Booth's name in this connection is to show that, in spite of the omission of any allusion to South Africa (beyond a discouraging reference to Natal), he, like myself, with the whole planet open to us, deliberately chooses a site which the Committee not only ignore, but refuse even to hear the evidence by which it is hoped that the claims of the Cape Colony will be established to the satisfaction of the British public. It cannot be that the evidence is not worth having; for the Committee heard me at length when I recounted the mistakes I had made, and the failures I frankly admit. But when at last success followed the preliminary failures, they decline to listen.

The only available hypothesis for this act is to be found in the diplomatic tact of the Foreign Office (so ably represented on the Colonisation Committee and on the Board of the Colonists' Land and Loan Corporation) desiring to avoid anything that could adversely affect the position of Mr. Cecil Rhodes and the peace of Sir H. B. Loch. The concurrent visit to this country of these eminent men has touched many interests that do not appear on the surface of public affairs. Is it possible that the refusal of the Commons Committee on Colonisation to hear my final report on Lady Ossington's work had some indirect relation with a desire not to injure Mr. Rhodes' position? In other words, would Mr. Rhodes' prospects as English Premier of the Cape Colony—where the majority of the inhabitants are the blood-relations of the men who thrashed us at Majuba—be improved if it were demonstrated that the fittest and most obvious absorbent for the surplus population in these overcrowded islands was the Cape Colony? Had any such declaration been made by a Committee of the House of Commons, Mr. Rhodes' position in the Cape Ministry would become precarious. For so long as immigration to the Cape can be discouraged, so long will the Dutch element remain supreme. Mr. Rhodes reigns in the Cape Colony in virtue of a *concordat* with the Afrikaner Bund, by which he is allowed to do as he likes outside the Colony, so long as he does not attempt to meddle with what they may do inside the area of the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Rhodes' position at the present time is difficult, and is likely to become more difficult as time wears on. He has one foot on the South African Company, an Imperial, British, aristocratic, and capitalistic concern; and another

* "In Darkest England," p. 145.

on the Democratic, Conservative, anti-English, and ignorant Boer population of the Cape Colony. The extraordinary skill and courage with which Mr. Rhodes has conducted two projects of so contradictory a nature is an example of the powers of one of the ablest and most fascinating personalities of the time. But an impression exists that his day is nearly spent, for it is probable that when the Dutch see power slipping from them they will no longer confide their leadership to persons of Imperialist tendencies like Mr. Rhodes. At the present time the partnership between the Dutch and De Beer's mine arrange matters between themselves, so that drink and diamonds are untaxed, while dear bread and permissive scab for sheep are two essential planks in the political creed of which Mr. Rhodes is at once the Aaron and the Dives. Mr. Rhodes' ability is hardly known in England. His address in obtaining the silence of the Gladstonian party by a gift of £10,000 to Mr. Parnell, when the "union of hearts" was more marked than it is at present, and when the charter of the South African Company was about to come before the House of Commons for discussion, was further evidence of brilliant ability. Mr. Rhodes' power of bending people's will to his own purposes savours of hypnotic suggestion. Mr. Rhodes has hypnotised Sir H. Loch, Mr. Hofmeyr, and her Majesty's Government. He has apparently persuaded the latter to enter into partnership with him with the view of preventing any competition in the territories he has occupied rather than acquired, and of deterring immigration into a Colony where he reigns rather than rules.

Having dwelt at unavoidable length on the remarkable man to whose dominant will and political necessities I attribute the neglect the Cape Colony has received in the Report of the Colonisation Committee, I will now state concisely nine reasons why the subject of colonisation at the Cape is avoided by the officials of the Foreign and Colonial Departments, whose traditional policy it is to elude questions in the House and newspaper controversy, and to pursue the way of peace with all diligence—even when it is peace with a sullenly hostile majority of alien race.

1. South Africa is the best absorbent of large masses of our population, on account of its nearness, its climate, the paucity of its population, the existence of vast areas of unirrigated and practically unpopulated land, and the enormous market for our goods that would follow the settlement of even 20,000 English.

2. Power in South Africa is held, and for some time to come will be held, in the hands of people who dislike us, because they were cheated over the compensation allowed when slavery was abolished; because they thrashed us out of the Transvaal, and could, but did not, thrash us out of the inland districts of

9. Having regard to these facts, it is idle to ignore, as the Committee on Colonisation have ignored, the existence of South Africa, and the near approach of a time when we shall see under African skies an Australia half-way to the Antipodes. Cape Town is one of the keys to the Empire, and were the Government of the Cape in Anglo-Saxon hands, the population and the wealth of Cape Town should soon equal the wealth and the population of Melbourne or Sydney.

I am aware that at the present time these are unpopular opinions to advance, but a time is coming when English thought, and the peaceful achievements of English resolve, will wipe out the bloody stain of Majuba, where English honour and English pride sustained a blow not yet forgotten.

Four years ago, Lord Salisbury wrote me as follows with reference to colonisation undertaken for the purpose of affording relief to congested localities at home. He said :

"I do not believe that Parliament will make any advance towards sustaining colonisation of this kind, until it has been proved by experiment to be successful; but any conspicuous and evident success might very possibly induce Parliament to risk some money in that direction. . . . The utility of such colonisation in facilitating the defence of the Empire is a very material argument in its favour, but not, in my judgment, an argument of great Parliamentary weight with the House of Commons."

Lord Tennyson wrote to me in March 1887 :

"DEAR MR. WHITE,—It seems to me that in South Africa loyal men and women of English blood are greatly needed. The advantage of sending thither those who cannot gain bread and meat for their children in this country, however hard they work, is so great that I shall be glad to know that the Government are taking active steps to organise a wide system of judicious colonisation.—Faithfully yours,
"TENNYSON."

I could quote much more from my correspondence to show that the best men of our country do not support Sir James Fergusson in refusing to hear such evidence as would have involved reference to South Africa as a field for colonisation in the Report. I have said enough on this subject to carry public opinion.

It only remains for me to touch on some points of interest referred to in the Report which must be taken into account in any system of State colonisation. Perhaps the most important of these points is the repayment of advances by colonists and the best methods of enforcing recovery. I do not at all agree with the Committee in their *dictum* that it is "impossible to provide by any system of securities against the recurrence of this accident" of colonists abandoning their allotments and their obligations at the same time. I doubt whether Lord Lothian would agree with it. By the system we have carefully worked out, and which is admirably administered by Mr. H. Gordon Turner, the chance of defalcations is reduced to a minimum.

The main features of this system are the signature by the colonist of promissory notes for the amount of advances, *both* in England and at the destination; the performance of a full day's work as a preliminary to a day's food, and the complete hypothecation of all crops and implements until the debt is met, as well as by debiting the advance to the land as well as to the man; so that, in the event of the man dying or being unable to perform his obligation, the allotment is not filled up by a new settler until the debt on it has been satisfied by the profit on its produce. Such points as these require local experience and knowledge of the class from which emigrants are chosen; and I am persuaded that, had I been allowed to give evidence and be cross-examined on this point, I could have given information to the Committee not wholly undeserving of their consideration.

Another point upon which the Committee seem to be bewildered, is the relation between colonisation and metropolitan distress. It would have been possible to explain to them that, while the colonisation of Londoners and townsmen generally is a useless task, because the people who are brought up under a gas-lamp are unfit tillers of the soil, and because the vacancies created in London are at once filled up by Polish Jews or agricultural labourers magnetised into the great towns,—the secondary effect of colonising from the counties persons in distress, relieves the pressure on the unskilled labour market of the metropolis, and thereby cuts at the root of the disease called overpopulation. Of course the logical consequence of this scientifically directed colonisation is concurrent stoppage of the destitute aliens who now flock into England and render any conceivable plan of colonisation a mere farce, until these immigrants are treated in England as they have long been treated in America.

The only other point I am allowed space to notice, is the excellent recommendation of the Committee for the enlargement of the scope of the Emigrants' Information Office, so ably administered by Mr. C. P. Lucas. In reply to question No. 1348, Mr. Lucas states that "the objects of the office arose out of the distress which existed in London and elsewhere at the time it was founded;" and, he adds, "it was pressed on the Government, I think, by gentlemen interested in emigration." As one who was intimately connected with the circumstances under which the Emigrants' Information Office was created, I may state what will be news to many—that the formation of the Bureau proceeded in the first instance from the Home Office, and not from the Department of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. To Sir William Harcourt, when Home Secretary, is due the credit for the creation of this most useful organisation. The manner in which red tape was cut and Treasury obstruction and departmental difficulties of every kind were overcome by Sir William Harcourt

is not generally known to the public. To Sir Robert Herbert must be ascribed the successful manner in which the idea has been worked out under successive Secretaries of State; and to Mr. Lucas himself is due the full appreciation the work of the office has met with by all who have been brought in contact with the modest machinery provided by an economical Treasury. It is satisfactory to know that the birth of this institution, amid the storms and riots of 1885, the threats of Socialists, and the echo of dynamite, has been followed by a period of quiet usefulness that has more than fulfilled the expectations of its founders.

It is impossible to close this article without drawing attention to the mixed use of the terms "emigration" and "colonisation." In the Reference the word "colonisation" is not employed. But the title of the Committee employed on the Blue Books is the "Select Committee on Colonisation." In the Report of the Committee the terms "emigration" and "colonisation" are apparently employed as being interchangeable or convertible; and consequently the mind of the Committee is in a state of confusion as to the real meaning of the two words, and as to the essential differences between the two ideas for which these words are merely labels.

Be this as it may, the Report of the Committee is diffuse, much of it is irrelevant, and unworthy the importance of the subject. No serious intellectual effort has been made to penetrate below the surface. The result is a Report that will not form a guide to the future action of Parliament and of her Majesty's Government. Readers of my former article in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* will, at all events, give me credit for having abstained from egotistic claims to special knowledge; and if I say that I do not know of any living man who has had the same opportunities of acquiring practical and detailed knowledge of emigration and colonisation matters as I have had, it is not for the purpose of blowing my own trumpet, but to add weight to my indictment of a document purporting to deal with a matter of national importance, and of a method of procedure by the Chairman of the Committee which I have no reason to think was either known to or shared by his colleagues.

The most difficult and complex work in connection with the Crofter Colonisation Scheme, accomplished by the Marquis of Lothian, receives scant recognition from the Committee. What is wanted is to allow a free hand to "one who knows." The Secretary for Scotland certainly comes under that category.

ARNOLD WHITE.

CANADA AND THE STATES :

A BARBED WIRE FENCE.

A BARBED wire fence is the metaphor which forcibly describes the harsh and high parallel tariff line which runs athwart the continent of North America—a barbed wire fence, over which one brother cannot trade with another brother a bushel of potatoes for a bushel of apples, without paying tribute beyond the cost of production to two Governments. The Canadian customs tariff, equally with the excessive United States exaction, is the barrier against which the trade of the two countries breaks like a wave, and rolls back again upon itself. This parallel customs line is the longest in the world, extending almost 4000 miles in length, and cutting in twain, a little south of its centre, a continent whose whole history, as Emerson has said, “shows it to be the last, best gift of God to mankind.”

The measure of development which is possible for the whole continent is that which has actually taken place in the southern portion of it, and which is found in the creation of a commerce, and the development of wealth-giving forces for the good of man, which in the United States have actually taken place. Some comparisons will illustrate the extent of this growth. For instance, the tonnage of the Detroit river, a narrow stream in the northern part of North America, reached in 1890 an amount equal to the combined tonnage of London and Liverpool. The tonnage of the Sault Ste. Marie canal, between lakes Michigan and Superior, in seven months was greater than the tonnage of the Suez Canal in an entire year. The value of a single cotton crop grown in 1890, in one section of the United States, reached 400 millions of dollars, a sum exceeding the total output for five years of all the gold mines of the world. The total manufactures of the country amounted to 1500 millions of dollars more than those of Great Britain, 2000 millions more than those

France, and 2500 millions more than those of Germany. If these comparisons are correct indications of the possibilities of the southern portion of the continent, they are equally standards by which to judge of the possibilities of the northern half. For it is a fact not generally realised that, excluding Alaska, the British possessions in North America occupy a larger area than is comprised within the United States, while the variety and richness of wealth-producing forces within the Dominion equal, if not exceed, those of this great union of commonwealths. For instance, in minerals, in timber, in fish, Canada far exceeds the United States in her sources of supply; while as to that most important of all considerations, the possibilities of the growth of wheat for bread, the staff of life, Canadian wheat areas largely exceed those of the United States, and are as absolutely necessary for the future food supply of the coming millions on the North American continent, as is the water to drink, or the air to breathe.

These great physical conditions prevailing, does it not seem the height of folly to have the continent cut in twain by drastic tariff provisions, which only fret and annoy, and which retard the progress of both countries? Canada, as the greater half of the continent, has had no progress at all comparable with the progress of the United States. The two nationalities set out side by side, one hundred and twenty years ago, in the race for continental supremacy. The United States had an untried form of government, had no capital, no backing, and no previous experience, working out on a vast scale a plan of self-government, and an experiment in finance and development. Canada had behind her Great Britain, stable institutions, enormous supplies of money, and everything to make her great. Yet, to-day the two countries are widely different in the results achieved. One has a population of sixty-four millions; the other a population of barely five millions. Everything else is in proportion. A single State in the Union has as many people as, and far greater wealth than, the whole of Canada. A single house in New York and one in Chicago sell more dry goods in a year than the whole of Canada imports. Measured by every standard of comparison, the experiment in Canada of self-reliance and self-development is a failure. Beyond all question, the cause of this has been that the freedom of trade, which among the commonwealths has built them up, has been denied to Canada. By a policy of isolation, restriction, and exclusion she has been shut out from the great growth on this continent, which has challenged the wonder of the world. If the Declaration of Independence had taken in the whole continent, the same relative progress would have taken place north of the 45th parallel, the Lakes, and the St. Lawrence that has taken place to the south of them, and the world would have been enriched to double the extent of the contributions from the United States. Great Britain would have been

infinitely better off, because while she is receiving twenty-five millions of dollars in interest every year from her possessions in North America, she is receiving two hundred millions of dollars in interest from the revolted colonies that declared their independence of her fiscal interference. The British goods used in Canada are no greater, *per capita*, than the English goods used in the United States. The population from the British Isles in the Union is ten times that in the Dominion, and, so far as material advantage is concerned, the United States are, to-day, one hundred times more important to the commerce of Great Britain than is Canada. If, therefore, the policy which has hitherto prevailed in Canada has been one of retardation, of slow development, of declining values, of an exodus of population, of increasing indebtedness, and decreased power of payment, is it treasonable to begin to talk of a change in conditions—not a change in political conditions, for that is entirely unnecessary; but a change in fiscal policy, which would remove the barrier between the two peoples?

If it is a fact that among the States of the Union freedom of trade has been the chief element of prosperity, would it not apply as between the two halves of the continent with equal force? If the vast mineral wealth of Canada lies silent and dormant and dead because of the want of a market, what would stimulate its development so greatly as the opening up of the greatest market for minerals under the sun? If the agricultural forces of Canada are restricted, unprofitable, and insignificant, what better condition could prevail than to open up access to feed the greatest money-making, money-spending aggregation of humanity in the world? If illimitable forests of timber are rotting and burning every year to an extent greater than the consumption—if the great coast line of fisheries five thousand miles in length are wasting for want of use—if in every direction there is slowness in growth of wealth and development, and all this could be remedied by an obliteration of the customs line between the two peoples that hold the continent in common, what in the name of common sense should stand in the way of such a consummation?

Now, this is the question which has been straightly presented to the Canadian people in the recent Parliamentary Election. It is true that the Tory party in power have sought to make it appear that a political union was being promoted by this proposal of an unrestricted relation between the English-speaking people on this continent. There was never anything farther from the truth. Those who have laboured the longest and the most earnestly for an obliteration of the customs barrier between the two peoples, and who had to the largest extent the control of the question, are the most ardent supporters of British connection. Annexation of Canada to the United States, to these, has for years been regarded as unnecessary, undesirable, and in this generation impossible. Whatever may have been the future

influences of an assimilation of the two peoples by the operation of commerce and a closer commercial connection, no one can now tell. But that contentment in Canada, prosperity among her people, progress and development of her vast resources could lessen attachment to the throne of Great Britain, seems simply absurd. On the contrary, if the penalty of adherence to British connection be poverty, loss of population, increase of indebtedness, and decline of values, then British connection is imperilled by consequences far more serious than those that would follow the most intimate commercial relation with the United States.

It is true that, in the heat of political contest, Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, and other gentlemen, in default of argument have talked of treason, and shouted loyalty to the British Crown in a fervour of patriotism. But to the people at large this has been the veriest clap-trap; and as the mist clears away from the contest it will be shown how weak and poor has been the subterfuge through which Canada would be held for ever isolated, for ever shut out from the progress of the rest of the continent, and for ever shut up within the marked limitations beyond which it is impossible she should expand.

There are three great parties to the Canadian contention. The first of these are the people of Canada themselves. If material progress is the essential standard of success and happiness, then Canada would be enormously benefited by a free relation with the United States. If the argument in behalf of annexation is that purely of material advantage, he who favours reciprocity, and thereby begets material advantage, completely annihilates the only consideration which would urge a political union. Therefore, so far as Canada is concerned, reciprocity and adherence to British connection go hand in hand, while the advantages that would flow from an unrestricted relation with a country so prosperous as the United States are so palpable as to need no advocacy.

The second party to the question is the United States. Nothing is so much needed in that country as an enlarged market for her manufactures, a supply of free raw material, and cheapened food products for New England and her great manufacturing centres. No contribution from any source could be so complete in these directions as that which Canada could furnish. So far as political considerations are concerned, nothing more disastrous could occur just now to the United States than to double her territory. With twelve thousand bills unacted upon before Congress, with the Government departments taxed beyond human endurance—so that a succession of three Secretaries of the Treasury of the United States have been stricken down at their posts by death—with the vast Negro question rising like a dark cloud upon the southern horizon, the undesirable nature

of the immigration, now largely that of Italians and Russian Jews, and numerous other complications staring them in the face, to assume the additional burdens of half a continent would be the extremest folly. Commercially, the United States would be enormously benefited by the obliteration of the customs barrier between the two countries; the obliteration of the political barrier would be full of the greatest peril and possible disaster, upsetting the calculations and combinations of every politician, and increasing the problems and complications of the hour to an extent unknown.

Great Britain, the third great party to be considered in relation to Canada, could not have anything happen so beneficial to her as the fullest development of her greatest colony. This colony comprises, in area, 40 per cent. of her empire. It has possibilities measured only by what has occurred to the south of her, and yet has had progress so slow as to be second in development to countries as barbarous as Africa, and ruled as despotically as Siberia. If by obliterating the barrier between the two English-speaking peoples of the continent, this 40 per cent. of the British Empire could be enormously developed, and could contribute relatively as much to the world's wealth as the revolted colonies have done, and yet retain a glad and happy relation with the mother country, what greater event in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race could occur, than thus, by Commerce, to heal the great schism which a century ago was unhappily created?

Brushing aside the trivial personal interests of the hour adversely affected, and contemplating the future of the continent, and of the British Empire as an economic whole, consisting of territories whose material interests are bound together by indissoluble ties, whose prosperity is wrapped up in each other's progress, what event in the whole category of possible events could be so beneficent as to lift up the barbed wire fence that runs athwart North America, and, making it of uniform height, put it right around the continent?

ERASTUS WIMAN.

[I AM anxious to make an explanation with reference to a sentence in my Article on "Englishmen in Africa," in the January number of this REVIEW, in which I remarked: "there is good reason to suppose that, had it not been for the publication of the personal attacks on Mr. Stanley by Major Barttelot's brother, neither he nor any member of his chosen subordinates of the Rear Guard would have ever thought it their duty to inform even their employers—the Emin Relief Committee—of the facts in full." I have received a letter from Lieutenant Troup, which puts a different complexion on the matter, so far as he is concerned. He informs me that he did give a full report of all events at Yambuya to the Emin Relief Committee; that he repeatedly requested them, both privately and publicly, to publish his statements; that they refused to do so, and, when he attempted to publish them in a book, obtained an injunction against him in Chancery. This being so, I can only express my regret for my mistake, and would remark that any blame which I attributed to Lieutenant Troup for suppressing the truth must be transferred to the Emin Relief Committee, and that it would seem that by their conduct they have made themselves, to an extent which the country hardly, as yet, adequately appreciates, *particeps criminis*.—R. BOSWORTH SMITH.]

THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES OF AMERICA.

NOTES ON THE VISIT OF THE BRITISH IRON AND
STEEL INSTITUTE TO THE UNITED STATES, 1890.

THE British Iron and Steel Institute, which holds its annual session in London this month, has several times during the last twenty years held its autumnal sessions in some foreign country. The objects of these international meetings are to enable the members to compare the metallurgical processes adopted in different countries, to investigate the results which attend the more scientific methods of foreign manufacturers, and generally to keep in touch with the progress of the iron and steel industries throughout the world. It has always been the custom of members of the British iron and steel trades to cordially welcome their foreign friends and competitors, and freely permit them to visit our factories and examine the methods of our production; and these foreign friends have always been ready to reciprocate the courtesies shown to them in England. Visits have been paid by the Institute to Belgium, France, Germany and Austria, and last year to the United States. That the visit to the United States—the greatest of all our industrial competitors—should have been so long delayed was not from want of invitations from our American friends, or from the absence of a desire among our members to accept the invitations. As far back as 1873, when the Institute visited Liège, Dr. Raymond, the secretary of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, conveyed an invitation to us, and that invitation was several times renewed. But there was a fear that, having regard to the long distance to be travelled and the great field to be covered, a large company of visitors could not be induced to cross the Atlantic. In 1889, however, when a delegation of American engineers, returning from the Paris Exhibition, passed through this country, were received with the greatest cordiality by their brother traders, visited the industrial centres of England, and enjoyed the

sumptuous hospitality of the Institution of Civil Engineers at the Guildhall, they became more pressing in their desire for a return visit. At length, then, the long deferred visit came off. In the autumn of last year, the president, council, and 295 members of the British Iron and Steel Institute, and several members of the Institute of Civil Engineers, together with 142 members of the Verein Deutscher Eisenhüttenleute, crossed the Atlantic to hold their annual meeting in America, and experience the bountiful hospitality of their American friends. That expedition was in many respects the most remarkable which the Institute ever undertook, and I propose to give a few jottings on the incidents and the impressions of our tour. Alike in the number of visitors, in the extent of territory visited, and in the number of works and mines examined, it was the largest expedition ever undertaken by the Institute, or by any scientific society in Europe.

We arrived in New York on September 29. A reception committee, of which the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, president of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, was chairman, was ready to receive us. From the time we passed Sandy Hook until we boarded the *Servia* to return, we were the object of unremitting attention from our hosts. Everywhere we were received with princely hospitality. Everything possible was done by our American friends to make our visit pleasant. Special trains and carriages were placed at our service. Brilliant receptions and the most sumptuous banquets were held in our honour. Every town we visited had its reception committee awaiting us, and presented each member of the party with a special guide, giving us the history and present position of local industries. We were embarrassed by the enormous numbers of invitations which we received. Towns competed for our presence, and vied with each other in the grandeur and cordiality of their receptions. The ladies of the party were systematically cared for by special committees of ladies, who provided hospitality and made known the various objects of interest in the cities and States visited. It is not easy to describe or do justice to the magnificent way in which the Iron and Steel Institute was received in America.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in receiving us on behalf of the American iron and steel trade at our opening meeting in Chickering Hall, New York, on Wednesday, October 1, delivered an eloquent and touchingly cordial address of welcome, in which he promised that every work would be freely opened for our inspection, and any information sought for frankly supplied; and it is but just to say that this assurance was faithfully carried out. New York was the starting-point of our tour through the United States to Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Chicago, Lake Superior and the new industrial regions of the

Before leaving New York the annual dinner of the Inst

held at Delmonico's Restaurant. The president occupied the chair, and the dinner is worth recalling, in order to note two incidents in connection with the veteran General Sherman, who sat on the right of the chairman, and whose death America has since had to mourn. The English visitors were much impressed by the dignified, respectful, and affectionate way in which the General spoke of Queen Victoria. He said that Americans would never forget that her Majesty had been their friend in the civil war, and had used her influence in opposition to the recognition of the South as a nation. His frank outspoken exclamation, "The Queen, God bless her!" touched every heart. After the General had spoken, an incident occurred illustrative of the complete reconciliation of the North and South. Mr. Calhoun, president of the Central Railway of Georgia, and son of the great Southern statesman, John P. Calhoun, when introduced to General Sherman, remarked, "You will remember, General, the visit you paid to my father's home in Georgia?" "Oh, yes," replied the General, "we had a very good time there," and turning to the president with a grim smile, observed, "I burned his father's house to the ground when I was there."

Two days were spent in New York, and the visitors had some opportunity of seeing this great commercial city. What strikes the visitor most about New York is the excessive activity of the people. The movement in the streets is phenomenal. There is an interminable rush and bustle in the business quarters. Every one seems to be in a tremendous hurry and bent on making up for lost time. The pavements are thronged, and the street cars always crowded. Special means have been adapted to facilitate the rapid movement of the citizens, but these are not adequate to meet the needs of this busy people. The configuration of the site on which New York stands cramps and compresses the business quarters. The city is built on an elongated island, and the current of human activity can only flow in two directions. The elevated railway is not an artistic structure; but it is a necessity. There is a general impression that this overhead railway passing in front of the houses has caused a depreciation in the value of property along the route. We were assured that this was not so. The railway brings the shops and warehouses in the centre of the city into direct communication with the habitations along its course, giving thus facilities to a vast population, and the increased value of the business premises in the lower floors has more than compensated for the fall in the value of the upper storeys. The system of tramcars in New York is also well managed, but the condition of the streets is atrocious. A man, it is said, could lie down in the hollows in the roadway and not be affected when a carriage passed over him.

Before leaving New York, we visited Edison at his workshop at Llewellyn, New Jersey. Edison is in association with a syndicate,

which he had been commissioned to produce for a belt or city railway. He was sanguine that he could produce an electric engine capable of grappling with railway traffic in large towns, and thus abolish smoke and whistle of the locomotive engine. He stated that he was confident that he could design a practical electric motor which would be capable of a general application to vehicular street traffic. He was engaged in extensive experiments for the selection of magnetic ores of iron. His method was the use of a belt, electromagnetised, by means of which rich ore was separated from the waste ore when passing in a pulverised state over the surface of the magnetised belt. By this means he hoped to make commercially viable ores containing in the bulk as little as 10 per cent. of iron.

Philadelphia was next visited. Here we found a city of a different type from New York. There is a greater appearance of comfort amongst the working people, and the city bears the aspect of a prosperous community of several generations. The educated classes of Philadelphia live in the midst of considerable culture and refinement. That society was in a more settled state than in New York was evident from the character of the buildings and from what is called the West End appearance of the best quarters. Philadelphia, like all Americans, are very proud of their city, and certainly can point to many magnificent buildings which it contains, and which are at once noticeable for their solidity and beauty. The City Hall of Philadelphia is considered one of the finest structures in America. It cost three millions sterling, but the citizens do not grudge the expenditure, which they look upon as certain to increase the reputation of their city.

The reception accorded to us at the Academy of Arts was very similar to a reception in London, and was conducted in refined and spacious

700 or 800 per annum. With regard to this enormous output it is fair to explain that the American system permits of the production of a very limited number of types of engines, whereas in England different railways require distinct types of engines. The constant change of form and pattern in English engines tends materially to restrict the output.

At these works the English visitors had the first opportunity of seeing the skilled American artisan at work, and of judging the comparative capabilities of English and American workmen. Every one agreed that the American skilled artisan puts forth more physical effort and produces more work in a given time than the English workman, or the workman of any other manufacturing community. This fact struck me and many experienced directors of works most forcibly. Before concluding our tour I had the opportunity of verifying and strengthening this first impression. After watching the American workmen at Pittsburg and elsewhere I arrived at the same conclusion as to their efficiency. Their productive power is greater than that of the English workers in the same time, and their working hours are longer, and their remuneration greater. I met one of my old workmen at Mr. Carnegie's works in Pittsburg, and he endorsed my opinion. Speaking from his own practical experience: "I am quite a different man here," he said, "from what I was in the old country; I don't know why it is so; whether it is that I live in a stimulating atmosphere, or whether it is the example set me; but I know I have got the go in me here. I can do more work; I feel that I have it in me; but I also feel and I know that it won't last. I shall be done in ten years." No, it won't last. The extreme physical effort put forth results in greater production, but it saps the vital energies and cuts short the career. This continual work at high pressure does not pay in the end. "It won't last"; and the remark applies with equal force to the employers as well as to the workers. Competition between manufacturers is keener than in this country. They work their business at high pressure. There is a terrific struggle between them for possession of the markets. They put forth their utmost energies, and when they succeed their reward is great; but all cannot be the leaders in industry. This fierce competition reacts on the men. We were surprised to find in a democratic country like America that the workmen had so little power, and were to such a large extent the docile instruments of energetic employers.

The "bosses"—as the foremen and managers of factories are called—drive the men to an extent that employers would never dream of attempting in this country. There are trade unions, but they do not seem able to protect the men in this respect. The "bosses" have the faculty of "driving" the men, and getting the maximum amount of work out of them, and the men do not seem

to have the inclination or power to resist the pressure. American manufacturers thus get the greatest possible service out of their plant.

Near Philadelphia we saw a remarkable mineral deposit—the Cornwall Ore Banks. This is a mountain of iron ore. The ore contains about 50 per cent. of iron, and according to the estimates it is calculated that the ore is being got at the cost of less than a shilling per ton. A mining expert stated that there were 30 million tons of ore above the water level. The Lebanon blast furnaces, notable for a process in use of roasting the ore by gas in the calcining kilns, were visited.

From Philadelphia we travelled by night to Altoona. Here we were received by Mr. Theodore N. Ely, the chief superintendent of motive power of the Pennsylvania Railway Company, and, conducted by him, we visited the Juniata works, where, under his direction, the locomotives and freight cars are built for the service of this company.

The most noteworthy things in connection with these works were the ingenious mechanical devices employed. All the tools which are used for shaping and finishing the plates are worked by hydraulic pressure. The great variation in atmospheric temperature, the severe heat in summer—enough to make work very oppressive and fatiguing—and the extreme cold in winter, are equalised by elaborate contrivances. It is a common device in American shops and restaurants to have fans attached to the roof for circulating fresh currents of air; but at the Juniata works there are ventilating machines, which pass the heated air in summer through ice as it enters the factory, and in winter, by an adaptation of the same contrivance, a current of heated air is sent through the factory. In this way the temperature is equalised all the year round, and the workmen can apply the same energy to their work in summer as in winter. The manufacture of chilled car wheels is carried on very extensively and successfully. These wheels, used for merchandise waggons, are made from a mixture of ordinary pig-iron, charcoal-iron, and Bessemer-steel scrap, melted in an ordinary cupola.

Passing through Johnstown, the scene of the disastrous flood, where we noticed the inhabitants rebuilding their houses on the same site, soon to be swept away again by another though less formidable inundation, we approached the metropolis of the American Iron Industry, the city of Pittsburg. Everywhere in the neighbourhood of the city was evidence of marvellous mineral wealth. The coal crops out on the flanks of the hills and the banks of the rivers. The seams are in many places ten feet thick and upwards, and the coal field is estimated to extend to an area of 1400 square miles.

Petroleum rises from subterranean reservoirs and flows away in

pipes to the refineries. The earth is tapped, and natural gas—that wonderful fuel distilled ready for man's use in Nature's own alchemy—springs from the soil, passing through pipes to feed boilers, furnaces, stoves, to warm shops and dwelling-houses, to serve all industrial and domestic purposes, from driving an engine to cooking a dinner. With an unlimited and unrivalled supply of coal, iron, ready-made fuel and other natural agencies, Pittsburg could not help becoming a great industrial centre. Its geographical position, as well as its natural richness, is in its favour. Situated between the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, which at their confluence form the Ohio, Pittsburg commands 20,000 miles of navigable rivers, tributaries of the Ohio and the Mississippi, for the shipment of its products, and can send its vessels up the Missouri to a distance of over 4000 miles. Pittsburg is also a centre of great railway systems, and has thus abundant facilities for the distribution of its manufactures. A few facts concerning the industries of Pittsburg will show what its productive resources are, and indicate what they may become.

In the Pittsburg district 750,000,000 feet of natural gas are delivered to consumers each day through 1125 miles of pipe, for the use of mills and factories and to upwards of 30,000 warehouses, stores, hotels, and dwelling-houses: which is equal to an annual displacement of coal of about 8,000,000 tons. Pittsburg's 21 blast furnaces in 1889 produced 1,203,435 tons of pig iron, while 33 rolling mills showed a production of 1,105,573 tons of steel and 638,450 of rolled iron. Its 49 iron foundries represent a capital of over £2,000,000 sterling, its 15,000 coke ovens consume 9,000,000 tons of coal, obtained from the Connellsville region, to make 6,000,000 tons of coke, used in the manufacture of pig iron. The output of coal is here 20,000,000 tons per annum. The product of wrought iron pipe last year did not fall short of 350,000 tons, while the output of structural iron and steel was 165,000 tons. Glass making is an important Pittsburg industry, about 67 firms or companies being engaged in it. This city occupies a leading place in the manufacture of incandescent electric lamps. The production of aluminium by electricity is carried on very successfully in Pittsburg, and it is in great demand for use in commerce. This is an industry which promises important developments in the near future.

The State of Pennsylvania, of which Pittsburg is the leading manufacturing centre, produces 250,000 barrels of petroleum a month, has a yearly output of 30,000,000 tons of bituminous coal, and last year produced within a small fraction of one half of all the pig iron and more than half of all the rolled iron and steel made in the country. This princely domain of 45,000 square miles, with all its boundless and marvellous mineral wealth, was ceded to the Penns by King Charles II. in satisfaction of a claim for £10,000. Pittsburg is

the leading centre for the production of steel rails. Here are situated the celebrated works of Mr. Andrew Carnegie and his partners, undoubtedly the largest producers of rails in the world. At the Edgar Johnson steel works of the firm we saw blast-furnace plant which was the most complete and advanced in the United States. One furnace has the remarkable output of 2300 tons of pig iron per week, as which there has been much discussion and controversy by English makers. The furnaces produce 600,000 tons of pig-iron a year, and the Bessemer steel plant has a daily capacity of 1300 tons of ingots, 1050 tons of rails and 300 tons of billets. The only fuel used for heating the furnaces and the boilers is natural gas.

The reception arrangements made for us in Pittsburg were perfect. Our every want was anticipated, and every facility offered to the visitors for seeing everything in the city and neighbourhood. An international session of the British Iron and Steel Institute and the American Institute of Mining Engineers was held in the Carnegie Hall, Alleghany City, when several important papers were read and a profitable interchange of opinions took place.

The employers of Pittsburg are men who are directly engaged in the management of their own businesses. They struck me as being very much like English employers who have risen to the head of establishments by their natural skill and aptitude for business. They are exceptionally active, energetic, full of push, resource, and enterprise, and are practical rather than scientific men. The life and activity of every one in the city, the extraordinary amount of production, the full employment of all the plant, and the whole conduct of industrial matters in Pittsburg could not but impress every practical man with the opinion that Pittsburg is able to compete with any manufacturing city in the world. This activity, this continual work at high pressure, is characteristic of the whole industrial population, but what it costs it is not our province to inquire. But it strikes one with amazement that a population so fortunately circumstanced, enjoying unequalled natural advantages, with their natural gas and inexhaustible supply of coal and iron, with thousands of miles of water communication within their reach, and great railway systems radiating from their town, should be the leading advocates of protection for American manufactures. The State of Pennsylvania is the stronghold of protection, and the town of Pittsburg leads the State. To me this policy is difficult to understand. With such extraordinary advantages as these Pittsburg manufacturers possess, it appears to me that their industrial position is impregnable without the artificial barriers which they take so much pains to set up around them.

From Pittsburg the members of the Iron and Steel Institute went to the great city of the west—remarkable for its phenomenal com-

mercial development—Chicago, where they experienced most sumptuous hospitality. The Mayor, Mr. De Witt Creiger, and the City Corporation welcomed them at Palmer House, and the freedom of the city was presented to them with an illuminated address of welcome. Our time in Chicago was short, but we were able to form an opinion concerning the principal features of the city, and the leading characteristics of the people. All the company of 500 were driven in carriages along the magnificent boulevards and through the splendid public parks with which, with commendable forethought, the Chicagoans have provided their city, comprising a total of 1974 acres. The extraordinary precautions taken against fire in the city were explained to us, and the fire brigade machinery shown in action. The great engineering works which are being carried out to supply Chicago with water from Lake Michigan were visited. As the water near the city is polluted, it has been necessary to tunnel underneath the lake for four miles in order to draw a purer supply. We saw some of the finest buildings of America in Chicago. Such structures as the Auditorium and the Palmer House are notable for their architectural beauty and stately solidity. There has been a great development in the use of iron and steel for structural purposes in Chicago, and their application in the erection of fire-proof buildings is carried out on a very extensive scale. There are huge structures of sixteen stories in height made entirely of steel framework,—with an outside shell of terra cotta or other material, intended as an ornamental veneer, and not as a support to the building,—which is built on a solid substructure of steel beams and concrete. Little or no wood is used, so that these tall buildings are as fire-proof as it is possible to make them. A notable feature of Chicago is a belt railway which encircles the city, and which is connected with all the principal street railways.

We had only time to glance at the leading industries of Chicago and to note the commercial instincts of its people. One of the most important establishments in Chicago is the works of the Illinois Steel Company, which has also large works at Joliet in the same State. This company, during the year ending June 30, 1890, turned out finished product amounting to 680,000 tons; and the wages paid during the year to its mill hands amounted to £1,200,000. The pig-sticking business of Chicago was visited by some members of our company, but it is well known and need not be described. There is an interesting manufactory of tin cans for preserved fruit, vegetables, oysters, &c., in which the work is entirely done by self-acting machinery. This automatic machinery, invented by Edwin Norton, cuts the tin plate, shapes the cans, lays over the seams, attaches the tops and the bottoms, solders them, tests them for leak-

ages, counts them, and delivers them into warehouses for storage and into waggons for shipment. Factories working on this system produce 800,000 cans daily.

The method of handling corn in Chicago is much cheaper than the system adopted in this country, owing to the facilities afforded by the grading of wheat. Corn is stored in bulk in the granaries or grain elevators, and classified by experts, into grades according to the quality. A farmer, when he delivers his wheat, receives in acknowledgment a corn certificate, certifying the quantity and grade of wheat received. The wheat is stored in grades, and the holder of the corn certificate—which in the meantime may have changed hands—can demand his wheat at any time. He does not receive the identical wheat given to the stores, but the same quantity of the same grade. Could a similar system of handling wheat be introduced into this country, instead of storing it in sacks?

The varied interests of Chicago and the direction of the commercial instincts of the traders, were well indicated by the temper of some remarks which the President of the Iron and Steel Institute ventured to make at one of the receptions given in our honour. He spoke in favour of free trade, and his observations were received with warm approval by the members of the Chicago Corporation. It was evident that a fear existed that the European market for Chicago products might be interfered with if the policy of the McKinley Tariff Bill was persisted in.

The export of tin plates from England and Wales to the United States is the one business which continues of great amount and value to this country. It is a trade which hitherto the United States have not succeeded in withdrawing from us. It is one of the manufactures which it is the distinct object of the McKinley Bill to establish in America. The present business in tin plates with the United States amounts to $6\frac{1}{2}$ million boxes per annum, weighing about 400,000 tons. The duty paid under the old tariff is 1 cent per pound, or, say, £4 10s. per ton; under the new tariff it will be $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, or say £9 17s. per ton, so that the increased cost of duty on tin plates will amount to £2,140,000, and the total duty to £3,940,000. It is probable, therefore, that this duty, if maintained, will prejudicially affect our trade with the United States. There are projects to erect works there, but at present only small ones of an experimental nature are being erected. The fact is that many persons regard the prospects of continued protection as far from encouraging, inclining to the opinion that the result of the recent election is not only adverse to the McKinley tariff, but will accelerate the adoption of free trade. Should the duty on tin plates be maintained, the Americans will doubtless in course of time make their own tin plates; then the question is whether the farmers and

the artisans of the United States will be content to pay a high price for canned goods and domestic utensils, for which tin plates are largely used, simply in order to put money into the pockets of a few manufacturers. Should the manufacture of plates be commenced there on a moderate scale, it will take many years to displace what we are now sending from this country, and in the meantime we can be looking out for other markets. Indeed, this question has lately occupied the serious attention of tin-plate manufacturers. Large quantities of cans might be used in China, Japan and India, for sending commodities home which are now packed in thin sheet lead and wooden boxes. There are large districts in South Africa in which fruit of all kinds might be cultivated even better than in the United States, and we may look confidently to the South African and other colonies to compete with the United States in canned fruits. It is therefore wise not to be alarmed for the future of the tin-plate trade, but rather to anticipate with confidence that the United States trade will be replaced by demands from other markets, which will be opened by British skill and enterprise.

Our party, which, with American friends, numbered over a thousand, divided at Chicago, one section going North to visit the iron ore districts of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, the copper mines of Lake Superior and the iron, copper and nickel mines of Canada, the other proceeding southwards to visit Alabama and other Southern States which are fast being opened up to new industries and becoming industrial rivals of the Northern States. I accompanied the southern contingent. We left Chicago deeply regretting that we had seen only a small part of its wonderful industrial capabilities, and that we were unable to utilise a tithe of the opportunities which the manufacturers and citizens afforded us. We travelled by night to Louisville, thence all day to Nashville, Tennessee, and arrived at Birmingham, Alabama, on the following evening, February 16. Birmingham is a conspicuous example of rapid development. In the course of a few years it has grown into a town of 50,000 inhabitants, with eight trunk lines of railway converging on it, seventy miles of street railways, excellent hotels, parks, many beautiful buildings, and an opera house. The social surroundings give evidence of the spread of education and material advancement. The progress of the town of Birmingham has been contemporaneous with the general development of the State of Alabama. The rapid growth of the iron trade in this State is attributable to the close proximity and abundance of coal and iron ore rather than to any excellence in methods of mining or manufacture. Owing to these geological conditions, it is claimed, and apparently with reason, that the cheapest pig iron in the United States is produced here. The furnaces of Birmingham are mainly supplied from a

red hematite band of iron ore, which extends with the Allegheny Mountains from Canada, through Pennsylvania and Virginia, to the Cahaba river in Alabama. The district of Birmingham produces 20,000 tons of coal and 2200 tons of iron per day. There is also a large production of malleable iron, and a healthy expansion of manufactures dependent on the iron trade, such as pipe works, engine works, nail factories, and iron foundries. As illustrating the vast and rapid expansion of the Southern States—a phenomenon which will have an important bearing on the commercial policy and future of the Republic—it may be interesting to note that Alabama produced 62,000 tons of iron in 1880, and 1,780,000 tons in 1890. The coloured population are largely employed as miners and as labourers about blast-furnaces and ironworks. They are cheap and slow. They are not as energetic or as regular as white men. To cope with their irregularities it is necessary to keep twice the staff for the same work. They are sluggish, and are quite content to earn a livelihood by working continually half-time. Their social wants are few. They live cheaply, often herding together in insanitary conditions. They do not act as foremen, nor are they often placed in responsible positions. White men must superintend and direct them. It is very noticeable how the white and coloured population of the South keep absolutely distinct. There is no intermingling or social intercourse between them. The groups of women and children seen in the streets and at the railway stand entirely apart. The white people apparently hold no communication with the blacks.

We were not long in finding out that the manufacturers of the South hold different opinions on fiscal questions from the people of Pennsylvania. In the Birmingham district the views of the people in favour of free trade are very pronounced. They expressed themselves as convinced that it was fortunate that the struggle for supremacy between the North and the South ended as it did in a victory for the North, but the Southerners are now as resolute in commerce as they were in arms, and strive against their Northern competitors for supremacy in trade and industry. They are confident that, with their abundant resources and the cheapness of production, they can hold their own with all competitors without the aid of protective duties. There is strong evidence that the Free Trade party in the South has extensive support, as this opinion was repeated in other places in Alabama, and also in Tennessee, Kentucky, and West Virginia. In going to the iron ore mines we passed by railway along the range of hills above Birmingham, and had a magnificent view of the brown amphitheatre of hill and valley below. The scene before us, and the tones and hues of the landscape, reminded us very much of the panorama around Florence. Extensive iron-pipe works were being erected for cast pipes, so as to consume the pig iron on the spot. It is anti-

that the development of Southern towns, and the necessity for pipes for new water-works, will utilise all the pipes and manufactured products which can be produced in this district for many years to come.

Leaving the State of Alabama, after visiting the Shelby iron mines, we reached the city of Chattanooga in Tennessee—the scene of the long struggle between the Northern forces under Grant and Sherman, and the Southern generals Johnston and Hood. We passed Sunday, October 19, on Lookout Mountain, within sight of many battle-fields, and commanding a splendid view of the surrounding States of Tennessee, Alabama and Kentucky, extending as far as the Blue Mountains of North Carolina, more than 150 miles distant. But we could not linger among the attractions of the beautiful country. We were on our way to study an American city in process of rapid evolution—one of these sudden growths which are becoming as notable features of the South as they have been of the West—the town of Middlesborough in Kentucky. This new town, with a good English name, was all the more interesting to us because it is being developed by English capital. It is “run” by an English company, and is a model of systematic development on regular American methods. The town has been planned and laid out to accommodate a population of 200,000. All the institutions necessary for a commercial centre are being established. Middlesborough is already surrounded by a belt railway, with sidings from which roads will be continued to serve the different industries which it is understood are to spring up within and around the town. The first thing done in the foundation of an American town is to build a hotel; and here in Middlesborough we have a splendid hotel, capable of accommodating 200 guests, with all the requirements of a first-class house, built, equipped, lighted by electricity, and in full working order within twelve months. Lines of streets in the usual chess-board style are marked out, and house sites and corner lots bring high prices. A population of 7000 are busy building houses for the industrial population of the future. At the same time blast furnaces, rolling mills, and steel works are being erected. On the successful development of the iron and steel works the future of this community in a large measure depends. The members of the Iron and Steel Institute were amazed at the rapidity with which this new industrial city was being constructed, and much admired the boldness of the plans, and the completeness with which the possibilities of the future had been anticipated.

From Middlesborough our tour led us through the Cumberland Gap, past the Great Outhurst mine and the Cripple Creek mines in Virginia, to one of the richest and most marvellous coal deposits in the world—the Pocahontas coal-field. This is a mountain of coal, discovered by explorers connected with a company in Philadelphia, and is now largely exploited by the West Virginia Development Company. The entrance

to the mine is by a railway pierced direct into the mountain side, and worked by locomotive engines. We walked three-quarters of a mile on this railway into the mountain. The coal is mined on what is known as the room system—in rooms forty-five feet long and thirty feet wide. The railway waggons are run right into these rooms, and the coal is filled direct into the waggons. Large pillars of coal are left to support the roof. The seam is twelve feet thick and the inclination of the bed is one in a hundred, inclined upward. The Development Company owns at this one point to which we refer 300 square miles, which, at the rate of 12,000 tons per acre, gives it a coal deposit of 2,304,000,000 tons. The miners are both coloured and white. The latter are mostly Hungarians, of whom the superintendent speaks in the highest terms as to industry and sobriety. The manager of the works was trained in a coal-field in West Yorkshire. Pocahontas now turns out 4,000,000 tons of coal a year. It goes by rail to Norfolk and thence is shipped to New York and other parts. Atlantic liners sailing between New York and England use extensively Pocahontas coal. The extraordinary accessibility and abundance of coal in West Virginia will ensure a supply of cheap fuel for ages to come. There is little doubt that a great manufacturing population will establish itself in this district, served by the Norfolk and Western Railway system, which will be a strong industrial rival to Pittsburgh and the manufacturing districts of Pennsylvania.

Continuing our journey towards New York, we passed through the Shenandoah Valley to Washington, where we were cordially received at the White House by President Harrison one day and afterwards by ex-President Cleveland at the Arlington House. From Washington we went to Baltimore, and were welcomed by the Governor of the State and the Mayor of the city. At Sparrow-point Works, on the Delaware, an interesting little object-lesson in protection was presented to us. The Pennsylvanian Steel Company established works here with the intention of bringing the ore from Cuba, but the Pittsburg Association of Ironmasters was powerful enough to get a duty imposed on iron ore which seriously hampered the operations of the Steel Company in their attempt to manufacture iron and steel from foreign ore. There cannot be a better illustration of the unwisdom of this policy of a nation deliberately shutting out cheap raw material which might otherwise give employment to American workmen and add to the economical development of American production.

New York was reached on October 28. We had travelled 4300 miles in three weeks and three days. Having visited numerous cities, traversed great regions of mineral wealth, passed through leading industrial centres, examined scores of mines, and inspected a multitude of works, we were everywhere impressed with the energy, the

skill, and the intelligence of the directors of the establishments engaged in the iron, steel, and collateral industries. While accomplishing our journey—travelling hundreds of miles by night and by day—we had an excellent opportunity of judging and enjoying the luxurious method of travel in America. We were whirled over States in palaces on wheels, with all the appurtenances of a city hotel adapted to the exigencies of locomotion. But the hurried and crude system of railway construction in America detracts considerably from the agreeableness of travel. The Pennsylvanian Railway Company is just now making an experiment of three miles of road laid down in the English style. The defects in construction of American lines arise largely from the fact that a railway is often built for other purposes than the transport of passengers and merchandise. We hear frequently of the very low rates at which mineral, grain and goods are carried by American railways, but there is another side to the railway business in America. American railways are very often laid down and equipped solely in the interests of land development companies. Capitalists who acquire land open up the new territory by building a railway through it, and as the object is the attraction of settlers, railway rates are fixed naturally very low. Hence those railways are not always commercially successful. Since 1875 there have been foreclosure sales of American lines of a total length of 50,525 miles, representing a nominal capital of 2,865,000,000 dollars; 2963 miles of railway were placed under receivers last year, and the nominal capital affected by this state of insolvency is 105,000,000 dollars. It may very well be asked, therefore, whether these low rates pay the railway companies.

In the course of our tour we came in contact with the managers of many industrial establishments, and could not help remarking their youth. Evidently skill and managing capacity are more speedily recognised in young men in America than in England, and young men by their energy make their way sooner to responsible positions. I cannot avoid observing here that men so competent to develop and manage the great American industries are certain to be fully alive to the value of every deposit of mineral, and quick to seize every opportunity for commercial advantage; and therefore it cannot but be reasonable to offer a word of counsel to those who are invited to interest themselves by investment of capital in American commercial undertakings. Surely the men who are so energetic and competent to manage these adventures which have achieved great success are not likely to sacrifice their opportunities when they permit the property to be transferred into English hands.

The special features of the iron and steel industry in America have been indicated; what, it may be asked, are the leading characteristics of those engaged in the work? I would answer, their quickness

to adopt improvements, and their readiness to adopt scientific methods in the processes of manufacture. Great as has been the industrial growth of America, marvellous as are the mechanical achievements of Americans, we can still claim that the inventions which have brought the manufacture of iron and steel to its present state of perfection are of English origin. The Americans have not invented, they have improved. They had not time to experiment, they have appropriated. They possess a surprising gift of receptivity, and a peculiar faculty for adaptation. When the great development of American manufacture took place, Americans engaged in the iron and steel trade had the best practice and the best methods of Europe before them. They were never handicapped by preliminary experiment. Special commissioners on behalf of the leading American ironmasters examined the Bessemer process after it had been established in England. After inquiry they profited by English experience. Thus many mistakes were avoided and much time saved. With this knowledge, supplemented by their own ingenuity for mechanical devices and appliances, they were able to lay down a plant of the best models, and of great strength and capacity, so that their Bessemer plant compares favourably with any to be found in Europe. Their blast furnaces are more capacious than ours, their engines are more powerful, their rolling mills are of new and improved construction. The high standard of education, and especially of the technical education, of the people in America undoubtedly is much to their advantage, and we everywhere recognise a promptness to discard old methods and plant, and an alertness to adapt the newest and most scientific methods of production.

Many of the great iron and steel works in England, profiting also by their international experience, are laying down new plant on a large scale, and there is no fear but that, on equal terms, the English iron and steel makers will continue to hold their position with the keenest competitors. It is true that in the United States in 1880 the production of pig iron for the first time exceeded the production in Great Britain. Nine millions two hundred and two thousand tons was the product of the United States, against seven millions eight hundred and seventy-five thousand of Great Britain. The increase in the American output arises from the development of the Southern States, and the whole of this great production has been consumed in the United States, which now possess a railway system of 160,000 miles in extent. In addition to this iron is being very extensively adopted in the cities for structural purposes for houses, warehouses, public buildings, bridges, &c. In New York and some of the great cities it is supplanting stone and wood construction, which is diminishing because of the cost of transport and the scarcity of timber. It will more and more be used for structural purposes in America, and

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is clear that the resources of the United States, vast as they are, will find their market on the American continent. There need be no ground for apprehension as to the competition of the United States. Our insular position, our abundant supply of labour, our accessibility to mineral products, make it certain that England, as a producer of iron and steel, will continue to hold the leading place in the neutral markets of the world. When America foregoes her system of protection, which cramps her development and limits her intercourse with foreign nations, it is certain that her increased prosperity will have a favourable effect on the industries of this country.

Our visit was ended in New York, where, after a short excursion to Niagara, the hosts who had welcomed us on our arrival again showered upon us a hospitality as rich as their own boundless resources, and as large as their continent. These expeditions, through which we meet eye to eye and voice to voice our friendly competitors to discuss the interests and the scientific aspects of the great industry which absorbs us, have been of great personal and national benefit. It is thus we learn how much has been accomplished by persistent and intelligent labour, how much remains to be achieved, and how by free exchange of ideas and of productions, friendly understanding is promoted and personal acquaintance is built up.

JAMES KITSON.

THE SHADOW OF THE KURD.

I

THE presentation to both Houses of Parliament, in January 1891, of a further "Correspondence respecting the conditions of the populations of Asiatic Turkey," and a discussion on the condition of the Christian races, raised by Mr. Bryce, Mr. Leveson-Gower, Mr. Stevenson, and others, on the Vote on Account on March 16, in the House of Commons, are evidences that this unpalatable subject is still attracting the attention of the Government and the country. What is known as the "Armenian Question," which ought to include a "Nestorian Question," has come somewhat more to the front in the last twelve months, owing to certain occurrences in Constantinople and Erzeroom, the increased activity of the Armenian Committees in London and other European cities, and the large scale on which migration of Armenians from Turkish into Persian territory has been contemplated, and all but carried out.

Unfortunately for the populations most concerned, whose unhappy condition is of sufficient importance to warrant repeated reports to Parliament upon it, and repeated representations to the Sublime Porte by our Ambassador at Constantinople, the wrongs narrated—and by no one with more moderation and carefulness than the late Mr. Clifford Lloyd—are of long standing and chronic character, and if it be urged that our co-religionists in Asia Minor are included within the terms of a treaty which, in some important particulars, remains unfulfilled, and that the Signatory Powers ought to press Turkey to carry out the obligations by which she bound herself under the Treaty of Berlin, the usual reply amounts to this, "Oh, no doubt the Christians have some grievances, but they are always grumbling and the accounts are very much exaggerated; besides, it's an old story, and it's exasperating to hear the same thing year after year and *nothing can be done.*"

Furthermore, while the Nestorians, Chaldeans, or Assyrians (as they are variously called), from their comparatively small numbers, general poverty, and total lack of mouth-pieces, excite no interest at all, the interest felt in the Armenians is seldom a cordial or friendly one. A nation of four millions, with a history which, for splendour and misery, is almost unequalled, one of the keenest, thriftiest, most commercial, most money-making peoples on earth, rich often where others are poor, and flourishing where others fail, keenly alive to opportunities, with an intensely national and clannish spirit venting itself in claims for national independence, and an exasperating assertion of pride of race, with wealthy colonies in the cities of India, Persia, Turkey, and elsewhere in Europe, with a church, hierarchy, civilisation, and newspapers of their own, possessing some of the best equipped and most efficient educational institutions in Asia, and constituting a fifth of the population of Constantinople, where a gorgeous Patriarch represents them officially to the Turkish Government, the Armenians cannot be ignored. But that they are disliked in the East, that those who know them best do not love them most, and that people in this country who know them not at all have caught the tone and infection of distaste, and regard them as "a set of clever rogues," is certainly true, and those who work hardest for their welfare are inspired rather by the "enthusiasm of humanity" than by enthusiasm for the race.

In fact, the Armenian is too self-interested to be lovable, too politic to be trusted, too proud to be patronised, and too capable and often too rich to be despised.

Again: for reasons which it is unnecessary to enter into, the "Armenian Question," if indeed it has attained the status and dimensions of a Question, is seldom looked at on its merits, or by the light of treaty obligations, but has occasionally tended to fall into line with party questions. Since it is involved with the great "Eastern Question," on which controversy once raged, there is a danger of its being regarded in the light of party politics, and as a means of creating an embarrassing situation.

In giving a few of my own experiences and impressions during a journey of two and half months through Kurdistan in the late autumn and early winter of 1890, I must ask the reader to believe that I crossed the Perso-Turkish frontier without any knowledge of, or interest in, the "Armenian Question," that so far from having any special interest in the Armenians, I shared the common prejudice against them, that I was not corresponding with any newspaper or magazine, that I belong to no political party, that I was in ignorance of the Erzeroom troubles and other recent complications, and that the sole object of my journey by a little traversed route from Urmi to Van was to visit the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church, and

Kochanes, his residence, one of the stations of "The Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians," and to add certain Alpine plants to my collection. So far as I am able to judge, I entered Turkey as a neutral and impartial observer.

After spending last summer among the Bakhtiari Lurs in the mountains of Luristan, near the sources of the Karun and Ab-i Diz, where scarcely an echo of European interests reached me, I travelled northwards, via Khuramabad, Hamadan, Sujbulak, and Persian Kurdistan to Urmi. Here there were rumours indeed that the country on the other side of the frontier was increasingly disturbed, and that the Kurds were making the bye-road by which I desired to travel insecure for travellers, but it was impossible to authenticate them, and the Governor of Urmi was either unable or unwilling to give any information on the subject.

Persian Kurdistan was quiet, and the 30,000 Christians who dwell on the magnificent Urmi Plain and its slopes have little to complain of, either from the Shah's Government or from the Kurds, who having been taught a severe lesson by the Persians ten years ago, have settled down in great measure to pastoral and agricultural pursuits. As more or less of disorder has prevailed, "time out of mind," on the Turkish side of the frontier, and no reliable information as to special disturbances could be obtained, I was unwilling to give up the journey, and left Urmi on October 14, a Syrian Qasha or priest, who is a Turkish subject and landholder, as well as a learned and good man, accompanying me for the first three weeks as interpreter.

I travelled to Gawar, not by the direct route, but by a perilous and difficult bridle path to Marbishu, the first Christian village in Turkish territory, visiting on the way Hesso, a notorious Kurdish Bey, who had lately been implicated in some very shady transactions, in which Christians had received much injury.

Beyond the frontier the journey became risky. A horse of mine was taken, but was restored. Three robberies were committed that day, October 15, on the road from Merwana to Marbishu. Persian muleteers would not pass that way at any price, and my loads were taken by a Kurd, who was afraid to travel with Christians except in full daylight. On that first day the air was thick with rumours, some of them well founded. 1460 sheep had been driven off from Marbishu under circumstances which were then under investigation; thirty fat sheep, which the people were going to barter for winter food, were taken on the morning of my arrival; and in the afternoon I met a party of armed Kurds driving off some of the Marbishu stock. On that day's march I had from two to eight armed guards from village to village, and people joined my caravan for the same protection implied by the presence of a British subject.

A short distance beyond Marbishu is the small Christ

Eyal, which was robbed of a number of sheep, with the loss of a shepherd's life, the night after I passed it. The road crosses a dangerous pass, and then descends on the mountain-surrounded Plain of Gawar, a Paradise of fertility, with abundant water, and a rich black soil, capable of yielding from twenty to thirty fold to the cultivator. On this is the town of Diza, chiefly Armenian. It is the residence of a Kaimakam, a Customs station, and a military post. There are twenty Christian villages on the plain, and a number of Kurdish hamlets on the mountain slopes above it. Circumstances compelled me to spend nearly a week among the villages of Gawar, and to become deeply interested in its Christian inhabitants, who are undoubtedly quiet and industrious, and have few higher aspirations than to be let alone, and to enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The first house I lodged in was that of a man who commands general confidence, an ex-*Malek*, or head man of the Gawar Christians, through whom all official communications pass between them and the Government; the second, that of a Parish priest; the third, that of a simple cultivator. I had a great deal of conversation with the priests and people, and with the present *Malek*, a man who is reputed to have some independence and force of character. No one seemed to trust any one. These conversations were chiefly held at night in the room, granary, or stable, in which I lodged, with the windows filled up with sacks of straw, and a watchman posted outside the door.

Testimony concurred in stating that the garrison of Diza had been reduced some months before from 200 to 60 men, that the insecurity of life and property had greatly increased during the summer, and that "things had grown very much worse since the Erzerum troubles;" that the Kurds had grown bolder in their demands and depredations, and more reckless of human life; and that of late they had threatened them *as Christians*, saying that the Government would approve of "their getting rid of them."

For a length of time, and daily and nightly during the week of my visit, the Plain was harried by the Kurds. Very little of any value, the people said, was now left to them, and the bareness and poverty of their dwellings, while surrounded with possibilities of pastoral and agricultural wealth, tended to corroborate their statements. "The men of Government," they all said, "are in partnership with the Kurds, and receive of their gains. This is our curse." They brought forward, among many allegations of a like character, the charge that certain carpets taken by violence by the Kurds from —, are to be seen covering the floor of —, a certain official in Diza.*

* The complaints to which I became a listener were made by *Maleks*, Bishops, Priests, head men of villages, and others. Much exaggeration prevails, and the same story is often told with as many variations as there are narrators. I cannot vouch for the truth of anything which did not come under my own observation, for the sources of error are many. Some narratives dissolved away under investigation, leaving a mere

In the last two years, ten and fifteen loads of wheat have been taken from him, and four four-feet jars, filled with oil and *roghan*. Four hundred and fifty sheep have also been taken from him by violence, and the night I lodged in his house, 53 of the village sheep, most of which were his, in spite of guards and dogs, were driven off from his yard, leaving him with but fifteen. I was awoke by the disturbance, and as it was a light night, saw that the Kurds who attacked the sheepfold were armed with modern guns.

On the night that I lodged in the granary of the priest of Gahgoran, in a semi-subterranean dwelling, which includes in its dark recesses the living room, stabling, granaries, &c., there were fourteen horses, including my own, and several buffaloes in the stable at the farther extremity of the house. Mar Shimun, the Nestorian patriarch, was in the village on business, and of the many strangers who had arrived to see him, over twenty were lodged in the priest's house, in the living room alongside the stable. About midnight, a band of Kurds dug through the roof, within a few feet of me, into another granary, let themselves down, dug through the wall into the stable, and were on the point of driving out the horses through the common passage, when an alarm was given, and twenty hardy mountaineers rushed out upon them. The same night, though it was light and clear, another house in Gahgoran was dug into, and a valuable horse belonging to a man in the Patriarch's train was abstracted. *Zaptiehs* employed by the village at a high price to watch the threshing floor, and my own *Zaptieh* escort were close at hand. The same night a descent was made on the neighbouring village of Vasivawa, which has suffered severely.

A very well dressed, superior looking man from the village of —, on the other side of the plain, came to ask me to put his short story into "the Consul's" hands. He was well spoken of by Mar Gauriel and others, and had been a *Malek*.

"One year ago," he said, "I had 300 sheep. Now I have five, all the others have been taken by violence by the Abasi chief Hazela Bey. Last year Hazela Bey caused to be reaped on my fields a quantity of grass, and his servants took a quantity of my wheat just before ripening, to make parched corn for themselves. They set on fire also a quantity of the stolen grass. After two or three days, Hazela Bey sent, saying, 'Your son has set my grass on fire.' I swore solemnly that my son had not done it, and, by the head of Mar Shimun, he was far away, but he seized from me twenty-five gold *liras*, and now he says, 'Give me the deeds of your lands, or if not I will kill you.'"

This man was formerly so rich that he entertained travellers and their horses at all times, but when I saw him he was begging for wheat in Gahgoran wherewith to make bread.

Women and girls, especially at Charviva, have been maltreated. Fifteen days before these occurrences, a girl ten years old going out from — to carry bread to the reapers was abducted by

oppressions. The Kurds have carried away most of the sheep and goats, besides taking all that they wished to have, and they entered through the houses, plundering everything, and burning two in —. Their words are 'Give or Die.' I petitioned Government regarding the oppressions, and Mohammed Bey came, and, by threat of death, he got my seal, and wrote in my name a letter saying it was all false, there were no oppressions, and he was a very good man, and he signed it with my seal, and it went to Stamboul. My seal has now been for one year in the hands of Mohammed Bey, who has killed about thirty men in Berwar. Three months ago I fled to save my life.

"Seventeen years ago the oppressions have begun; but it was but ten years ago when we could easily keep ourselves, and raise our bread—now we cannot. In —, five years ago, all had plenty of dress and bread, and every family kept two cows, and two hundred or more sheep. But now, when I visited them, I would shame to look at the female persons, so naked were they, and so did they hide themselves for shame in the dark parts of the houses, for their dress was all in pieces, so that their flesh was seen. I was thirsty and asked for milk, and they made reply: 'Oh, we have not a cow, or a sheep, or a goat; we forget the taste of milk!' and most of their fine fields were gone out of their hands by oppressions, for they could no longer find money wherewith to pay taxes, and they sold them for a vile price.

"Kumani was the best village in Sopana, and more wealthy than any village of Kurds or of Christians. There I went and asked for some milk. Here they said, 'Never a goat, or a sheep, or a cow have we.' But as I had gone, I met a flock of three hundred fine sheep, and I asked, 'To whom belong then those sheep?' and they made reply, 'To Hassan Effendi of Amadia, and he forces on us to feed them for six months of autumn and winter.' I ask of all the families their condition, and they make reply, with many tears, 'All that we had has left our hands, and we fear for our lives now. We were rich, now we have not bread to eat from day to day.'

"Seventeen years ago the village of Borginish had fifty families of wealthy villagers, but now I only find twelve, and those twelve could scarcely find bread. I had asked bread: but I could not find it. By day their things were taken by force out of their houses; at night their sheep and cattle were driven off. They could keep nothing. Our wheat, our sheep, our butter is not our own. The chief, Mohammed Bey, and his servants, ask of us, saying, 'Give, or we will kill you.'"

Qasha —, the Priest of —, under the same roof, told me that a certain Bey — sent for mules from Qasha Shapira and his brother Falda, to work for him. These brothers answered, "We cannot, for sufficient reason, come to day to work for you." So the servants turned back to their lord, saying, "The priest did not give his mules and did not come to work." The chief's son then sent nine men, and shot Qasha Shapira and Falda dead before the eyes of their mother and the priest's wife and children. These now depend for their bread on alms.

"Last spring the Christians chose a young man, Rabbon, speaking and writing Turkish well, to be their *Malek* at Amadia. Then they sent him to Mar Shimun in the month of March, and Mar Shimun sent him to Bashkala, to show his petition for appointment, and the Pasha gave him a letter of appointment, and sent him back to

Amadia. For four months he was *Malik*, then going down from Amadia to Dairie the Kurds shot him dead, and one with him passed on to Dairie saying, 'Come, bring Rabbon; he is murdered.' This they did, that no Christian thereafter should be a *Malik* to speak on behalf of Christians."

One mode of oppression much complained of is the unjust seizure of lands and the taking of those title deeds [*kochani*] by force, which were granted to the peasants who were occupying the lands when the Osmanlis took the country. Katranes, Shmonenes, Akahwanes, Baves, Dares, Hozî, and Arji, were among the villages mentioned as having suffered from this form of tyranny. In Dares, for example, Tamaragha Bey tried to force the people to give up their deeds and lands, but they refused. After they had harvested their grass and wheat, he sent his servants and set them on fire. The Government of Diza was petitioned by them, and through the influence of a good Mohammedan Tameragha Bey was arrested, but was liberated without any punishment. After that he threatened them so severely that they fled from their village and were away for a year, but on the Government promising them protection if they would re-occupy their houses and cultivate their fields, they returned. "Then," said my informant, "Tameragha Bey came and dwelt in Dares, and now each field that hath the richest soil he taketh it and cultivateth it for himself, and as if he were their rightful lord he seizeth a tenth of their produce. So they, being under his oppression from living among them, are like sheep, helpless, and can from fear make no more petitions, and he now threatens to take their deeds by force."

In this case, it will be observed that the authorities made a show of interference—in others the Beys have been allowed forcibly to seize the lands and the deeds, in some cases receiving a ransom for both, as in the case of Shmonenes, where, in spite of *kochani*, the lands were seized, and a tenth of the produce exacted; but last year the people with the help of Mar Shimun petitioned, and got rid of Hassanagha, their oppressor, by paying twenty-five *tumans*.

According to the latest estimates, the number of Nestorian Christians under Turkish rule is over 80,000. They are chiefly in the *vilayet* of Van, and in the *sandjak* of Hakkîari. It is less common for the Rayahs to own the village lands than to be the dependants or serfs of a resident Kurdish *agha* or master. In either case their condition is miserable, for they have *practically* no rights which a Kurd or Turk is bound to respect. In some of their villages, as has been stated with regard to Gawar, they are now absolutely without the means of paying taxes, and are but scantily supplied with the necessaries of life, though their industry produces abundance. There can be no possible doubt that the local authorities always side with

the Kurds against the Christians, and connive at their oppressions and outrages.

A remark of Vice-Consul Devey in a dispatch to Colonel Chermiside (Turkey No. 1, 1889, p. 51) is sufficiently explanatory of the attitude of most of the local Governments. Referring to a well-known and serious affair, he writes: "There can be no doubt that the Mosul Government . . . rather led the Kurds to believe, *though without committing themselves to any overt act or declaration*, that they were at liberty to attack the Nestorians."

Squeezed between the rapacity and violence of the Kurds and the oppression of the Turkish officials, who undoubtedly connive at outrages, so long as the victims are Christians, the condition of these Syrians is one of the most pitiable on earth. Their own notion is that they have been delivered over to the Kurds to be gradually and quietly wiped off the face of the earth, without the scandal of a massacre. They have no representatives in the cities of Europe and Asia, and no commercial instincts and habits like the Armenians. They are simple, grossly ignorant, harmless, helpless shepherds and cultivators, clinging passionately to the fragments of a faith which they have received by tradition from their fathers, aliens by race and creed, without a rich or capable man among them, hemmed in by some of the most inaccessible of mountain ranges, and by their oppressors, the Kurds; without a leader, adviser, or friend, rarely visited by travellers, with no voice which can reach Europe, with a present of intolerable bondage, and a future without light.

After many difficulties, owing to the insecurity of the route, and the objection of the Julamerik muleteers to travel by it, I rode in five days to Van, not by Bashkala, but by a mountain road, on which are several Christian villages, such as Kotranes, Merwanen, and Khanjarak. On the way, on two occasions, parties of Kurds thought that my caravan would prove an easy prey, but my *Zaptieh* escort showed great pluck, and drove off four times their number. The Kurds evidently do not wish to come into collision with the Government. An attack was made as it was growing dark by several well mounted Kurds, each armed with two guns, and a number of other weapons. They rode in among the mules as if to drive them off singly, and obviously did not see the Government uniform till they were actually among us. It, and the Snider rifles, had an immediate effect, and they rode off, leaving me to consider how far the Porte has the power (if it had the will) to repress them, by placing strong military posts in the disturbed districts. Beyond Kasrik Kala we met some muleteers, who, an hour before, had been attacked and robbed of their mules, saddles, blankets, and outer clothing.

The villages of Kotranes and Khanjarak had suffered severely. At Khanjarak, a wretched Armenian village, where people seemed in

abject terror, twenty-three sheep were driven off by an armed party of Kurds the night I was there. Kotranes is one of the villages in which the peasants have had considerable trouble about their lands, and have only partially got rid of an unjust claim upon them by paying what is for them a crushing ransom. The hamlets of Upper Berwar, of which Kotranes is one, are all suffering from the Kurds.

The statement concurred in by the Kotranes men is this, "When the Osmanli Government came and began to sell the lands, our fathers bought their fields, and got *Kochani* for them. Three years ago, Amar Effendi, a man of Julamerk, said, 'When the Kurds were here Norullah Bey, the chief, gave this village for my father. I am its owner.' So he made himself our oppressor, and began to take a tenth of our wheat as our rightful lord, but we came to Mar Shimun, and he made petition for us to Government, and he got our rights back from our oppressor. We paid 150 *tumans* (about £50). There is here among us a man named —. Six years ago he had 800 sheep, 20 buffaloes, 20 buffalo cows, and 40 oxen, and his house was full of every good thing. Now, because of the Kurds, he has but eight sheep, one ox, and one cow, and has borrowed for taxes more than in his lifetime he can pay. The oppressors of Kotranes are the Artochians (nomadic Kurds), and certain Julamerk men. Our things are taken from us by 'demand,' and by violence in the night."

In the absence of the man referred to, I occupied his house, which was bare and empty indeed.

Between Kotranes and Van, I left the country inhabited by the Syrians, and entered Armenia,* or rather that part of Kurdistan which is peopled by Kurds, Turks, and Armenians. A few villages of Circassians help to make up the population. The Armenians generally live in villages by themselves, which cluster about churches, more or less distinguishable from the hovels which surround them. But there are also mixed villages, in which Turks and Armenians are very near neighbours.

The village Turk, as he is described by men well acquainted with him, and speaking his language, and as I saw him on a journey of more than 600 miles, is a manly, hospitable, hard-working, kindly, fairly honest fellow; very domestic, cheerful, attached to his country, kind to animals, courageous, usually a monogamist, and usually, also,

* Armenia is a prohibited word, and has ceased to be "a geographical expression." Cyclopædias containing articles on Armenia, and school books with any allusions to Armenian history, or to the geography of any district referred to as Armenia, are not allowed to enter Eastern Asia Minor. No foreign maps of Asia Minor which contain the Province of Armenia are allowed to be used in the foreign schools or even to be retained in the country. In February 1890, the directors of the Armenian school at Erzerum proposed to give an amateur entertainment for the benefit of its funds. permission of the local Government was asked as a matter of form, but was refused on the ground that the entertainment was to be in the Armenian language.

very attentive to his religious duties. He is a man in whom there is splendid material.*

The village Armenian and the village Turk in the mixed villages get on fairly well together, though it may be inferred that there is an instinctive dislike between them, and that the Turk has all the contempt of race and creed for the Christian peasant. I never heard any complaints made of the Turkish peasants by the Armenians, and had there been anything to complain of, it would certainly have reached my ears.

The Christians, who are all Armenians by race in that part of Kurdistan, live chiefly on the plains and in the folds of the hills, and are engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits. They dwell with their animals in low, dark, semi-subterranean hovels. The men are industrious, thrifty, money-loving, clannish, domestic, and are not given to vices, except that of drinking, when they have the means and opportunity. The peasant women are hard-working, industrious, chaste, and gossiping. Both sexes are hardy, dirty, avaricious, and superstitious, and ages of oppression have developed in them the usual faults of oppressed Oriental peoples. All are grossly ignorant. All cling desperately to their historic church, which is chiefly represented among them by priests scarcely less ignorant than themselves. Their bishops constitute their only aristocracy.

Of the world which lies outside the *sandjak* in which they live, they know nothing. The Sultan is to them a splendid myth, to whom they owe, and are ready to pay, a loyal allegiance. Government is represented to them by the tax-gatherer and his frequent brutalities. Of justice, the most priceless product of good government, they know nothing, except that it may be bought, and that they are too poor to buy it. The new Code, under which the evidence of a Christian is admissible in a court of law, being in direct opposition to the Koran, to the practice of centuries, to the fanaticism of the Kurds, and to the feelings and prejudices of those who administer it, is practically a dead letter. Of protection from oppression, robbery, and outrage, they have little or none.

"Their sufferings at present proceed from three distinct causes :—

1. The insecurity of their lives and properties, owing to the habitual ravages of the Kurds.
2. The insecurity of their persons, and the absence of all liberty, of thought and action (except the exercise of public worship).

* It gives me great pleasure to write, that though I often lodged in purely Turkish villages, and was in a great measure dependent on Turks as muleteers, guides, and *Zaptiehs*, as well as for night watchmen and the necessaries of life, though I slept in a small tent among the houses in the long winter nights, though I had only Christian servants, and though as a Christian woman I must have been more or less obnoxious to them, I never met with a single instance of incivility, either in word or act, nor, so far as I can now recollect, of marked extortion or injustice.

are turning vaguely with an expectation of deliverance. "Erzeroom troubles" they had heard, and attributed to the increased audacity of the Kurds, and the increasing misery of their own condition.

I have every reason to believe that in the long winter which I spent among them in their stables, they talked to me and frankly. There were no reasons why it should be otherwise. My *Zaptieh* escort was rarely present, and my servants were Christian. If they spoke frankly, I am compelled to believe that the Armenian peasant is as destitute of political aspirations as he is ignorant of political grievances; that if he were secured against the attacks and ravages of the Kurds, he would be as contented as he is laborious and industrious; that his one desire is "protection from the Kurds" from the rapacity of minor officials, with security for his property. Not on a single occasion did I hear a wish expressed for political or administrative reform, or for Armenian independence.

The peasants are "of the earth, earthy," and the peaceful enjoyment of material good is their idea of an earthly Paradise.

ISABELLA L. BISHOP

* Extract from a Minute by Her Majesty's Consul for Kurdistan. "White Paper" Turkey, No. 1 (1890-91) p. 80.

THE HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE OF AN IRISH NATIONALIST.

IT is a great pity, and I humbly submit a great mistake, that Mr. Gladstone does not publish his revised scheme of Home-Rule for Ireland. The original plan was "cast to the winds" five years ago, and the country was informed that its authors would reconsider the particular method by which the main purpose in view might best be attained, and were ready to regard favourably any reasonable modification designed in the same spirit. One daring amendment, going down to the very foundation of the plan, has been publicly accepted, and the original Bill no longer holds the field. What does hold the field? It is a serious trouble and perplexity to Irish Nationalists just now that they cannot answer this question.

In public affairs no one likes, any more than in the little transactions of daily commerce, to buy a pig in a poke. The ardour with which a great purpose is pursued is apt to bear a strict proportion to its intelligibility to the mass of its supporters. It has been elevated into a newspaper axiom that Englishmen do not pursue ideals but serviceable practical results. It was not for parliamentary reform in the abstract, but for a specific franchise and the clean sweep of Schedule A., that they were moved to such a profound national enthusiasm in 1830. The working classes did not organise and agitate a little later, and even conspire and fight here and there, for the vague promise of radical reform, but for the five well-understood points of their Charter, which, though they were "bogies" in that day have since become, one by one, or are soon about to become, the law of England. It was not for some shadowy theory of Free Trade the Anti-Corn Law League contended, and it may be safely assumed that the manufacturers and merchants of Cheshire and Lancashire would never have plunged their hands into their pockets, and furnished

If that method be altogether impossible for Australia, why is it considered suitable for Ireland? Ireland is not a modern colony, but an ancient nation; it has more population than the Southern continent and all its adjoining islands; it had a local Parliament when the Dutch discovered New Holland, nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, and an independent Parliament when Captain Cook first landed there and re-named it Australia a century since; it has sent armies of splendid courage and unbroken fidelity to fight the battles of the Empire and reared a line of statesmen, from Burke to Plunket, to guard its interests in peace and war, and may claim, I humbly submit, to be treated at least as well as a British colony. This can scarcely be said to have been its fate hitherto. The last Home Rule Bill was framed by a Cabinet and afterwards overhauled by a prodigious plenipotentiary Round Table Conference, in which there was not so much as one Irish Nationalist or Irish Catholic. In its construction (it is asserted by persons in a good position to know the facts) not one of either class was ever consulted as *amicus curiæ*, though Thomas O'Hagan was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Charles Russell Attorney-General for England. The scoffing genius of Swift would have found such a method of planting Home Rule among a people worthy to be embalmed in "Gulliver's Travels," and the memory of it may justify a little anxiety and perturbation at present.

My appeal is to English Home Rulers, and I will take the liberty of observing that it is their interest as much as ours that the policy adopted in this difficulty should be a prudent one. They have generously committed themselves to the justice of our cause, and as it concerns their honour that the settlement, whenever it is made, should be successful and permanent, we naturally count on them to help us to make it so. Is it a platitude to insist that it can neither be successful nor permanent unless it be well considered and just? It is here and now that a thousand dangers may be barred. That "stitch in time," *argumentum ad judicium*, which the homely wisdom of our ancestors has bequeathed us, was never more applicable than to this case.

Let me run over a few of the dangers which spring directly from our ignorance of the provisions of the forthcoming Bill. The most obvious danger arises from the use Mr. Parnell makes of the fact in Ireland. He has so successfully misrepresented Mr. Gladstone's intentions, that a large number of honest ill-informed Irishmen are persuaded that his Home Rule Bill will be a mockery of self-government. They are told so week after week by a man whom they were long taught to reverence, and it is no wonder that a serious effect is produced when there is no adequate reply forthcoming. The adequate and overwhelming reply would be the production of a Bill which flatly contradicted his representations. This danger, let me note, is not a sentimental but a very positive one. These deluded

men, with the aid of the Tories, may win an embarrassing number of seats at the general election. The Sligo contest is not calculated to dissipate this apprehension, and it has plainly become a risk not to be disregarded.

But difficulties of a graver kind than any heard on platforms, because they represent sober and genuine scruples, are mooted in the conversation of thoughtful men. Here are some of them :

I. Are there to be two Houses of Legislature in the Irish Parliament, or only one? If there be but one what security can be provided against headlong legislation destructive to the rights of minorities? I never met any man experienced in Parliamentary affairs who had the least doubt that a single Chamber is an instrument unfit to work responsible government and liable to dangerous irregularities. The plan in Mr. Gladstone's former Bill provided neither a single Chamber nor two Chambers, but a compromise between the two. But surely it is not a new and complicated, but a simple and familiar, system that suits a people who have not for three generations had any experience of parliamentary government at home.

II. Mr. Gladstone designs to provide adequate securities for the Protestant minority, but how can he do so with a single Chamber? A property qualification might protect landlords, but would be no use to the Presbyterian farmer in Ulster, who loves landlords as little as a southern peasant does. Home Rule will not bring peace to Ireland unless the minority are satisfied, and Home Rulers have the highest interest in satisfying them. If any Liberal statesman has devised an adequate method, would it not be wise to present it deliberately, and with ample time for inquiry, to the men it is intended to protect? Their first feeling will be distrust, and it will need time to reconcile them to the fairest scheme. I will venture to quote in this relation two paragraphs I formerly wrote on the subject of a fair constitution, which I can affirm represent the wishes of some of the best Nationalists in Ireland :—

"I desire in simple good faith, without any *arrière pensée*, to content my Protestant fellow-countrymen, by making religious liberty, private property, the administration of justice, and the peace of a mixed community as safe in Ireland as they are anywhere under the sky; to make the substitution of a Celtic or Catholic ascendancy for the Protestant ascendancy, which has been happily overthrown, impossible; to create a native Legislature in which the whole nation shall be adequately represented, where the experience and discipline of the better trained minority may unite with the passionate desire of the majority (in whom suffering has been the nurse of patriotism) to rise up their country anew. I desire, *toto corde*, to secure not the triumph of one party over another, but the unity and peace of the entire people of our island. Without peace at home national prosperity is impossible, whatever institutions we may create; and the primary condition of national peace is that we shall recognise the fact that the Irish nation is not homogeneous but heterogeneous; that it is composed of various races, creeds, and into each of which has an absolutely equal claim to the protection of the law to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of citizens; that we

constantly acknowledge and act upon the principle that in all public affairs, from the parish to the Parliament, it is the highest interest of the country that the majority and the minority should be fully represented, and neither of them suppressed nor overborne."

The second paragraph suggests the principle on which the attempt ought to be made. If it appears to allude to recent events it is only because it anticipated them, for it was printed in this *REVIEW* nearly four years ago:—

"The only method of protecting the minority hitherto proposed has been to limit the functions of the new Legislature and Executive; either to retain them in leading-strings or to withhold from them the ordinary agents for executing their orders; in short, to make them powerless to do much good in order that they may be able to do no wrong. This method was not acceptable to any one in Ireland. It did not satisfy the minority, and it would have exasperated the new Legislature. Had it been adopted, the Constitution would have been degraded in the eyes of the people from the beginning, and new struggles for the rights withheld would have immediately commenced. A half-measure must inevitably share the fate of all the half-measures and quarter-measures which have preceded it. A wiser and safer method of acting, in my opinion, would be to create a Legislature and Executive which from their character might be safely trusted to exercise all the powers which the Australian and Canadian Parliaments enjoy. If this can be done it would manifestly furnish a perfect, and perhaps the only perfect, guarantee. Commit your interests, not to an agent who is handcuffed, and under surveillance, but to one in whom you are able to place liberal confidence. Create a Parliament and Government which you can trust, and trust them accordingly. The fundamental security for sober, ordered liberty must reside in the character of the Legislature. It is idle to look for it anywhere else. And this safest and best method is also the simplest in form and probably the easiest to attain. The bulk of the nation would view with natural displeasure any sacrifice of their rights made to pamper the prejudice or personal caprice of English politicians, but they will be ready, I am persuaded, to make ample concessions to placate and content their own countrymen."

In this crucial question of the minority, there is a method of contenting them which may, or may not, have attracted the attention of English statesmen, but is not unworthy, I think, of their notice. In Switzerland, a country more divided by race and religion than Ireland, the Constitution gives to the Cantons the settlement of certain questions on which angry contests arose, and they are settled according to the wishes of the district. When local government is established in Ireland, and Provincial Councils are erected above the County Councils, the former might get the powers of Cantonal Councils, and settle many burning questions satisfactorily. If they were elected on the principle of proportional representation they would approach as near to a just and adequate mirror of public opinion in each province respectively as can ever be attained.

III. What is to be the number of members in the Irish Parliament? The last Bill proposed three hundred, but three hundred is a larger number than we need, or can conveniently supply. It is out of proportion with the scale adopted in other self-governed countries with a

similar population. That scale would suggest a hundred members for the popular Chamber, and forty or fifty for the other. A small legislature may hope to become a deliberative assembly of thoughtful men; a large one is apt to grow a mob, too crowded for deliberation, and only accepting or rejecting measures from party instructions. And as payment of members, which accompanies Parliamentary government everywhere but in England, will be indispensable in a poor country like Ireland, a large number of members will increase unnecessarily the public burden. And let it not be forgotten that the need for furnishing so large a number as three hundred has been made the justification for proposing to cut down the representatives of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament to a mere handful. In the Act of Union the proportion of Ireland is fixed at a hundred members, and unless that Act is to be repealed it is safer to leave the number undiminished. For my own part, if Ireland received an adequate constitution, I should be content without any members at Westminster until the empire gets federated. But if Ireland is to continue responsible for imperial interests, our proportion of representatives must not fall short of our just share. Why should it? The impatience which some British members exhibit to diminish the accidental excess which Ireland is said to enjoy at present, contrasts unpleasantly with their equanimity when the excess was the other way. For half a century between the first Reform Bill and the last, Ireland was shamefully under-represented, but I cannot recall any British attempt to equalise the balance.

IV. A more urgent question than any of these is the fiscal relation of Ireland to the empire. How is that to be dealt with in the Home Rule scheme? We are confessedly overtaxed, and if this wrong be not redressed, Home Rule may leave us poor and helpless. Free institutions make nations happy, but do not necessarily make them prosperous. During the last ten years I have seen a good deal of France and Italy; the first has a government which is commonly regarded as the perfection of liberty, a democratic republic; the other has a free and sovereign parliament more completely master of Italian interests, interior and exterior, than ours can hope to be of Irish interests under Home Rule; but the peasantry, especially in Italy, are miserably lodged, rudely clothed, underfed, and have to toil incessantly during all the hours that the sun shines, because they are overloaded with taxes. What ought to be their savings flows into the public Treasury. If our financial relations with England be not reconsidered and put on a fair and honest basis it is insanity to hope that Home Rule, with peasant proprietorship superadded to it, will make us prosperous. Under such an unequal burthen we may, notwithstanding the freest institutions, be the serfs of the tax-gatherer and the money-lender, as many of the farmers of free France and free Italy undeniably are.

Irish statisticians have demonstrated that since the Union Ireland has

been subjected to a series of financial exactions beside which our political Government under Coercion Acts and Special (hanging) Commissions was merciful.

But the case does not rest on the testimony of Irish experts. The most eminent of English statisticians, Mr. Giffen, Financial Secretary of the Board of Trade, has distinctly declared that in later years Ireland has contributed *twice her proper share* to the Imperial Exchequer. "Ireland," he says, "while constituting only about a twentieth part of the United Kingdom in resources, nevertheless pays a tenth or eleventh of the taxes. Ireland ought to pay about £3,500,000; she pays nearly £7,000,000." Another financial critic declares that "Ireland, the poorest country in Europe, pays into the Imperial Exchequer one-sixth of her annual income, while Great Britain, the richest country in the world, pays just one-twelfth."

The last Home Rule Bill did not amend these relations between the two countries, but aggravated them; are we unreasonable in desiring to know what the next one will do? Ireland may be honourably and contentedly poor, like Switzerland, fixing her public and private expenditure on a scale proportionate to her means, but she will never be content if she be "sweated" to bear an unjust and disproportionate burden. Will any man of integrity and honour insist that she ought to be contented, or that in asking the fullest explanation of a danger so threatening we ask too much?

V. There is one provision in the original Bill which will scarcely re-appear. The 105 Irish members sent to Westminster were created members of the popular branch of the new legislature in Dublin, without any other process of election than the consent of the British Parliament. It was objected that this was not a constitutional method of selecting the chamber which would be entitled to vote away the people's money, that it was an arrangement ill suited to a democratic era, and that it was a profound practical mistake, as some of these men were chosen for their fitness to carry on a campaign of "obstruction," but were little fitted for a legislature where construction, the process of building up a country by placing solid measures like granite upon granite, would be the main business. This error will be amended doubtless, for it would introduce the member for Cork and his adherents to the parliament in College Green, with or without the consent of the Irish people; but surely it is a warning against abandoning the plain path of custom and precedent which requires that such a measure shall be submitted to the scrutiny of the people familiar with the circumstances of the case? It is practically a treaty between two States, a treaty which it is more important to the interests of the empire to bring to a satisfactory conclusion, than one with the greatest of the great Powers. No British statesman would present to France or Germany, scarcely to Portugal or Newfoundland, a ready-made instrument, and call upon her to accept or reject it

forthwith. Of course there will be some process of consulting Ireland by procuration before the Bill is launched. By a pleasant parliamentary fiction it is assumed that a gentleman chosen to perform the functions of sessional chairman of the Irish party at Westminster qualified to declare the wishes of the Irish people on proposals which neither he nor they ever heard before; that if a series of propositions be read to him, which he may imperfectly hear or imperfectly comprehend or imperfectly remember, and he is not ready with objections at the moment, the assent of the Irish people to these propositions has been authentically obtained. But the common sense of common men rejects this theory. Last year it was Mr. Parnell, who probably never read a constitution in his lifetime, who was assumed to be a plenipotentiary on points vital to our national interests; next year may be Mr. McCarthy, a man doubtless of much wider culture, but who has not necessarily made the instrumental parts of constitutional law his study. The age of dictators in Ireland is over; the Irish cause is not the private chattel of Mr. Parnell, or of Mr. McCarthy or even of the Irish party. The Irish cause belongs to the Irish race, at home or wherever they are scattered over the earth, it belongs to our children, and no one has any more right to imperil this sacred cause, ennobled by the blood of soldiers and martyrs, than to destroy the individual life which God has given to him. The Irish people alone are entitled to accept an Irish Constitution as final. The adequate and respectful method of ascertaining their wishes is to tell them frankly into confidence, and to afford them ample time for careful and searching scrutiny.

It is said, with obvious truth, that if the Home Rule scheme is published it will be immediately assailed and misrepresented. Of course it will; this is one of the conditions of political action in a free country. But a constitution which cannot defy misrepresentation which will not be better liked by reasonable men the more it is known, is not suitable to the occasion. A heterogeneous people like the Irish nation, of Celtic and Saxon origin, of Catholic and Protestant creed, require a constitution accommodated to their special idiosyncracies, a thing which cannot be improvised any more than a mathematical instrument. When such a plan is submitted to the people they must state their objections, or be silent for ever. They will state them, of course, on due reflection, and the rude metal which has passed through the fire of criticism will be tempered into the fine metal which endures for a thousand years.

I am not contending for extreme measures of any sort. With those who clamour for concessions impossible to obtain, because they are incompatible with an imperial system, I have no sympathy. When Mr. Parnell, who last year was minimising our demands before English constituencies till they almost disappeared in mist, who constantly spoke of a "dependent Parliament" as if the phrase was pleasant to

conceded that the right to deal with the question shall be transferred to the Irish Parliament, if the Imperial Parliament shall not have dealt with it conclusively before the passing of a Home Rule Bill within a limited time afterwards. This limited time afterwards, I conceive, be altogether left out of account. It is a proviso which no draftsman could set out in intelligible and satisfactory language. Suppose the Irish Parliament established and the Irish members at Westminster seriously reduced in number, what sort of settlement the Imperial Parliament likely to make? They might declare that the *status quo* must be maintained for ever. But if it be contended that the settlement contemplated is a settlement satisfactory to the Irish people, then will some one be good enough to tell us how this satisfaction is to be ascertained? If by the veto of the Irish Parliament on any such final Land Act passed at Westminster, you secure, not a settlement of the question, but a probable conflict between the two legislatures.

VII. The other burning question is education. The education of the middle-class in Ireland is in a condition which might make British statesmen blush. Down to times within my own memory, all the endowed schools and colleges in Ireland were confessedly and unblushingly sectarian and proselytising. The first Whig Government of modern times established a national system for the industrial class, but for the middle class nothing was done, and nothing has been done down to this day, beyond opening the Royal University to Catholic students. There is a Protestant University endowed out of the possessions of a plundered monastery and the confiscated lands of Irish chiefs. But there is no Catholic University among a Catholic people and every attempt to establish one by Act of Parliament has been defeated or baffled. The last proposal was by Mr. Balfour, and it is nothing short of a public scandal that it was lost by the submission of Irishmen to the shameful prejudices of English Radicals. The politicians, who are content that there should be Protestant Universities in England and Presbyterian Universities in Scotland,* cannot see that there should be a Catholic University in Ireland. One of the first acts an Irish Parliament would be bound to perform is to right this wrong, but it would be greatly preferable that justice should be done by the Parliament in Westminster, and so burning a question withdrawn from the new legislature.

VIII. I have spoken of the dangers of delay and uncertainty in this matter only as they affect Ireland; but if the scheme be not published before the general election, the House where Home Rule has few friends will refuse to adopt a constitutional change which has not received the sanction of the people, and will they not for a justified in their obstruction? What next? Mr. Gladstone!

* Both these sets of Universities have been secularised except as regards faculties.—[Ed. C.R.]

DEMOCRACY AND DIAMONDS.

WE were journeying up Nile. That endless waterway had begun to grow monotonous. Doum palms had palled ; buffaloes had ceased to attract a languid attention ; dates were a drug to us ; camels in long strings, silhouetted in black against a dome of hot grey sky, had sunk to the level of common objects of the country. Our thoughts and our talk reverted once more to that far-off Europe. All around us the dead desert and the crumbling monuments of Rameses or Amenhotep. Yet our speech was of the Movement, in Egypt that never moves. We discussed John Burns, beside mud villages of thumble fellahin : within sight of mouldering minarets, the unrest of the Occident pursued us still ; we debated hotly of the Thick of Thin on the deck of the *Amenartas*.

'Twas a warm evening. The American lady took off her gloves. Those thin white fingers were girt to the knuckle with half a dozen diamonds. I started at the sight. Yet why ? It's always so : Every American woman loves diamonds as she loves her eyes, and a great deal more than she loves her own soul.

"After all," I said, slowly, with a sigh of conviction, "America will be the last country on earth to accept democracy."

And so it will. The States are the final home of Conservatism. Dying prejudices find there a congenial asylum. Plutocracy reigns rampant. To one Edward Bellamy a man may count a hundred thousand potential Jay Goulds. Even the proletariat out yonder has no true socialist ideals. What each man wants is, not all men's good but a fair field for himself to win his way to millions.

The American lady, however, stared at me, surprised. This was the purest paradox. That any one should have a conscientious objection to diamonds was, to her, sheer novelty. She couldn't understand

not true; and every expert will tell you so. The truth such experts can discern by mere inspection the difference between a gem of the first water and a good paste facsimile. As an æsthetic question, the one is worth, to ninety-nine out of a hundred of us, every bit as much as the other; and neither, to a man of taste, is worth a crooked sixpence. The contempt felt for a gem which differs only chemically from the true diamond, is a good proof of the utter worthlessness of the diamond itself, save as a commercial product. And any one who wishes to deny these facts can only do so on the untenable ground that he can himself distinguish, by casual inspection, real diamonds from paste, without touching or handling them. If he can't, then the æsthetic superiority of the gem must be a vanishing quantity.

A story is told of the Exhibition of '62, which, if not true, is at any rate *ben trovato*, and pertinent for illustration of my contention. The Koh-i-nur, as everybody must remember, was exhibited at that great bazaar, in a glass case, guarded by armed men; and the public were admitted through a turnstile, one file, and one at a time, to feast their foolish eyes upon the shining gewgaw. All day long they defiled before it, like a chorus, admiring, as they believed, its effulgent beauty. "How lovely! How exquisite! How much it must have cost! How different from mere paste! How it sparkles! How it coruscates!" Well, one day, the story says—whether true or not, what matter?—the authorities got wind of a projected robbery on the part of thieves to "rush" the Koh-i-nur, and made the prize before the startled police had time to recover from their astonished amazement. Anxious to preserve the priceless gem, and to secure the gang of robbers, the guardians of the peace substituted

The truth is, diamonds and all other precious stones were originally valued because of their glitter and their shimmer: they are valued now solely because of their rarity, and the consequent difficulty and expense of procuring them. This is a point of prime importance in estimating the economic difference between the ancient and modern worlds, and also between the socialistic and anti-socialistic temperament. In antique society, where methods of manufacture were little known, and where man had to depend almost entirely upon the raw materials ready given him in nature, wealth consisted chiefly in, and was mostly expended upon, the rarer and more beautiful native products. The symbols and appanages of dignity were gold and silver, marble and alabaster, onyx and agate, diamond, ruby, emerald, sapphire, topaz, amethyst, jacinth, and rock-crystal. If one transports oneself mentally to the Hellenic and early Italian civilisations, one sees at a glance that they based themselves mainly, for decorative objects and for all the refinements of life, upon such exceptionally rare and often beautiful materials. A relatively large proportion of the value of products depended, with them, upon the cost of obtaining these rare natural stones or gems or minerals: a relatively small proportion upon the artistic labour and care expended in adorning them. Think for one moment of the Pompeian house, and the truth of this generalisation will be at once apparent.

The whole progress of civilisation, on its economic side, has been a process of substituting new and artificial materials for these old and expensive natural ones—a process of replacing costliness in the basis by workmanship and artistic skill in the finished product. Glass, porcelain, earthenware, glaze; iron, brass, electro-plate, nickel; paper, papier-maché, indiarubber, gutta percha; cotton, wool, jute, tussar—these now supply in great part, for the modern world, the place of rarer and more expensive native materials. Dye-stuffs, the art of printing, paint, enamel, lacquer, enable us to make simple objects beautiful at very small cost, either of time or labour. Wall-papers, rolled off by the yard, may yet produce artistic effects in a few hours that could once have been obtained only at the price of many months of skilled effort. Printed calicoes may be as dainty as woven silk brocade. Terra-cotta mouldings may replace in great part marble or sandstone bas-reliefs. Venetian glass may rival carved onyx or inlaid opal. Process, in short, in our world, has supplanted material. The time that was once employed in mere searching for the chance productions of Nature is now better expended in making beautiful by art and skill the cheapest and commonest of universal raw matter. More can now be done with clay than could once be done with chrysolite and jasper.

This revolution is profound. It holds together with the whole wide-spread social revolution from slavery to freedom. The love of

diamonds, of precious stones, of silver plate, of costly raw materials—essentially a taste that goes with the slave-owning and slave-driven temperament. The love of simple and beautiful artistic products which derive their chief value, not from rarity or dearness, but from the intelligent care and skill bestowed upon them, is essentially a taste that goes with the free and sympathetic—in a single word, Socialistic—temperament. The one frame of mind is barbaric, the other, civilised: the one, selfishly monopolist; the other, altruistically benevolent.

Everybody recognises, I feel sure, in a vague sort of way, that an excessive love of precious stones, of gold ornament, of heavy robes of bullion and plumes, is coarse and barbaric. But why they are so, they hardly perhaps realise in full. This is one of those intuitive judgments that go deeper down into the roots of things than the individual who judges can himself always distinguish. It is not merely or primarily, I believe, an æsthetic feeling. It is not so much that gilding and glitter and shininess—the gaudy vulgarity of the Albert Memorial or the new chapel at Windsor—are felt at once to be indicative of a low grade of artistic sensibility: people who have reached the higher democratic and ethical plane recognise further, in some dim way, that pleasures of this coarse order are essentially selfish, vulgar, monopolist, aristocratic. They belong to the world of snobs and plutocrats, of slaves and slave-drivers, not to the world of free and equal human energies.

The real ground for this dim sense, however, is an instinctive conception of an economic truth. Such gauds are proper to the low level of intelligence and feeling. On the one hand, the savage knows no advanced arts: therefore, to him, gold and silver and precious stones, the skins of beasts, the feathers of birds, the shells or coral from the sea-shore, the teeth of seals or bears, the tusks of elephants—in a word, the direct gifts of nature—form the only possible material for decoration or personal adornment. On the other hand, the savage is reckless of human life, careless of human privations, human sufferings. If he is in a position to command, he wastes the labour of slaves or subjects in procuring for himself such barbaric ornaments. What marks his low grade is the utter disproportion between the time or toil expended and the result obtained from it. Years may be spent in gathering gold for a necklet, a torque, or an armlet; years may be wasted in collecting gems for a crown, or in building for a throne, or in collecting feathers of a special bird for a royal Hawaiian mask. So, in like manner, a little lower down in the scale, months may be spent in the polishing of a chieftain's obsidian sceptre: or a little higher up, thousands of slaves may spend their lives in piling stone upon stone to heap high the bare pyramid of a Cheops or a Montezuma. The barbaric element is seen at once in the reckless selfishness of the

procedure : much time of many men is sacrificed without stint, that one man may be glorified by some useless trinket or some meaningless memorial.

Among ourselves, we feel almost without knowing it, that persons who love similar costly and purposeless baubles belong essentially to the lower and earlier grade of culture. The oriental barbarism of the Jewess, bedizened with many rings, the occidental barbarism of the Californian heiress, bedecked from morning to night in vulgar profusion of diamonds, betrays in a moment its kinship with the barbarism of Indian princes and of Peruvian incas, of the Red Indian in his war-paint and the South Sea islander in his necklet of shells. And it is noteworthy that the taste for crowns and coronets, for gold lace and silver plate, for ivory and tiger skins, for mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell, which descends to us straight from the cowries and shiny beads of the naked savage, is a special heirloom of our most barbaric existing caste—the kingly and noble class, who toil not, neither do they spin, who never have acquired any civilised art, who hunt and shoot and fish, like the earliest tribes of men, who regard warfare and slaying as the highest task of our race, and who love to be arrayed like Solomon in all his glory. It is to Court that women go in the cast-off plumes of desert ostriches : at Court that fighting men array themselves in scarlet coats with gold fringes, and that even civilians still wear a useless sword by their sides after the obsolete fashion of their predatory ancestors. Jewellery and feathers and furs and precious metals belong by right to the lower races : among the higher, they are most prized by the aristocratic and least civilised classes.

It may have seemed at the outset that I was preaching too hard a gospel when I said boldly no true Liberal would even own a diamond. But I think at the point where we have now arrived this "sweeping assertion"—as the reader no doubt mentally called it to himself—will seem somewhat less extreme. We have given a reason for the faith that is in us. Let me put it in this way, and I think the paradox becomes at once almost a moral platitude. A man has, let us say, two hundred pounds to spend, which gives him practically the command of just so much labour. Now, if he were to decide with himself—"I will spend this sum in equipping and sending out a digger to South Africa, to hunt for a diamond for me : I will pay his passage to Kimberley, and buy him a small claim, and set him up in tools, and keep him there for three months, on the hunt for a pebble,—and then, when he has found one, I will wear it in my ring, just to show the world I can afford to use so much wealth to so little purpose"—if he were to do all this, I say, why, even the diamond-wearers themselves, I think, would be staggered by the disproportion of effort and product. They would see at once for themselves how cruel and how vulgar was the expenditure.

But when you go into a jeweller's shop in Bond Street and buy a diamond there, ready-cut, this is in effect exactly what you are doing. You are encouraging or helping to encourage civilised semi-civilised men to cross the ocean in hordes to a howling desert to set up expensive machinery there of a complicated sort, to waste their lives and energies in a gambling occupation, and all in the end for the production or unearthing of a few glittering baubles which could just as well be produced out of paste at home without the fiftieth of the toil, the danger, or the uncertainty. In short, you are wasting men's lives in a useless quest for your own personal gratification—and that a low one—when you might be encouraging a thousand ways useful and beautiful and artistic labour.

If the diamond were beyond all dispute vastly superior in aesthetic effect to any other product, you might perhaps be condoned for employing so much valuable human time in unearthing it. Gold, for example, tarnishes very little; and, therefore, its use to a moderate extent for watch-cases, brooches, and simple and beautiful jewellery is not wholly reprehensible. Silver, again, is a relatively cheap metal and its employment for ornament, or even perhaps for domestic economical objects, like teapots and sugar-bowls, may within certain limits be forgiven—though I think a really moral man would always prefer for such purposes prefer electro-plate. Still, if the intent with which they are produced is not mere vulgar display, but durability and usefulness, they may possibly be tolerated. So rubies are useful for bearings of chronometers, and platinum for many excellent scientific implements. Certain simple precious stones, again, or the like—especially amber, agate, malachite, lapis lazuli, coral, and marble—have obvious advantages for decorative use over any artificial substitutes. Opals, again, and pearls, are prettier than their imitations. All these in moderation may perhaps pass muster for certain decorative objects even with a stern ethical censor. But diamonds, sapphires, amethysts, topazes, don't differ in any notable respect from so much coloured glass, and the true test is, that only an expert can detect their imitations. They have their costliness alone to recommend them in any way. In other words, people like to possess them—in order to show how much human toil they can command, and how wastefully they can lavish it on that which profiteth nothing.

These truths are the A B C, of course, of the Socialist gospel; but they have still to be preached hard in Philistine England.

Let me try to contrast, then, as they envisage themselves the Socialists, the barbaric and the civilised ways of spending money.

The barbaric way is to waste it on purely personal gratification regardless of resultant moral effects, and especially of the resultant moral effects, of the mode in which it is used in employing labour. More particularly does the barbaric type of mind love to use

wealth in mere vulgar display—in other words, in showing the world how much wealth it possesses. This is essentially the palace and pyramid mode of expenditure. Great houses, wide parks, many footmen, many horses; gold plate, massive silver, diamond necklets, fur mantles—such are the outer trappings and gewgaws of the barbaric element. The surviving savage in our midst—call him duke, or millionaire, or snob, or flunkey—admires, and, if possible, obtains for himself in the largest possible measure, such monopolist delights. His object is to make other people see by plain and visible signs that he can own so much wealth, and waste it so foolishly. If he is successful, he gets these things into his own hands; if unsuccessful, he gapes at, and longs for, and wonders at them, in the hands of others. Servile and barbarous at heart, he can hardly even believe in the existence of a free and civilised class which heartily dislikes and despises the whole set of them. So incapable is he of understanding so modest a level of elevation in others that he mistakes their contempt for a result of envy.

The barbaric nature, too, is reckless of the suffering it inflicts upon other men, and still more upon the feelings of the brute creation. To gratify it, thousands of human beings labour needlessly in unwholesome mines; seek pearls in deep waters at the risk of their lives; fish for coral in strange seas, till blood spurts from their eyes and mouths; dig diamonds in hot deserts, till sand chokes their lungs. Others pile up ivory by tearing live tusks from the bleeding jaws of wounded elephants, and carry it seaward on the weary heads of bruised and foot-sore slaves. Baby seals die by thousands on arctic ice, deprived of their mothers, that fine ladies of the barbaric type in London or Paris may go clad from head to foot in rich sealskin mantles. Humming-birds fall slaughtered by the million in Trinidad and Brazil to deck the hats of New York beauties with savage trophies. Tortoises are burnt alive by slow torture over hot coal fires to make their shell more daintily dappled for long-handled eye-glasses. Every species of cruelty is inflicted on man and beast from the Pole to the Tropics, that wealth may go gaudily decked in barbaric finery.

And in all this, for the most part, little expenditure of skill, little display of human taste, of design, of handicraft! Good gold jewellery, owing its value in the main not to the mere raw material, but to delicate workmanship and artistic effect, has its redeeming points. But you don't find it in the home of the barbaric plutocrat. You find, instead, diamonds dug in furthest Africa, and polished at starvation wages in noisome homes, by sweated Amsterdam Jews, for a miserable pittance.

The civilised way of spending money, on the other hand, is to employ it for purposes which are either actively social, or, at the very least, not markedly anti-social, in character. In matters of purely

personal expenditure, for example, the civilised ethical unit—the day of the Lord when socialism reigns triumphant—will take that the objects which he gathers round himself in his own home will not minister to mere outer display or selfish aggrandisement. He will avoid employing unnecessary men-servants or horses, who would be turned aside from purposes of useful production to subserve private needs and to swell his own triumph. He will refuse to live in an excessively large house, which at once implies an undue monopolising of the labour of others for his personal comfort, and stands forth at the same time as a visible symbol of inequality before the world of equally or more deserving fellow-citizens. He will shrink from occupying an unfair proportion of the earth's surface, especially in an unproductive or uncivilised manner, as large gardens, parks, game reserves, or deer forests. He will abstain from sending his fellow-men into dangerous or arduous occupations to procure for him such needless luxuries, of a merely boastful sort, as gold, silver, precious stones, ivory, furs, and feathers. In short, he will do nothing for pure show; whatever he buys will be for use, or else for real beauty.

Accordingly, so far as he feels himself justified in possessing objects of special and exceptional value at all, the truly civilised man with a high moral feeling will strive to surround himself, not with vulgar natural imitations of coloured glass, but with art products showing skill and taste and ingenuity on the part of the producer. What he will admire and encourage will be pottery of graceful form and delicate colouring: wall-papers of flowing design and exquisite craftsmanship: textile fabrics and needlework of dainty handicraft: work in metal and glass of the highest perfection. Encaustic tiles will be dearer to his heart than inlaid jewels: lustre-ware of deft finish and ivory or tortoise-shell: brass and iron, cunningly twisted or hammered or chased, than mere silversmith's work in precious metal. He will love a Salviati vase better than crude masses of gold speckled with rubies and emeralds and sapphires; he will love William Morris's calico prints better than feathers and furs of barbaric origin. As a mere matter of taste, the signs of human skill and human labour well expended on a product will mean to him far more than the bare knowledge of months of constant toil ill wasted in fruitless search for some rare freak of unconscious nature.

Still more will such a man love great works of art—pictures, statues, architecture; poetry, music, drama. In so far as he approaches the higher levels of morality, indeed—the final condition of just men made perfect—he will not wish to monopolise for himself and his friends any great work of human hands which is necessarily unique in kind—a Raffael, a Van Eyck, a Burne-Jones, a Rossetti. If, under our existing transitional social arrangements, fortune permits him to become the master of a beautiful painting, a glorious statue,

or, still more, a much-prized relic of the architectural skill of our ancestors, it will be to him a point of religion to hold it in trust, temporarily, for the public enjoyment, and to allow the largest possible number of those who are capable of deriving pleasure from it to share his own delight and pride in it. But for the most part the proper place for great works of art is in some public edifice—I need hardly say I do *not* mean in some cut-and-dried National Gallery, where pictures are ranged in rows like criminals in their cells. Works of art should be everywhere, and isolated, to produce their full effect upon the soul of the beholder. An ethically minded private individual will rather content himself at present with lesser works of art, and especially those which are not necessarily monopolist—books, engravings, etchings, and the like, whose kind can be multiplied to a considerable extent so as to give pleasure to thousands. His home will be filled with beautiful things, it is true, but with beautiful things within the reach of all—at least in a well-organised and moral community. If antiques are there, they will be of the simpler types: if pictures or statues, of the less precious order.

And now observe a curious implication. It is odd how nature seems all to hang together, even in moral matters, so that things barbaric are barbarous the whole way round, while things civilised are themselves further agents of civilisation. Gold-mining, diamond-digging, pearl-fishing, seal-slaying, ostrich-farming, ivory-hunting, do not in themselves, to say the very least of it, tend to ennoble and enrich human nature in those who engage in them. On the contrary, they are degrading and barbaric pursuits, involving for the most part much cruelty, much danger, much isolation, or much companionship with savages on the part of their followers. It is quite otherwise with those civilised arts and crafts whose products men of culture prefer to barbaric gewgaws. The potter, the glass-blower, the designer, the printer, the decorator, the metallurgist, all do work which in itself tends to educate and elevate hand, eye, and brain in the craftsman who fashions it, and indirectly at the same time in the user also. These arts are civilised and civilising: they raise men in the scale of being: they help to bring about better social and political results: they are the basis of Reform Bills: they are the hope of the socialist. The one set of activities drags men down again to the savage: the other set elevates them to the artist, the thinker, the free political and moral agent.

Note, too, that the barbaric tastes encourage hunting, warfare, the predatory life, militarism: while the civilised tastes encourage steady labour, peace, the industrial life, socialism. The man who buys diamonds and furs, gold plate and rich silver, casts in his lot with the enemies of human progress: the man who buys objects of art and artistic handicraft casts in his lot with the friends of man, the pioneers

of the millennium, the few who are working towards the triumph of high Christian principles.

May I add parenthetically that we socialists do not object to individuality and uniqueness in themselves as such? The desire to possess something which everybody else does not possess is in itself a harmless and a natural human longing. It only becomes harmful when it takes the form of anti-social display. But the socialistic home will not be more commonplace and monotonous than the home of the bourgeois capitalist. Heaven forbid! Quite on the contrary, it will be more varied, more unique, more individualistic. Only, its treasures will be treasures of art and association, of antiquity and beauty, not vulgar collections of old plate and coarse *bric-à-brac*.

I hope, therefore, I have made it clear now that the objection to diamonds is no foolish fad: it is an objection based upon profound and far-reaching moral sentiments. The world will never be reformed, as Mr. Edward Bellamy seems to imagine, by one decree of the American legislature. But it can and will be slowly revolutionised by the gradual growth of higher moral feeling. It cannot take the kingdom of heaven by storm: it must grow up within our souls by organic evolution. What people have got sooner or later to understand is that their fervent moral indignation ought to be directed only by persistent and flagrant disregard of the plain rules of morality in high places. Men who surround themselves on every side with selfish indulgences—men who attract to themselves an undue share of the world's productions—men who employ for their own comfort and low gratification the labour of hundreds of slaves, be it in London or in Manchester—men who live for themselves and their families alone in utter disregard of the claims of humanity—should be so regarded as immoral and anti-social, whatever their rank or title, in a civilised community. The world should feel that this is a moral question, that slavery is a moral question, as polygamy is a moral question, as opium traffic is a moral question. Men should recognise that the way they spend their money is a stamp and a symbol which "shall tell them after of whose fold they be"—Christ's or Satan's, humanity's or the slave-driver's.

The democratic faith is becoming before our eyes a true religion. It should be frankly accepted as such by all those who believe in it. It should be accepted, too, as a religion involving on the part of its professors a higher rule of life—not joyless or ascetic, indeed, but binding on the conscience for all that, very full of prohibitions and things which lead to remoter evil. An enlightened moral sense must grow up within each of us. We must take into consideration not only the intention of the agent, but the character and implications of the act itself as well. And we must not be afraid of being laughed at as Methodists. Setting up a higher moral standard as our guide

life, we must openly envisage it to ourselves and others as such, and demand that every man should live up to it faithfully. At present, most people who are not snobs think of a snob as merely a ridiculous and laughable figure. They should learn that he is a moral stumbling-block and culprit as well, a menace to the true faith, an avowed enemy and obstacle to human progress. For your snob is a man who voluntarily bows down in servile admiration of all these barbaric and anti-social things. He attaches importance to the artificial distinctions of rank which are the curse of our society. He admires great estates—stolen boldly from the people: he admires great wealth—wrung from the labour of sordid serfs, agricultural or industrial: he admires men-servants in livery—turned from honest production to be the barbaric appanages of vulgar peacock pride: he admires gold and silver, jewels and precious stones—gained at the risk of men's lives from the niggardliness of nature. He should be taught that his aims and his admirations are not only low, but wicked and cruel as well: he should be made to feel his place in the social scale as the apologist of wrong-doing and the devil's advocate. The creature who meanly cringes to dukes and cotton-spinners is worse than a mere worm; he is a potential scorpion.

On the other hand, the righteous man should pause at each step in life and ask himself seriously—"What effect will this act of mine have upon human progress and human freedom?" He should govern his deeds by fixed social, political, and moral principles, deeply based upon the true economic concept of human rights and human duties. He should never use silk where well-printed cotton will serve his purpose as well: he should never use silver unless he is perfectly satisfied that electro-plate will not answer his object equally; he should encourage good handicraft, honest trades, elevating occupations: he should refuse to be implicated, remotely or closely, in filibustering, cruelty, land-grabbing, sweating. Only in proportion as individual men attain that moral level will humanity at large become fit for socialism. The man who has attained it is, in our chaotic world, a socialist already: the man who has not attained it, though he be a Pharisee of the Pharisees, still stands a long way off from the kingdom of heaven. Our ideal goal is a community of free and equal citizens, each labouring for a reasonable time at some congenial art, each deriving an ample support from the exercise of his craft, each rejoicing in the good done by his hands for humanity, each retaining full leisure for physical, social, intellectual, and æsthetic enjoyments. Every man who fits himself personally, in tastes and habits, for such a life as this, brings us one unit nearer to the realisation of the Hope of Israel.

GRANT ALLEN.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON CHRISTIAN

THE world knows what it has lost in Dr. Hatch. It is now to lay stress on his wide learning, his breadth of freshness and independence which he brought to bear on subject which he took up, his thorough scientific method, remarkable powers of clear and forcible exposition. If any the many German specialists were asked who were our writers on early Ecclesiastical History, he would probably name Hatch, Mr. Gwatkin, and Bishop Lightfoot; and, regarding Lightfoot rather as a masterly editor of patristic texts than a historian strictly so-called, he would be pretty sure to give place to Dr. Hatch. I do not say that the list would be exhaustive; we should ourselves have some important additions to make; still, we may take it as representing a standard in some respect more objective than our own.

Dr. Hatch died in the full height of his powers. A life of the laborious amassing of evidence under circumstances of struggle and difficulty was just reaching its maturity. For a decade he was allowed to draw from the stores of his knowledge he was still far from having come to the end. As Dr. F. truly says in his preface to the present volume: "Those of us who knew him know how little a book like this expresses his whole work or represents all that in this field he had it in him to do." It cannot be otherwise with a writer whose studies had been so thorough that a single book could not contain all that he had to say. Professor Hibbert by the side of the Bampton Lectures, and the small volume to which they touch each other, although covering much of the same period, will give some indication of the author's range. It can

* "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," Hibbert Lectures for 1888. By the late Edwin Hatch, D.D., Reader in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. Edited by A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., Professor of Divinity in Mansfield College, Oxford. London and Edinburgh. 1890.

said that the later book shows any falling off. Published as it is at great disadvantage, posthumously, and, as the preface will explain, in part from very rough and imperfect notes, it will yet stand out as one of the leading books, not only of its *lustrum* but of its century. It has missed the revising hand of its author, but, thanks to the faithful labours of Dr. Fairbairn and his helper, Mr. Vernon Bartlet, the rough edges and the gaps are far less noticeable than might have been expected. We owe them a debt of gratitude that the book appears at all.

It is not then from any want of characteristic excellence if the "Hibbert Lectures" fail, as in some quarters, at least, I fear they may, to meet with due recognition. There is an inherent fault in English criticism and in the opinion which that criticism helps to form. It is one of our strong points that we have in this country a great amount of curiosity in matters theological, but it is a curiosity which is easily satisfied. The public interested in religious conceptions is large, but it has not the time or the necessary qualifications to examine into them closely for itself. It is anxious to appropriate results rather than processes, and therefore it is apt to inquire concerning any book which is set before it, what are its *tendencies*, without caring so much to know what it *is*.

The student whose object is knowledge goes the reverse way to work. His opinions are his own; he cannot take them from any one; what he needs is accurate and well assorted data on which to build his conclusions. Tendencies count for little with him. The balance of an argument is easily altered. He will have some principle that he has won for himself, to which new facts will be assimilated. His first care is to digest these new facts and work them into the substance of his mind.

It will make a considerable difference from which of these two sides the Hibbert Lectures are approached. The book is one which, if it is approached controversially, may easily lend itself to controversy. In the days which now seem to be happily fast dying out, its opening page would have been enough to excite prejudice against it. We are coming on all hands to a more reasonable temper; still, the prejudice needs to be guarded against; resolute justice must be done.

For the better doing of such justice, I purpose to keep well apart the two sets of questions which the book raises. I purpose to ask first, What does the book contribute to theological knowledge? before I touch upon the further question, In what direction does it tend? Not because I think that there is any reason to evade the question of tendency, but because I wish to put in its proper place, and present in its proper order, the material of great and solid value which the book contains.

Dr. Hatch starts, as I have said, with a statement of his problem which may well put some of his readers on the defensive. He points to the wide difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed—the one laying stress upon conduct, the other on

belief; the one dealing with questions of ethics, the other of physics; the one a sermon, the other a creed. He asks how difference came about; and he observes that it coincides with a change of soil—the transference of the centre of gravity of the Christian faith from Palestine to Greece.

It may be objected, and I think rightly objected, that this is an absolute way of putting it; that it makes the antithesis greater than it really is. Even the Sermon on the Mount implies a theology; the Sermon on the Mount is not the whole of primitive Christianity; it belongs to an early stage of Christ's teaching; it touches incidentally on those questions which could not help arising as to the nature and person of Christ Himself. These questions, when put, required an answer, and could not be simply ignored.

It seems to me, therefore, that the Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed are not, strictly speaking, alternatives to each other, and they can only be presented as such by leaving out of sight the links by which they are connected. At the same time, Dr. Hatch's way of stating the case has the merit, which is indeed conspicuous at every step in his argument, of propounding the thesis which he seeks to prove with the utmost possible clearness.

He seeks to trace the process by which Greek ideas and usages gradually effected a lodgment in Christianity; and he chooses for his inquiry the most critical period in that process—the period which extends from the first century to the fourth, with the Sermon on the Mount at the beginning, and the Nicene Creed at the end.

The first thing to be done is to lay down the method of inquiry. And we may note, in passing, how congenial this method always seems to be to Dr. Hatch's mind. He marshals his forces like a commander-in-chief, with something of the pomp and pageantry of the parade-ground.

The peculiarity of the evidence is that "it is ample in regard to the causes, and ample also in regard to the effects, but scanty in regard to the process of change." The characteristics of the thought may be collected readily enough from writers like Chrysostom, Epictetus, Plutarch, Maximus of Tyre, Marcus Aurelius, Lucian, Sextus Empiricus, Philostratus; and to this list Dr. Hatch adds Philo of Alexandria, with a remark which the historian might be glad to note, that "several of the works which are gathered together under his name seem to belong to a generation subsequent to his own, and to be the only survivors of the Judæo-Greek schools which lasted on in the great cities of the empire until the very close of Christian times." The immediate tendency of research, though especially to the labours of the French scholar, Masebier, is in a direction opposite to this, to vindicate for Philo himself treasures which had been adjudged away from him. This, however, is one of the problems which the criticism of the near future will have to solve.

The *terminus ad quem* of Christian doctrine is equally well-marked by the Fathers of the fourth century. It is the intermediate process for which the evidence is most defective. In the outline that is given of this there are again two *obiter dicta* which are worth recording. One is an illustration of the chances by which portions of this early literature have come down to us: that whereas Tertulian (*adv. Valentin.* c. 5) speaks of four writers of the previous generation as standing on an equal footing, Justin, Miltiades, Irenaeus, and Proculus, "of these Proculus has entirely perished; of Miltiades only a few fragments remain; Justin survives in only a single MS., and the greater part of Irenaeus remains only in a Latin translation." The other is, the opinion that Asia, for which we have but the scanty fragments of Melito and Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, "seems to have been the chief crucible in the alchemy of transmutation." At first sight this appears to be a questionable proposition in view of the wide-reaching influence of Origen, the practical importance for Church organisation of Cyprian, and the germs which began to show themselves in the third century of the school of Antioch. It is, however, perhaps justified by the central and epoch-making significance of Irenaeus, and by the prominent part played by Asia Minor in raising Marcion, and in first raising and then putting down Montanism. The extant evidence, scattered as it is, shows us the Churches of Asia Minor as a focus of great activity in the last quarter of the second century; and nowhere did Christianity make such rapid progress.

Foremost among the influences which Dr. Hatch discusses is that of education. He reminds us that the Roman world into which Christianity entered was a highly educated world. The system of this education is described with admirable conciseness and lucidity. The description was the easier, because the Græco-Roman education was the direct and lineal ancestor of our own. Even more exclusively than ours it was concerned with language. The forms which it took were grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. Grammar was, in a larger sense than that in which we use the word, the study of literature. It aimed at correctness of diction. It dealt with the subject-matter, the antiquities, and criticism of ancient authors. Rhetoric was an extension of grammar. The professor of rhetoric read extracts from classical writers, with comments upon their style. He delivered model compositions of his own, or corrected those of his pupils. His method largely consisted of the "lecture." The "lecture," too, was employed in the teaching of philosophy. Reasoning was taught; dialectics were practised; the writings of the philosophers were analysed, interpreted, criticised. Philosophy had come to be taken very much at second-hand. This led, no doubt, to a certain reaction. The higher minds, like Epictetus, saw and insisted upon the necessity of combining philosophy with practice.

Still more like our own was the machinery of this elaborate system.

Almost every town had its "grammar-school." Not only Rome Athens and Alexandria, but many other provincial centres, had what might be called their "universities," which even in the fourth century were still the training-grounds of Christian teachers—Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, Augustine.

The endowment of the teachers of rhetoric dates back from the Ptolemaic period. Many were freely subsidised by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Marcus Aurelius founded regular chairs at Athens. It was formally enacted by Antoninus Pius that smaller cities might put upon their free list (free that is from the municipal burdens which weighed so heavily upon the wealthier classes) five physicians, ten teachers of rhetoric, and three of literature, and so in an ascending scale up to ten physicians, and five teachers each of rhetoric and literature. Teaching thus became a recognised profession, and not only so, but a highly fashionable profession, the descriptions of which often read like those of the "chaplains" of the last century.

The inevitable consequence followed. Rhetoric and philosophy alike became artificial; and this artificial character they communicated to Christianity. If we compare the "prophesying" of the third century with the "preaching" of the fourth, it is the sophist element in it which strikes us. Greek rhetoric created the Christian sermon. The applause of the congregation was like the applause of the lecture-room; and even more mercenary motives had their weight. One Syrian bishop, Antiochus of Ptolemais, goes to Constantinople and makes money by preaching, and another, Severianus of Gabala, is incited to follow his example.

In a deeper way the methods current in the Greek schools affected Christian teaching. The philosophy of the day was characterised by the use of allegory. This arose in the process of adapting the thought of one age to the purposes and standard of another. The great text-book of Greek education was Homer; but as the old mythologies began to be criticised, and as a more comprehensive view began to be taken of the universe, the Homeric stories could no longer be taken literally as they stood. Recourse was had to allegory, which was largely employed, especially by the Stoics. From the Stoics it passed over to the Alexandrian Jews and pre-eminently to Philo, who found the method as useful for removing the difficulties of the Pentateuch as the Greeks had found it for modernising Homer. It became the established method for dealing with the Old Testament. The Gnostics and the great Alexandrian teachers went further, and applied it to the New. Yet the use of allegory was not admitted without a protest from more quarters than one. The Christian apologists saw in it only a gloss over the immoralities of the old mythology. The pagan philosophers, Porphyry and Celsus, questioned it in its application to Christianity. A firm stand was made against it in some Christian circles. Even at Alexandria it had an opposer.

in Nepos of Arsinoe, and the rejection of allegory was at first the central feature in the rival school of Antioch.

Allegory was one of the most important links through which Christianity was brought into contact with Greek philosophy. The fact of this ever-growing contact is the great phenomenon of the first two centuries of Christian history. It is in delineating the course and effects of this gradual approximation that Dr. Hatch puts forth all his strength. His mind had a natural bent for the handling of ideas; and the combined firmness and precision with which the outlines of his picture are drawn will, we may be sure, rank high among the specimens of philosophical writing.

Just one deduction must, I think, be made. In such an intricate field, it is exceedingly difficult to have the eye everywhere at once; and I seem to myself to see in these chapters, admirable as they are, a certain preponderance of the abstract over the historical. To do perfect justice to both at once would have been indeed a feat; and it is little to say that it has not been accomplished. But if I mistake not, Dr. Hatch is at his best in treating of ideas and their logical co-ordination rather than in tracing the subtler play of their embodiment in historic persons: he seems more sure of his ground in describing the essential affinities of ideas in themselves than in either fixing the order of their chronological succession or in defining the channels through which they were transmitted.

I may be wrong, but this is the impression made upon me by the opening chapter, Lecture v., which takes a survey of the general relations of Christianity and Greek Philosophy. This, too, is ably written. The fact that the one exercised so large an influence upon the other is referred, I have no doubt to the right cause—a real kinship and mutual attraction between them. The nature of the compromise which resulted is also, I think, well described. The features in which the Greek mind left its impress upon the subsequent history of Christianity are seen in the tendency to define, the tendency to speculate—"to draw inferences from definitions, to weave the inferences into systems, and to test assertions by their logical consistency or inconsistency with these systems"—and lastly, in the importance attached to these intellectual processes, which were elevated into conditions of Christian union.

There is nothing here to question; but the points which are left for the future philosophic historian seem to me to be (1) the exact extent of the inherent kinship between Christianity and Greek Philosophy—how far the Hellenic or Hellenistic element entered into the substance of New Testament teaching, and received the sanction of Christ and the apostles; and (2) by what steps and in what proportions Greek Philosophy on its side met Christianity in the persons of the Christian teachers of the second century. Fully to work out all this no doubt lay beyond the scope of a course of twelve lectures.

The three chapters which follow (Lectures vii.-ix.) are, I am inclined to think, the most valuable in the whole book. I describe them thus because of the difficulty of the subject-matter with which they deal, and the conspicuous success with which that difficulty is grappled with. There is no part of the ground on which we are more glad to have the help of one who, both by natural gifts and preliminary studies, was so well able to furnish it.

The chapters deal with the highest conceptions of Christian theology, under the three heads: (1) God as Creator; (2) God as the Moral Governor; (3) God as the Supreme Being. It would have been hardly possible to indicate their contents but for the circumstance that so many of the threads of Greek and Christian thought which are here unravelled are found to draw together and unite in a single conception, the doctrine of the Logos or Divine Word. I doubt if so masterly an analysis of this doctrine, both as to its antecedents in the Pagan schools and as to all but its earliest stages in the Christian conception has ever been given. No more striking example exists of the way in which Pagan and Christian thought converged upon the same point. It might well seem a special providence which put into the hand of the Christian thinker so effective a key for the solution of his hardest problems; and we cannot be surprised at the promptitude with which he availed himself of it, or at the tenacity with which he clung to it as the axis of his whole system. Two main questions were exercising the thoughts of men in the early Christian century: one cosmological, How could God come in contact with matter? The other metaphysical, How can a transcendent God know and be known? The course of development by which these questions came to be so pressing is traced by Dr. Hatch with great skill; but in this we have not space to follow him. Suffice it to say summarily that just as the syncretistic philosophy of the day was coming to seek the solution of both in the idea of a Divine Logos (sometimes by the Stoics distributed in a plurality of *logoi*, the Christian, too, found himself supplied with an answer identical in form, and not widely removed in substance, which had the further and immense advantage of accounting theologically for that Divine manifestation, or "economy" as it was called, from which he took his name. For this solution he had not far to go; it was put into his hands by the Fourth Gospel.* The difference between the two conceptions was that the Logos of the Stoics was impersonal, the Christian Logos personal. But that was no insuperable barrier, especially where the Christian presented Christ along with it. No wonder, then, that Christianity gained the philosophers, and that the two streams of thought coalesced and flowed together.

In considering the character of God as Moral Governor there was

* For the supplying of this link I am responsible. Dr. Hatch only once refers to the influence of the Gospel, and that quite incidentally; but it was in any case earlier than the Christian writings with which he deals.

influences to which they were exposed from without, and too little account is taken of the inherent germs of development which they contained within themselves. For instance, it may be quite true that the ideas of "enlightenment" (*φωτισμός, φωτίζεσθαι*) and "seal" (*σφραγίς*), which are among the commonest of early designations applied to baptism, have their analogies in the mysteries; but both ideas have the way already paved for them in such passages as Heb. vi. 4; 2 Cor. iv. 4-6; Rom. iv. 11 (where the idea of the "seal" is derived not from the mysteries, but from circumcision), and a number of other expressions, which no doubt are taken ultimately from the mysteries, belonged to the common stock of Christian metaphor from the very first.*

The two remaining lectures (xi., xii.) are taken up with a tracing of the process by which "faith" which was at first essentially "faith in a Person" came to be transferred by degrees to a body of doctrine, and that body of doctrine assumed a shape which was more and more metaphysical; the system of metaphysics thus erected becoming also, after a time, the basis of union between Churches, and being modified at the pleasure of a fluctuating majority in the Church assemblies. In the course of this are discussed briefly, as the occasion required, the development of creeds, the growth of the canon, the struggles of those parties within the Church which fought for the retention of that stricter moral standard with which it had started. It cannot be said that the text of these chapters is all that the author would have made it, but there is great cause for thankfulness that so much of his work has been preserved.

This completes the sketch, which it was incumbent on me to give, of the contents of this volume of Hibbert Lectures; and, slight as it has been, I cannot help hoping that it will send not a few of its readers to the book itself. Looking back over it, I doubt whether so important a contribution has been made to the real understanding of the first three centuries within our memory. It is indeed unique amongst English books dealing with this period, because it aims at the *philosophical* understanding of the data, the disentangling of the great strands of contemporary thought, the relation of the new faith to its environment both in respect to thought and life, to ideas and usage. The value of such a book by no means depends upon its being entirely right. Merely to have raised many of the questions which Dr. Hatch has raised, and with the clearness which he has imparted to them, is to take a stride in advance towards the solution of a group of most important historical problems.

I should much have liked to pause here, and in endeavouring to estimate the tendency and effect of this whole inquiry, I should have been glad first to attempt—for it would have been only an attempt—to put it in its place in the history of recent thought both in this

* Compare (*e.g.*) a passage like 1 Cor. ii. 6-10.

growths are for the time at which they exist integral and essential. It is possible to urge that it is the duty of each succeeding age at once to accept the developments of the past, and to do its part in bringing on the developments of the future. Between these two main views it does not seem possible to find a logical basis for a third. The one or the other must be accepted, with the consequences which it involves. But whether we accept the one or the other, it seems clear that much of the Greek element may be abandoned. On the former hypothesis it is not essential; on the latter it is an incomplete development, and has no claim to permanence" (pp. 351-2).

I quite agree as to the importance of both these sets of propositions; but they seem to me to be too important, and to have too direct and fundamental a bearing upon the whole subject of the book to be left merely as an open question at the end. Neither can I regard them as so mutually exclusive as they appear to be represented as being. To judge from several passages which might be quoted from the first page of the book onwards, Dr. Hatch is himself disposed to accept the first alternative. And it seems to me to contain this great truth, that Christianity all proceeds ultimately from a Person, and that all its parts and members are vital in proportion to their proximity to that Person. From this point of view I should fully endorse Dr. Hatch's regret at the shifting of meaning in the word "faith" from the sense which it bears in the New Testament to its sense in relation to ecclesiastical dogmas. But, at the same time, there is surely no less an element of truth in the second alternative. Christianity is an assimilative force; it has a development of its own; it does draw in to itself material from this side and from that.

Three things, it appears to me, may be said in qualification of the indictment which Dr. Hatch brings against what he calls Greek metaphysics.

In the first place, they were inevitable. The historical conditions being what they were, a metaphysical creed could not have been avoided. The Greeks were the leaders of European thought, and it was through conquering them that Christianity conquered Europe. It happened that the Greeks were a metaphysic-loving people, and, therefore, theology with them took a metaphysical form. But we are all metaphysicians, consciously or unconsciously. Human life has a metaphysical background, whether it comes to sight or not. The Old Testament has its latent metaphysics as well as the New. Dr. Hatch himself repeatedly implies this. The unity of God, the problem of evil, are at bottom metaphysical questions. And the questions raised by the New Testament are still more complex and still more difficult. Yet they are real questions; and once raised, they naturally pressed for an answer. The world can get on with latent metaphysics; but when the course of events brings them out of the latent stage and men's minds are really alive to them, then there is

the same holds good of much besides. Here, again, is another of which Dr. Hatch appears to be partly conscious. His book will give some future scholar most valuable materials for comparison with New Testament teaching; but that comparison must be made very closely before we can afford to throw over the legacy of the Christian centuries.

Lastly, in regard to the decisions of the Church resting upon the verdict of a mere majority, that too seems to me a matter which should not be dismissed quite so lightly. None of the great decisions were made by a snatched or stolen majority. They were all the result of long and hard fighting. If ever intellectual questions were thrashed out by argument these were. The side which ultimately won the day had the greatest difficulties to contend against. Court favour, craft, the power of armies, the vigour of youthful nations were all in the opposite scale. Surely we may say, at least of the most important and clearest decisions, *victoria causa Deo placuit*. Relatively to our own age, at least it is difficult to think that these decisions were not right, and it still remains to be proved that they are not right. That this early development was incomplete I grant willingly. That something is left for our own age to do, I also grant. But it is not a healthy or sound development which discards and ignores all that has gone before.

One considerable concession may however be made. The capacity of different races for metaphysics vary. There are so many, as I have said, which can get on very well with latent metaphysics. For most of us it is not in metaphysics that the real centre of gravity lies. Ethics, too, seems to me an inadequate name for what we seek. It is yet a middle term between metaphysics and ethics, which

ITALIAN SECRET SOCIETIES.

THE *Mafia* and the *Camorra*, the one peculiar to Sicily, the other to Naples, owe their origin to the necessity, in past times, of the exercise of individual action against the evils of bad foreign government and the failure of justice. The habit of tyranny, gradually acquired by the two associations in certain circles, very soon resulted in the establishment of an illegal government carried on at the same time as, and within, the legal government.

The *Mafia* and *Camorra* of to-day, now that the original cause of their being has ceased, have few, if any, members among the higher classes, and derive the greater number of their associates from the prisons. Thence the evil again filters into the civil administration and courts of justice, where often, even now, favour and protection are bought and sold.

Since 1881 the *Camorra* has been declining in Naples, and it is not thought that it can exist much longer. The old popular customs are disappearing; the very mental habit of the Neapolitan people is being sensibly modified. The "High *Camorra*"—that is, certain closely united circles formed of men of position, who resorted to the *Camorra* proper to assist them, or who personally practised intimidation, making life difficult to those who in any way opposed them—has almost altogether ceased, unable to face the severe punishment and public indignation which follow any discovery of its deeds. But the *Camorra* proper has been very active within the last ten years, and no doubt still exists.

It is a popular custom in old Naples to play cards in the cafés. When a game is finished, you will often see one of the lookers-on walk straight up to the winner of the game, and claim and receive a certain portion of his profits. This bold fellow is a *Camorrist*.

Near the custom-houses at the limits of the city, where the dues on country produce are paid, may be remarked, any day, groups of men waiting to levy a second and illegal tax on the vegetable that enter the city. These, too, are Camorristi. The same obtains in the public market; the Camorristi walk about, demanding and obtaining a certain percentage on the sales. Police inspectors who turn over the sale-books of the vendors, assert that they constantly find inscribed the sums paid to the Camorra.

In this and similar ways every kind of humble industry contributes to the association; a slight sum where the industry is honest, an exorbitant sum in the case of illegal trades which are obliged to hide from the police, such as clandestine lotteries, houses of ill-receiving of stolen goods, gambling-houses; and the very thieves when not members of the nefarious association themselves, are forced to yield up a portion of their booty.

The work of the Camorra in the prisons has been so described that it may be here omitted; but a few facts observed as lately as 1885 in Naples by a French pastor will serve to prove that then, at any rate, the Camorra was still very powerful. The head of the Society was well known to the police in Naples, but he so well knew how to save appearances, that he succeeded in keeping himself out of the reach of the law. At that time the discipline of the association was very strict. The city was divided into so many quarters, each of which had its special chief of the Camorra. To this man the Camorristi of the quarter had to make a report every morning, and if any one of them forgot to do so, or his hands in the prescribed fashion, or spoke before he was addressed, he received a violent box on the ear from the chief, and submitted to the indignity without a word. A Camorrist who had involuntarily betrayed a fact damaging to the Society was summoned to a dinner given by the members, placed in a corner of the room, and subjected to all sorts of ill-treatment. He was spat upon, hit, pulled by the nose, &c., and his punishment only ceased when the meeting ended.

At one time the Society was very numerous in Borgo Loreto, one of the low quarters of Naples, and a zealous policeman, named Borelli, was the terror of the quarter. An aspirant to the honour of membership in the Camorra, named Esposito, offered to free the Society from this pest. He killed the policeman in one of the dark streets of the quarter by shooting him with a revolver, and was immediately advanced to the full honours of the Camorra. Flowers and congratulations were showered upon him as he walked about; a banquet was given in his honour; and on his being arrested, a subscription was opened to pay the expense of an advocate in his defence. He was obliged to be tried at Viterbo, as it had been noticed that when the jury before which he was tried met at the same place where the crime was committed, they either

a scandalous acquittal, in spite of condemnatory evidence, or paid dearly for their love of justice. Esposito was condemned at Viterbo to thirteen years' penal servitude.

Such was the Camorra at Naples six years ago. But let the devil have his due. Merciless as the Camorra sometimes was, its members were very loyal to each other, and were not without a sense of gratitude to outsiders who happened to do them or theirs a benefit. When the police failed in discovering a theft, it was often possible to get back the object stolen by means of the Camorra, and sometimes the Society has been known to promise and actually afford protection to individuals.

Not many years ago a foreigner, resident in Naples, gave up a large portion of his time to endeavouring to improve the condition of the poor—becoming a sort of city missionary. In this capacity he once had occasion to assist, without knowing who she was, the mother of a Camorrist, then in prison. During the rest of his life (he is now dead, and when he died a great crowd of the poor of Naples attended his funeral and covered his grave with flowers) the Camorrists constantly proved their gratitude for his benevolence to the mother of their comrade, and even extended this gratitude to one of his near friends. This gentleman was once walking late at night in old Naples, when a man accosted him, saying: "What are you doing here at this time of night? It is not safe." And he thereupon accompanied him to a larger and more frequented street, pointing out as they walked along the figures of certain persons lurking in the doorways and angles of the dark and narrow streets, and telling him that they were thieves in ambush. Having placed the gentleman in safety, the man raised his hat, remarking, "Be more prudent another time," and went away.

Not long afterwards, the same gentleman and a friend were returning from Cape Misenum, and halted at Bacoli to dine and rest. The little inn was full of people of the lower class, mostly from Naples, who made way for the gentlemen and insisted on their being served first. When they were ready to depart, a hackney-coachman offered to drive them to Naples. They accepted, and on the road the coachman spoke warmly in praise of the dead missionary, to whom he expressed great gratitude for having procured him good nursing when he was ill. Having landed the gentlemen at their own door, he drove away, refusing any remuneration.

The Mafia and Camorra, attacked by repeated and vigorous prosecutions, are now passing through a process of evolution. The members of the Camorra, as it is now, avoid actual crime, but profit in many ways by the criminal class, and by every political agitation. The recent assassination of the Chief of Police at New Orleans has again raised the question in Naples whether the Mafia is as powerful as it used

to be. That it still exists in some measure there is no doubt; has undergone a modification, and is no longer practised by all the lowest class, while the *Mala Vita* (bad life) is the name now to all bands of malefactors throughout Italy.

The *Mala Vita* is supposed to be divided into two portions, the smallest of which consists of neither forgers nor thieves, but *accoltellatori* (literally, "those who wound with the knife"); the other portion, much more numerous, has a certain resemblance to the *Camorra* of Naples. A characteristic of the members of the *Mala Vita* is their practice of tattooing the skin with the strangest patterns, the favourite figure being a heart transfixed by an arrow. The arms are the favourite limbs for the operation, but a famous member of the *Mala Vita* has been found to be tattooed all over the body, with the exception of the hands and face. The porters of Naples are in the habit of tattooing themselves, and often employ the figure of a heart or their own names or surnames; but there is a difference between them and the members of the *Mala Vita*, who use tattooing as a kind of initial ceremony, a proof of their scorn of pain; it seems a point of honour with the chiefs to be tattooed on a larger scale than the others. In fact, one of the most feared of the members of the sect, now in prison at Bari, has not an inch of his body which is not tattooed. He is covered with intricate lines and patterns, figures of serpents, horses' heads, proverbs, men's and women's names, &c.

The tattooers, who are very clever, are specially recompensed for their work, and their number is decreasing. In Naples almost all the women of the criminal classes have a violet-coloured spot below the left eye, which looks like a birth-mark, but which is made on purpose. A miscreant woman in one of the low quarters of Naples was asked why she had no spot under her eye, and replied "I am not one of those," and refused to utter another word.

Tattooing is a favourite amusement in the prisons. One convict was found to have the name Carmela, with the date March 20, 1860, tattooed on his body. Another had a crescent moon on his back, and below it a sun with eyes, nose, and mouth, then an uncipherable sign, and last of all a heart pierced with a dagger, a crucifix turned upside down. Another man was tattooed with figures of a man and woman fighting a duel. A beautiful girl, known in the slums of Naples, had a frightful oath tattooed on her white left arm. In the prisons, it is said, the members of the *Mala Vita* scratch on the walls with a nail all sorts of signs and intricate lines, intended for the instruction of future prisoners belonging to the Society, who read them like a book.

The crimes committed by the members of the *Mala Vita* are of every kind, stabbing being perhaps the most frequent. The sale and hiding of stolen goods, brigandage in mountainous, and cattle-stealing

in agricultural districts take place under its protection; and its members are said to be bound by the most horrible oaths.

The increase of the *Mala Vita* seems to be shown by the recent raid in the province of Puglia, leading to the trial of no less than 179 prisoners at Bari, where rumours of the existence of such an association began to spread in 1884, there having been committed a number of crimes which bore a great resemblance to each other. The chief of police set to work, and nearly the above-named number of suspected persons were arrested, but it was found that the very persons who denounced them had themselves committed similar crimes, so they were arrested too. The chief newspaper editor in Bari does not believe that all these malefactors were banded together; but that is the belief of the police. At any rate, some of the prisoners are accused of stabbing an English captain, who reproved them for laziness while they were unloading his ship.

It is difficult to ascertain the truth about the Mafia, Camorra, or *Mala Vita*, for witnesses called to support accusations are often paralysed by a threat written on the walls of the houses: "He who is silent will be rewarded; he who speaks will be killed." So not only members of the association are silent, but even honest men are silent too, unless they are more than usually courageous.

The antidote to the Mafia, Camorra, and *Mala Vita* is penal servitude; and it is a fact that since sentences have become milder, the conditions have not improved, but, on the contrary, the criminal classes have become more audacious. It is seldom that an arrest can be made without resistance on the part of the arrested, and policemen and carabineers are not only subjected to kicks, blows, and bites, but are not seldom shot or stabbed.

The new chief of police at Naples has lately been very active in denouncing criminals, and it is some time since a crime of any magnitude in Naples has been attributed to the Camorra or Mafia; but there are innumerable cases of stabbing, the causes of which are not evident. One case quite lately was found really to be the result of a quarrel between Camorristi who were dividing the profits they had claimed from a gambling-house. It happens very often in Naples that when a person has been found wounded, he says he did not recognise his assailant, but the fact is that he dare not name him, for fear of incurring further vengeance.

The vast emigration going on from Italy is a proof that there is a great amount of distress in the country, and there is no doubt that as the misery of the people increases, the Camorra revives again, and intimidation is practised in all sorts of ways. But the more old industries are developed, and new ones introduced, the more prisons are improved, and the prisoners kept to real and remunerative work, the more bold and strict surveillance is practised by the police, the

more will the Mafia and Camorra, in all their branches, decline, we may hope, finally disappear. But that time is not yet. The serpent is scotched but not killed; it still creeps about, nourishing itself on the vile of every rank, and ready at every favorable opportunity to dart its fangs into society. Its destruction is a matter of civilisation, and, as a fact, the South Italian people, among whom it thrives best, are, in many ways, extremely civilised. I must, however, add that the evil, here as elsewhere, hides itself from the general view, and perhaps, even, in a less brutal form than what we see among the criminal classes in London or New York. The Italian people are violent and passionate but not brutal. I have never read of a case of wife-kicking, or murder by poison, coming before the courts. If we have no Camorra, Mafia, or Mala Vita in England and America, we have quite enough of cheating in trade, which equally preys on the poorer classes, and have the horrible "sweating," and plenty of dishonesty in very many places. So let us take the beam out of our own eyes before we grumble at the mote in those of others.

L. WOLFFSON

Naples, April 1891.

SEDGEMOOR.

IT is rather more than two centuries since, in the dark hours before a summer dawn, the plain of Sedgemoor was the scene of "the last fight, deserving of the name of battle, that has been fought on English ground." To these familiar and much-quoted words Macaulay adds a note that "Little is now to be learned by visiting the field of battle, for the face of the country has been greatly changed; and the old Bussex Rhine, on the banks of which the great struggle took place, has long disappeared. The Rhine now called by that name is of later date, and takes a different course."

But although the old historic ditch was certainly filled up many years ago, in great part at least, its course can still be clearly traced across the meadows, and it is possible to stand to-day upon the very spot

"Where Monmouth's boors, with hearts of proof,
Still kept the foaming horse aloof:
And scorned to fly, nor deigned to yield,
While, ere he fled the hopeless field,
Flashed their stout leader's pike."

The modern Rhine was made, in the course of improvements in the drainage of the moor, to shorten the windings of the older water-course, which, far back in the history of Somerset, was an artery of traffic for the district. There is a tradition in the neighbourhood that the stone to build the church of Weston Zoyland was brought on rafts along the Bussex Rhine, from quarries still visible on Sutton Hill. The field of battle has been drained, and some of it is under the plough. But by far the greater part is still pasture land. The changes in it are not very apparent to the eye, and the scene of conflict, with its few trees and fewer hedgerows, is probably much what it was when the followers of "King Monmouth" left Bridgwater at the dead of night, and marched by winding ways across the moor to attack the army of King James.

The plain of Sedgemoor lies in the very heart of Somerset. It is bordered, on the one hand, by the long straight line of the Polden

Hills, and on the other by outlying spurs of the Quantocks. extends from Bridgwater to Somerton, and occupies a space of more than 13,000 acres. In Alfred's time, so Asser tells us, moor was covered "by water and by vast and impassable peat bogs." And William of Malmesbury, writing three hundred years later, gives much the same account of it. The whole tract was entirely covered by the sea, with the exception of a long low ridge lying in the centre, and a few isolated knolls of no great elevation on which have been built hamlets or homesteads, whose names are good evidence of their old surroundings. Such, for example, are the three villages of Weston Zoyland, Middlezoy, and Othry on a long ridge in the middle of the moor. Such is Chedzoy, on a slight rising to the northward. Such, too, scattered at various points on the wide level, are Andersey, Horsey, Bradney, Peasy, Pen Perchay, Langhay, Athelney. The spot where some of Feversham's troops were camped is still called Zog—as a native lucidly explains to the writer, "'cause it be zuch a zoggy plaâce."

In 1303 a Commission was appointed to devise some means of preventing the floods to which the moor was liable from the frequent overflow of its sluggish rivers. But there is no evidence that anything was done. The first real drainage was probably in 1791, when many new rhines were cut. Further improvements were effected in 1833, and in 1880 the district was taken in hand by the Somerset Drainage Commissioners, who built pumping stations for draining the water from the ditches into the moorland rivers. In the course of these operations the existing rhines and rivers were deepened, and in some instances, their direction altogether changed. The result of these improvements has been not so much an alteration in the face of the country as in the health of the inhabitants. The marsh ague, once the scourge of the district, has now almost wholly disappeared.

But there is more than mere names to remind us of the lost vanished sea. The houses of Weston Zoyland, the village on the edge of the battlefield, are literally built upon the sand. Underneath there is a bed of shingle, and lower down is the red marl which is the foundation of these ancient islands. At many points upon the moor are banks of sand containing recent sea-shells of the same species as those washed up to-day on the shores of the Bristol Channel, now far distant. In similar sand-hills on the field of battle have been found the bones of men and horses—a further piece of evidence as to the comparatively undisturbed condition of the ground. The entire plain is but very slightly raised above sea-level, and would be frequently flooded by the salt water, were it not for the wall along the coast. Parts of it are under water now, in the winter from the rising of the rivers; and there are times when the only communication among the houses is by means of boats. It has always been a vital point in building a cottage on the moor

find a site upon a "hill." "Do you call *this* a hill?" said a traveller to a native of the Zoyland, surveying the apparently unbroken sweep of level land about him. "Well, sir, we call it a hill because it is never under water in the winter."

The men of Somerset regard with pride the grey towers of their ancient churches; and within the bounds of Sedgemoor there are some which may rank not very far behind the works of master-builders at Wrington, at Wells, and at Glastonbury. The noble tower of Weston Zoyland, rising high above its little village, looks across the level landscape over a scene of singular historic interest. From the houses of the hamlet, some at least of whose old white walls and roofs of russet thatch were standing, doubtless, when on the eve of battle the royal troops found quarters here; beyond the green belt of orchards, the noble elms and stately poplars that cluster round the village, stretches far away to the eastward a sweep of corn-land that ranks among the very richest in the island. Just seen over the Polden Hills is the Tor of Glastonbury, crowned with the grey ruin of the chapel of St. Michael. The fate of an earlier church upon the hill is alluded to by John of Glastonbury. "At this time in the year 1275, on the third Ides of September, the chapel of S. Michael of Torre fell down by reason of an earthquake." The tower now standing is of later date, probably of the fourteenth century. The unfinished church, abandoned half-built a century ago, on the knoll at Boroughbridge, two miles to the southward, rises among earthworks that in the Civil War were garrisoned by Goring; earthworks that formed part of the defences of Alfred's retreat at Athelney. The low mound farther still, half hidden among green elms and orchards is Athelney itself, where the great Saxon paused for breathing space before that fight with Guthrum, yonder on the hill at Ethandune. Down in the moor, too, is Aller, where the fierce viking, converted at the sword-point of his conqueror, was received into the bosom of the Church. Half-way between Athelney and Bridgwater is the spot where, eight years after Sedgemoor, Alfred's famous jewel was found. Round the tall spire of St. Mary's lies the old river port of Bridgwater, birthplace of Blake, and starting-point of Monmouth's midnight march. Beyond is Cannington, where the Fair Rosamund was born, and in whose long-ruined cloisters she passed her girlish days. In the gap between Ham Hill and a low spur of the Quantocks is the old town of Langport—once, as its name implies, a "haven of ships"; where the great Roundhead captains, fresh from Naseby, wrecked the last chances of the Cavaliers. It was from the tower of Chedzoy, about a mile to the northward, that the advance of Feversham's army was watched through a telescope which is still preserved at Taunton. It was in Chedzoy, too, that Monmouth mounted a fresh horse as he was flying from the field. The borrowed steed was brought back later by the Duke's servant, Williams, who, taken by the Royalists,

met his death calmly at the hands of Jeffreys, refusing to give any information that might bring harm upon his comrades or his cause. Here, too, the Duke gave one of the children of the village a blue ribbon from his dress, with the silver buckle set round with crystals, which is still at Taunton. The button of gold thread shown with it is said to have been accidentally ripped from Monmouth's coat at a review by the bayonet of one of his own men. On the wall of the church in Cheddar are seen, scored deep into the stone, the marks which it is said the rebels made by sharpening scythes to make pike-heads for "King Monmouth."

Nearer to Weston Zoyland, on the very skirts of the village, the meadows to the northward, lies the field of battle. The line runs silver to the westward, about a quarter of a mile from the church marks the modern channel of the Bussex Rhine. The ancient course which guarded Feversham's encampment runs farther out, until it is at least a hundred yards from the newer Rhine; and although it is at least seventy years—perhaps a hundred—since the ditch was filled up, containing then about "two feet of water, and mud enough to bury a man," its course can still be easily made out. In its low hollow water still lies in rainy weather, and marsh plants still flourish in its swampy soil. The Langmoor Rhine, which often gives its name to this part of the moor, and where the discharge of a pistol by a rebel officer gave the Royal outposts the alarm, runs some distance to the northward.

It was on the morning of Sunday, the 5th of July 1685, that Lord Feversham—by birth Louis Durras, a Frenchman, and nephew of the great Turenne—on his way from Somerton to Bridgwater, where Monmouth's army was encamped, pitched his tents by Zoyland village. Not reckoning the militia, who were quartered at Middlezoy and Othery, and who took no part in the engagement, Feversham had under him a force of about 2000 infantry, 700 cavalry, and 16 guns. The latter were placed at some distance from the village, on the Bridgwater road, whence some of them were dragged next morning at the critical period of the battle, by the coach-horses of Bishop Mew. Five of the Royal regiments occupied, near Weston Zoyland the very ground where, forty years before, Fairfax had reviewed his men before the siege of Bridgwater, bringing with him to the storming the guns he had taken from King Charles at Naseby, not a month before. Two men at least took Monmouth's side who had played a part in that earlier, greater fight for faith and freedom. Perrot was there, that lieutenant of Harrison who planned, with Blood, the robbery of the Crown jewels. And Basset, one of Cromwell's captains, commanded that battalion of the men of Taunton who were killed or taken almost to a man. Defoe, too, as ready with his pike as with his pen to fight for his religion, was serving in the rebel ranks. The cavalry were billeted in the village. Feversham

sham also had his headquarters there, in a house of which one wall only now is standing. It was in this house that Mary Bridge, indignant at the insult offered to her mother by a royal officer, seized the sword which he had laid aside, and stabbed the ruffian to the heart. The child—she was not quite twelve years old—was brought before Kirke. He not only gave her immediate liberty, but presented her with the weapon, which is in existence still, requesting that it might be handed down through the future Mary Bridges of the family. A relic connected with Feversham himself is still preserved at Taunton. It is the dish, alluded to by Macaulay, used by the general at supper the night before the battle. It is a broad, shallow plaque, nearly twenty inches in diameter, of Hispano-Moorish workmanship, ornamented with conventional figures in white on a lustrous metallic brown ground. The quaint drawing of an eagle in the centre is brown upon a white ground.

The approach of Feversham had been watched through Sparke's telescope from Chedzoy tower, and the tidings carried to the Duke. His first idea was flight. Monmouth was an experienced soldier. None knew better than himself that his cause was hopeless, his position desperate.

Three weeks had passed since, at daybreak on the 11th of June, the sails of his little armament had been sighted from the cliffs of Lyme. When, four days later, Monmouth left the town the standards, blazoned with the lofty words, *pro religione et libertate*, were followed by a force 3000 strong. Such was at that time the temper of the West that no better cry could have been raised than this: "For Faith and Freedom." Three years before a Government informer had written to his chief, "Were this wicked town (Taunton) brought down to obedience, all the West of England would be then very regular, for it is the nursery of rebellion in these parts." A year later the Mayor of Taunton had written to the Government, after wrecking two dissenting places of worship: "We burnt ten cart-loads of pulpit, doors, gates, and seats upon the market-place. We staid till three in the merning, before all were burnt. We were very merry. The bells rung all night. The church is now full—thank God for it. The fanaticks dare not open their mouths." What wonder that the men of Taunton were ready "to rise at the call of any man who should profess to fight the battle of the Lord against popery and arbitrary power?" It was likely that they should hail with joy the arrival of a leader who declared himself resolved to spend his blood in defence of his religion, and proclaimed that he would not lay down his arms "until all the *Penal Laws* against *Protestant Dissenters* be repealed, and legal provision made against their being disturbed by reason of their *consciences*."

Four days in Taunton had raised the rebel force to 7000 men; and in Bridgwater thousands more had to be sent away for want of

gaining strength, his army had become weakened by desertion. In despair he meditated flight. But now a chance presented itself. Reports brought in by Godfrey of the state of the royal camp, its defenceless position, the carelessness of patrols and sentries, mined the Duke to try a night attack.

At three o'clock on Sunday afternoon Monmouth, with a few of his officers, ascended the tower of St. Mary's Church in Bridgwater to reconnoitre Feversham's encampment. The parapet from which he saw with sinking heart the ensigns of the regiment that, as before, had followed him to victory, is only sixty feet from the ground, though the slender spire, visible so far across the moor, is a hundred feet higher. The tower of Weston Zoyland, three miles distant as the crow flies, is clearly seen to-day from the place where Monmouth stood; but in the lapse of two centuries the trees of the village have hidden altogether the spot where the royal army was encamped.

"About eleven o'clock at night," says Oldmixon, in his "History of the Stuarts," "I saw the Duke of Monmouth ride out attended by his Life-Guard of Horse, and, though then but a Boy, observed an Alteration in his Look which I did not like."

It is barely four miles from Bridgwater to Weston Zoyland by the ordinary road, but the roundabout route taken by Monmouth to reconnoitre Feversham's artillery, and to make the attack more completely a surprise, is nearly twice that distance.

Silently the rebel army left their last encampment, and, marching from Bridgwater by the Eastern Causeway, passed along what was then a narrow country lane, but is now a broad and well-kept road, towards the Polden Hills. Giving a wide berth to Cheddar where there was a royal outpost, the army marched to the east of the village, through Bradney Lane (which is the part of the road still sometimes called War Lane). by Marsh Lane. to the camp

have been more than 3000 strong, including about 1000 pikemen, armed with scythe-blades fixed on poles, with a few hundred horse and four small pieces of artillery. So small, indeed, were Monmouth's guns that King James said of them that they were more for the name than for use. An iron ball, two inches in diameter, found long ago upon the moor, may have been fired from one of these diminutive pieces.

Two of the rebel pikes are in the Armoury in the Tower—the sole memorials, so far as now is known, of the trophies taken on the field. They would be formidable weapons in the hands of resolute men. We cease to wonder, as we look at them, that Oglethorpe failed to break a front that was defended by a row of blades like these.

The reports which had reached Bridgwater of the carelessness of the royal officers were undoubtedly exaggerated. King James observes that the position was well chosen. "The foott," he says, "camped with their reare to the village and had their front covered by a ditch which serves for a draine to the moore, and though it was then the dry season, was not to be passed by horse but in one or two places." The warning brought to Feversham, either by spies or by the unhappy girl so basely treated by one of the royal officers, had not been disregarded. The officer in command of Dumbarton's regiment felt so sure that a surprise was intended, that he assigned positions to his men in case an attack should be attempted in the night. Sir Francis Compton was posted on the moor with a party of dragoons. There was an outpost on the Bridgwater road. Fifty men were placed in a sheep-fold to cover a possible retreat. Oglethorpe, with more dragoons, patrolled the roads between Bridgwater and Weston Zoyland, and Feversham himself was at the outposts until nearly one in the morning.

Oglethorpe's patrol was within half a mile of Bridgwater when he heard from some men posted behind a barricade that the rebels were already on the march. He hurried back with the news, but before he could reach the camp the action had begun.

"At 2 o'clock this morning," writes Dummer, who was serving with the King's artillery, "(Securely Sleeping) our Camp was Rouz'd by the near approach of the Rebels." "A dark night," he goes on, "and thick Fogg covering the Moore."

Godfrey had safely piloted the rebel army over the Black Ditch, one of the main channels of the moorland drainage, but in the darkness he missed at first the crossing of the Langmoor Rhine, by keeping too far to the eastward. There was no suspicion of treachery on the part of the guide, but it was in the confusion caused by this delay that the report of Captain Tucker's pistol—fired, so his party said, less by accident than design—put Compton's outpost on the alert. The alarm once given, the Duke ordered his cavalry to the front. Grey led the horsemen to the Bussex Rhine; but, missing the passage over, rode along the outer edge of the ditch until he was opposite Dumbarton's regiment. To the first challenge of the Royalists, the

rebels answered "Albemarle"—the name of the Lord-Lieutenant of Devonshire, who, a few days before, had been beaten off by Monmouth at Axminster. King James's men, taking the advancing force for friends, allowed them to pass on. The rebels were challenged again almost immediately by Berkley; and, dismayed by the volley he poured into them, and the fire taken up by the infantry to right and left, Grey's cavalry retreated in confusion. This disaster, which meant so much to Monmouth that James remarks, "Had the horse done their part, it might have rendered success more doubtful," was due in great measure to the quality of the horses. It takes six months to train a troop horse, and none of Grey's cavalry had been enrolled more than three weeks. Grey himself was regarded with such suspicion by his fellow-rebels that, before leaving Bridgwater, Monmouth was implored to divide the cavalry command. He refused: "I cannot," he said, "affront my Lord Grey." But it must be remembered, to the latter's credit, that he was with his master to the last, and only quitted the field when Monmouth left his army to its fate.

King James says it was "to this day not known certainly whether 'twas only part or their whole horse that come up so to the ditch."

A bold attempt was made to cross the ditch at another point, but so well was the passage held by Compton that this attack succeeded no better than the first; though in this case the rebel leader is said to have earned Feversham's special commendation for his bravery.

Monmouth's infantry now came on the ground. Instead of advancing to the attack they hastily formed line at a distance of eighty paces from the Rhine, and opened fire on the enemy in spite of Monmouth's positive orders that they were to wait till they were within Feversham's lines. The rebel guns were got into action, and are described as having done great execution among the royal troops.

How long the fighting lasted is not clear. It is stated in the Zoyland record, that the action began between one and two in the morning and continued nearly an hour and a half. We are told elsewhere that the sun rose before the rebel line was broken; but the sun does not rise on Sedgemoor on the 6th of July until a few minutes after four, and it seems more probable, from an eye-witness's description of the appearing of fugitives in the streets of Bridgwater, that resistance ceased before the morning broke.

Oldmixon's account of what happened is a singular mixture of truth and falsehood.

"Monmouth's men," he says, "got over the ditch with some difficulty, fell furiously on the King's forces, took two pieces of cannon, and turn'd them on Dumbarton's and other troops, which put the latter into great disorder. The alarm reach'd Weston where Feversham was safe a-bed, and made not so much haste into the field as to forget setting his cravat at a paltry looking-glass in one of the cottages. Monmouth's men then began the engagement with a volley of shot and shouts, and their first fire so confounded their ene that those who were nearest Weston ran into the town; those who w Weston ran to Middlesey and thro' that place above a mile from the

King James's words are "it is a hard matter to give a very exact account of such an action as this which began in the night and was ended by break of day."

When Feversham reached the scene of action he ordered his men to reserve their fire—King James says that no shots were fired by any but Dumbarton's regiment—and sent for his artillery. Now it was that the Bishop of Winchester, who was with the army, lent his horses to bring up the guns. Oldmixon remarks that the old Cavalier "was fitter for a bombardier than a bishop. I know him well, and can say a great deal more of him, but I omit it out of veneration to his order." Only three of the guns appear to have been brought into action, but the critical period of the battle was already passed. The musketeers of Monmouth had begun to run short of powder and ball. But the "carriages with the ammunition drawing towards the Moor had met some of *Grey's* horse upon the scamper." The panic-stricken drivers had turned and galloped off, nor paused till they reached the villages on the south slope of the Mendips, twelve miles from the field.

It was still so dark—between two and three o'clock—that when, at this point, Feversham sent his cavalry over the Rhine, some of the troopers missed their way, and rode round into Weston. The main body of the royal horse, however, crossed the ditch; and Oglethorpe, who had now got back with his dragoons, led the first charge against the rebel line. But he was beaten off, and Captain Sarsfield "was knocked down with the butt-end of muskett, and left for dead upon the ground."

Word was brought to the Duke by his servant Williams that the royal cavalry had passed the Rhine, and were forming on his flank. Monmouth saw at once that his last throw had failed, and he prepared himself for flight. He was implored to come to the support of his infantry. "All the world," said he, "cannot stop those fellows; they will run presently." James II. says, that fifty men accompanied the Duke in his flight. Oldmixon says: "The Duke of Monmouth with about 30 horse made off on the gallop, and by five a-clock in the morning was twenty miles from the Moor." He is blamed by Burnet for having "left the field too soon for a man of courage, who had such high pretensions." But Burnet was a bitter partisan. No charge of cowardice was ever brought against the Duke by any of his followers; and it was the opinion of King James that the rebel leader did not make one false step.

When the pale light of morning dawned on the scene of conflict, the stout-hearted infantry still held their ground. But not for long. Abandoned by their leader, unsupported by their cavalry, and without ammunition, the doomed battalions showed signs of giving way. The royal infantry crossed the ditch. The rebels broke and ran.

The Langmoor Rhine, which lay in the path of the fugitives, was the scene of greatest slaughter. From this and others of the moor-

land ditches old weapons have been frequently recovered—heads of halberds, slender rapiers, straight, basket-hilted broadswords.

There was no immediate pursuit. Feversham preferred to rest his men before following up his victory, and it was some hours before the chase began. Wade, with a few hundred of the Duke's battalion, reached Bridgwater, where three troops of rebel cavalry were drawn up in good order in the market-place. To the eager questions of the populace Wade returned evasive answers. But ere long the stream of fugitives began to throng the streets. "About four a-clock Monday morning the runaways began to come into Bridgwater, and I saw many of them so wounded that I wondered how they could reach so far; one fellow particularly had scarce lain himself down on a balk when he dy'd away of his wounds." Concealment was no longer possible. The wreck of the rebel army dispersed as best they might; and when, some hours afterwards, Feversham sent on a trumpeter to summon the town, not an armed follower of "King Monmouth" was to be seen.

That between two and three hundred rebels were killed in the fight seems probable, as on this point several authorities agree. A thousand are said—though this is doubtless an exaggeration—to have fallen in the pursuit. The *London Gazette* even estimated the total loss at two thousand. An officer who was in the action told Judge Jeffreys some time afterwards that the King's troops had killed a thousand rebels. King James's words are: "On the Reb's side there lay about 200 of them dead on the moore, what were slaine in the ditches and the enclosures in the pursuit is very uncertain." "I was on the spot," says Oldmixon, "before the dead were buried, and young as I was, observed the slain to be more on the King's part than on the Duke's." Oldmixon's book was not written until nearly forty years after the fight, and it is easy to trace his leanings in favour of the rebels.

On a fly-leaf in a book of accounts preserved in the church at Weston Zoyland, is the following description of the battle, written in the same style, and apparently by the same hand, as entries which were certainly made at the time:—

"An account of the Fight that was in Langmore the six of July 1685, between the King's Army and the D. of M. The iniadgement began between one and two of the clock in the morning. It continued one hour and halfe. Their was kiled upon the spott of the King's souldiers sixteen; five of them buried in the Church. The rest in the churchyard, and they had all Christian Buriall. One hundred or more of the King's souldiers wounded and of wh. wounds many died of which have now no certain account. Their was kiled of the Rebels upon the spott aboute 300. Hanged with us 22, of which 4 weare hanged in Gemmaces. About 500 prisoners brought into our Church; of which their was 79 wounded and 5 of them died of their wounds in our Church.

"The D. of M. beheaded July 15 A.D. 1685."

Gemmaces were chains or irons. The word is still employed by country people of the district for hinges.

There is no further allusion in the church records to the "Christian Buriall" mentioned above. In the neighbouring church of Middlezoy is probably the sole memorial of any single victim of the slaughter. On a brass in the floor of the nave is this inscription:—

HERE : LYES : THE : BODY : OF : LOVIS : CHEVALEIR
 D^N . MISIERS . A : FRENCH : GENTLEMAN : WHO
 BEHAVED : HIMSELF : WITH : GREAT : COVRAGE
 AND : GALLANTRY 18 YEARES : IN : THE : ENGLISH
 SERVICES : AND : WAS : VNFORTVNATELY : SLAINE
 ON X^R : 6TH : OF : IVLY 1685 AT : THE : BATTTEL : OF : WESTON
 WHERE : HE : BEHAVED : HIM : SELF : WITHALL : THE
 COVRAGE : IMAGINABLE : AGAINST : THE : KINGS
 ENEMIES : COMANDED : BY : Y^E : REBEL : DVKE : OF : MYNMTW.

Beyond the Weston record and a note in Dummer's journal that twenty-seven were killed, there seems no certain clue to the amount of the royal losses. In King James's MS. account of the rebellion, of which the materials were supplied to him by various actors in the drama, spaces were left for the numbers of Feversham's killed and wounded, and these blanks remain unfilled. There is extant "A list of allowances granted to royal officers and men in satisfaction for wounds received at Sedgemoor," in which 219 cases are recorded.

Among the prisoners hanged red-handed on the battlefield was one of the "very few officers" taken by the troops, a young ensign, whose fate is described by Macaulay. His life was promised him if he could keep up with one of the unbroken horses of the moor. He was stripped, and one end of the colt's halter fastened round his neck. Starting from the Bussex Rhine, horse and man raced side by side to Bruntsell Bridge, a distance of perhaps three-quarters of a mile, when the horse sank exhausted on the ground. To the eternal disgrace of "the general who won a battle in bed," he hanged the prisoner with the rest. The young soldier's bride died a maniac in the village near, and the peasants of the Zoyland long described, with bated breath, how her white figure was seen at twilight, in the meadows by her lover's grave.

Another captive earned a better fate. A few nights after the battle, two Royalist troopers seized in his bed, at Shapwick, a man who so far had escaped pursuit. As his escort led him, accompanied by his wife and children, by the road that leads along the Polden Hills to Bridgwater, he asked to be allowed to show for the last time his famous skill in leaping, for his children to remember. Leave was granted, and three long leaps were taken. But at the end of them the fugitive had disappeared among the thickets. Concealing himself among the marshes till the reign of terror was past, he rejoined his family in safety. Four stones, sunk in the ground among the hazel copse in Locksley Wood, near the old Roman road along the Polden Hills, still mark the spot of the rebel's leap for life.

The farmers of the district made haste to honour the victorious soldiery. New ropes were fastened to the Chedzoy bells. The whole neighbourhood joined in celebrating the downfall of the leader who, but last night, had been the idol of the populace. In the churchwardens' accounts at Weston Zoyland appears this entry:—"It. Expended upon the day of Thanksgiving after the flight upon the ringers, 11s. 8d."

Outside the Bussex Rhine, on the spot where the battle had been hottest, and the slain lay thickest on the moor, in a meadow still called the Grave Ground, a pit was dug, in which were heaped the bodies of the followers of "King Monmouth," who were fortunate enough to have perished on the field. A letter written by Kirke in allusion to their hasty burial is in existence still:

"SUMMSTR,—Whereas complainte have been made to me by the inhabitants of the Parish of Weston Zoyland, that the Rebels lately buried in the More are not sufficiently covered, and that they have been at great expense to builde Gallowses and Gebbutts, and to make chains or gemmaces to hang up the rebells:

"These are in his Ma^{ties} name to require you forthwith on sight hereof to press plowes and men, to come to the said place where the rebells are buried, that there may be a mount erected upon them, as the inhabitants of Weston shall think fitt, and you are to beare your proportionable charges with them, in making the Gemmaces and buryinge the Rebels, and this you are not to faile, as you will answer the contrarie at your utmost perils.

"Given under my hand at Bridgwater, July the 13th, 1685.

"KIRKE.

"To the Constable or Tythingman of Chedzoy.

"Chedzoy, six plowes and twelve men."

Mr. Marmaduke Ling, of Weston Zoyland, to whom the writer is indebted for much kind assistance and many interesting details, says that the "plowes" above alluded to are teams of horses; that, on Sedgemoor, a plough generally means two *horses*; and that the word sometimes stands even for the vehicle they draw.

Through the courtesy of the owner of the land the writer was recently enabled to explore the site to which tradition pointed as the place of burial. From the yielding nature of the peat earth of the moor, any object laid upon it sinks slowly but surely down into the soil. And thus, although the names of some of the men who carted sand to hide the rebel dead are still remembered in the parish, few traces of the mound they raised are distinguishable now in the rank grass that clothes the meadow. Standing on the edge of the Grave Ground, looking across the field of battle to the trees round Weston village, with the grey tower high above them, and the white houses of the hamlet seen here and there through clustering elms, not the gentlest rising seems to catch the eye in the unbroken treeless level of the moorland. The burial mound has sunk down into the earth. But the old native who accompanied us knew well the traditional spot. After a few trials we discovered, under a foot of black peat earth, the sand which the "plowes" of Chedzoy brought

to pile over the grave. Under the sand, at a depth of barely two feet below the surface, the spade struck suddenly on a skeleton. A space of a few square feet was soon laid bare, and here, in a mingled mass, six skeletons lay, close together, on their faces. The soil below was, as might be expected from the long wet summer, too full of water to allow of going deeper, but it appeared as if a great mass of remains were underneath. Most of the larger bones were whole, and the skulls, though fragile and a good deal decayed, were for the most part entire. The inner surface of one of them was coated with a layer of root-fibres, and skulls and bones alike were brown with the ooziings of the peat. The first skull found was shattered by the spade, but each of the other five still contained the brain, showing clearly, even after a burial of two hundred years, its original form and convolutions. A specimen brought away from the field was, when found, almost dry, very brittle, and remarkably light. It crumbled a good deal when handled, and has since, although placed at once in spirits, diminished considerably in size. This extraordinary preservation is no doubt due to the nature of the peat. It will be remembered that in the Irish peat-bogs, human bodies have been found which have lain there undecayed apparently for centuries.

Tradition says that the bodies of the slain were stripped before they were thrown into the grave; and no weapons or accoutrements, or fragments of metal of any sort, were found with these remains. Most of the rebels who perished in the fight were killed by carbine or cannon balls. Except in the pursuit the sabre was hardly used at all, and no trace of sword-cuts, or indeed of wounds of any kind, was visible upon the bones examined. There was a hole in the crown of one skull, which may have been made by the thrust of a pike or a bayonet; if so, it was given to a man already down.

Such is the last resting-place of these "broken tools" of Monmouth's brief rebellion. Nameless and unhonoured lie their crumbling bones. But theirs was a happier fate than that of hundreds who escaped the peril of the fight only to be taken by the merciless dragoons. These men, who followed Monmouth through the summer midnight, died in the dark ere morning dawned on trampled standards and a ruined cause. But when fighting ceased, when the ill-armed peasantry were scattered, when their leader had paid with his life the penalty of striking for the crown, a heavier chastisement than the sabres of Oglethorpe awaited his unhappy partisans. For them remained the torments of imprisonment, the mockery of justice, the horrible barbarities of the executioner. Their blackened limbs were left to taint the air about their native fields, their ghastly figures swing on every village green. Well was it indeed for these who perished in the fight, whose bodies were buried in the common grave, whose bones lie mouldering in the Somersetshire marshes.

FRANCIS A. KNIGHT.

THE COMING FACTORY ACT.

IT is not my intention in this paper to discuss either the abstract desirability of any regulation by law of the conditions of industry, or, admitting such regulations to be ever desirable, the limits to which they should be confined; but, as I hold strong opinions on both these points, it may be as well to say briefly that, like most middle-class people who have no personal acquaintance with working-class life, I set out with a prejudice against "State interference," and should have been quite ready, at sixteen or seventeen, to read a paper at a debating society upon the pernicious character of the Factory Act. During the last few years, however, I have had the opportunity of knowing a very considerable number of working men and women, and of acquiring at least some notion of what factory life looks like, seen from the inside. These years have left me with the two firm convictions: 1st, that the material as well as the moral welfare of this country demands better conditions of life—better food, clothing, housing, and more leisure—for its working people; and 2nd, that legislative regulations have in fact helped, and can be made to help far more, in securing these better conditions. My paper, then, is that of a person who avowedly desires a far-reaching and an effective Factory Act, and whose grievances against the present Act are that it is neither far-reaching nor effective enough. Four new Factory Bills have been brought before Parliament within the last six months, and a committee is, at the present writing, engaged in welding these into one. It happens that a somewhat similar measure has recently come before the Legislature of New York, and the comparison of the four English measures with one another, with the existing law, and with the American draft is curious, interesting and even—for those who have got over the natural aversion of the human mind

for the forms of an English Act of Parliament—entertaining. All four English Bills aim the same way. The design of all is to make the law wider and stronger; but those of Mr. Sydney Buxton and Lord Dunraven go considerably farther than that introduced by the Home Secretary. The various provisions will perhaps be compared least tediously if they are taken under special headings.

Sanitation.—All four extend the law, so as to bring “workshops” under better sanitary rules, and all give to the factory inspector a power, which he at present has not, to take proceedings. The Government measure, however, gives it to him less directly and after more delay than the others. Lord Dunraven and Mr. Buxton specify a certain air-space per person, with a provision for increase where gas is used. One cannot help wondering whether these provisions would not merely result in the replacing of gas by paraffine, which also in a measure vitiates the air, and has other dangers. Lord Dunraven and Mr. Buxton have each a clause—most necessary, to my own knowledge, on the premises of some large London firms—requiring separate sanitary accommodation for men and women, where both are employed.

Safety.—Lord Thring’s Bill, which deals almost solely with sanitation, does not touch this point. Mr. Matthews and Lord Dunraven have almost identical clauses requiring fire escapes to be provided on every story except the first. Oddly enough, considering how much public attention has been called to the danger by recent catastrophes, Mr. Buxton has no provision. All three Bills make slight, but necessary, alterations as to the fencing of machinery; and Mr. Matthews and Mr. Buxton give power to the Secretary of State to make special rules for dangerous industries.

Age.—The question of the employment of children has been so earnestly debated on the Continent, as well as in England, that we might naturally expect to find it occupying a place in these proposals. As the law stands, children from ten years old can be employed as “half-timers,” either on half-day shifts or on alternate days, provided they keep up a certain school-attendance in the intervals. In Bradford, and, I believe, throughout the whole woollen-weaving industry, they are very extensively employed. Employers assure us that the work is healthy, that the children enjoy it, and work none the worse at school. As to the healthiness, I am in no position to give an opinion; that the work is not necessarily hard or disagreeable is certainly true; but I think any one who has ever taught children will find a difficulty in believing that a child does its school work equally well after having been on its feet, with its attention continually on the alert, from six in the morning till midday. The half-timers whom I myself saw at work some three years back were working in a mill of which an ardent trades unionist, who himself worked in it,

spoke highly; and, indeed, it is a pretty fair assumption that any factory into which strangers are easily and at short notice admitted, is one in which the conditions of work are good. The rooms were airy and spacious, and the weather was temperate; but these Yorkshire children were, even to a Londoner's eye, conspicuously pale and languid. I have heard more than once from weavers, both men and women, that overdriving, bullying, and even cruelty, are not uncommon in the treatment of half-timers; in some cases, I am informed, the overseer receives a commission on the work done by the children—a direct incentive to over-driving. It is obvious that a violent or brutal overseer has a greater opportunity of exercising tyranny when the workers subject to him are children; and I confess I should have been glad to see the insertion of special and heavy penalties upon both overseer and employer in any instance where ill-treatment of a half-timer could be proved. Mr. Buxton's Bill, which gives to factory inspectors a power to proceed under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act shows an inkling of this danger.

Mr. Buxton and Lord Dunraven each propose to raise the minimum age from ten to twelve, a change upon which I think most persons whose pockets are not involved would look favourably. Employers are protesting loudly, and so, I understand, are parents of actual half-timers. That is natural enough; but I would venture to submit that where the possible future advantage of a child is weighed against an immediate pecuniary loss to its parent, the parent is not an altogether unbiassed witness, especially where the pressure of poverty is already heavy, as it is pretty sure to be, in districts where the competition of child-labour is keen. It is, perhaps, too much to expect these parents to see that less child-labour would mean better wages for men; and it is certainly too much to expect that employers, if they do see this, would be pleased at the prospect. As to the plea that weaving must be learned before twelve years old, or will never be properly learned at all, I will only remark that in silk-weaving, which I am assured by those who understand the trade, is the most difficult branch of weaving, I have known of the taking on of learners from fifteen to eighteen years old who have become expert at the work. The Government Bill touches children-workers only to compel the employer to keep a register of birth for all workers under sixteen, and to remove the requirement of a health certificate. The committee has, however, decided, by a considerable majority, to retain the health certificate.

Hours of Work.—Beyond putting factories where women are alone employed on a similar footing to those where there are also children or young persons, these Bills propose no material alteration in the hours of women's work. Mr. Buxton has, however, some admirable provisions for the regulation and restriction of overtime. The ordinary public may, perhaps, suppose that when the law fixes 60½ hours

per week for women's work that limit cannot be legally exceeded. This, however, is not the case; a margin of overtime is allowed on application to the Home Secretary, and it does not appear that there is any obligation on the employer to keep a detailed account of the overtime actually worked, so that the margin may be, and in some instances is, systematically exceeded. Mr. Buxton would oblige employers to report all overtime with its "nature, cause and duration" to the inspector within three days, to keep a detailed register affixed in his principal workroom, and to send a quarterly copy to the inspector. He would also cause an annual return of all overtime to be made to Parliament by the Home Secretary, who is responsible for permitting it. Mr. Buxton evidently understands that in all these matters publicity is the true protector of working people. The committee has decided against the annual return; but perhaps members will be found to move for it year by year separately.

Registration of Factories.—The Government measure contains no provision for the registration of factories and workshops. Mr. Buxton and Lord Dunraven have each a provision under which all factories and workshops of every kind are to be registered. Mr. Buxton would further make it incumbent on every owner of property who lets it for use as a domestic workshop, to send notice to the inspector, and would make such an owner responsible for the sanitary conditions.

Outdoor and Home Work.—The attempt to deal with work done at home is the leading feature of every one of these four Bills. Each of them contains a provision obliging employers to keep a register of those to whom they give out work. Lord Thring and Lord Dunraven would have this register kept for the eye of the inspector only, and would impose penalties upon inspectors divulging its contents; Mr. Matthews would have it open to factory and sanitary inspectors, but says nothing about divulging its contents; while Mr. Buxton would also give the right to view and copy any part to any worker whose name was on it, and to any secretary of a trade society. He would further hold the employer who puts out work responsible for the sanitary conditions of any premises on which his work is actually done, and would inflict penalties upon him for sending work to insanitary places, or places where there was contagious disease. This assertion of the inalienable responsibility of a man for the work undertaken by him seems to me the true solution of the very tangled problem of sub-contract and "second-hand" work. The putting out of work has, in some cases, a perfectly legitimate function, and the much-abused middle-man may, and sometimes does, save time, trouble, and money for the worker no less than for the employer. The mischief comes in when the system is used as a means of getting work done for cheapness' sake under conditions which would not be tolerated in a factory. At present, there is a distinct temptation to employers to put their

work out on purpose that they may *not* know where and how it is done. The greatest evils naturally arise when work is put out at several removes, each intervening middleman skimming off an ever-diminishing percentage; and the trouble to an employer of following up the travels of his work in such cases would do more to check this sub-sub-contract method than any direct prohibition. That is to say, it would do so if a law asserting his responsibility were made practically operative. Of course its mere inclusion within the four corners of an Act of Parliament would no more affect the conduct of business than its inclusion among the Ten Commandments or the Thirty Nine Articles.

Mr. Buxton and Lord Dunraven both aspire to some regulation of conditions of work in domestic workshops; their schemes differ a little; but either would doubtless greatly improve the conditions of home workers—if it could be enforced. To make any attempt at enforcing either would require an increase of—at a modest computation—200 per cent. upon the present staff of inspectors, that staff being, with the best will in the world, ridiculously inadequate to carry out all the work imposed on it even by the existing Act.

Powers of Inspectors.—All the four measures give additional powers in sanitary matters; those of Mr. Matthews, Lord Dunraven, and Mr. Buxton, all have clauses giving a right of entry to domestic workshops. Mr. Buxton would also make it the business of factory inspectors to procure the enforcement of the Truck Acts, the Shop Hours Regulation Act, and the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act. He would impose a penalty on inspectors who divulge matters which come to their knowledge in the course of their duties, and would have a notice put up in factories that any complaints made to the inspector shall be treated as confidential. This last is a necessary provision, not so much because inspectors actually do reveal what person complains to them but because many working-people believe that they do, and so abstain from complaining in fear of getting discharged.

Prohibitions.—Lord Thring and Lord Dunraven both have clauses forbidding women to do certain specified work of the heavier kind in nail and chain making. Special exclusions of this kind have always an objectionable element, and it may be observed that efforts are seldom made to impose them upon any class which possesses votes. As to whether the extreme injury to the health of women and children, which alone could justify such a prohibition, exists in this case, I do not feel that I have enough knowledge to form an opinion. Mr. Matthews would also prohibit the employment of any woman in a factory within four weeks after childbirth. We shall all agree with Mr. Matthews that it would be well if women could afford to abstain from factory work during that space; but I fear there will be many

cases in which abstaining from work will involve the greater hardship of abstaining from food and firing.

Penalties.—The penalties under all these measures are fines, or, in one instance, the closing of premises.

Mr. Buxton's Bill further contains two important clauses, which appear in none of the others. One of these declares women eligible for inspectorships and clerkships "on the same terms and subject to the same disqualifications as men." The importance to women-workers of this much-needed amendment can hardly be exaggerated. Working women will not speak to any male inspector about many of the sanitary defects which exist in factories; and it is difficult to see what a male inspector can do who, arriving at eleven at night at a dress-making workroom, finds all the workers vanished, and is informed that the outdoor hands have gone home and the indoor hands are asleep in their bedrooms. He has the fullest conviction that all the workers, indoor and outdoor, each with her thimble still on her finger, have been hustled into those bedrooms, but he cannot go and see. He goes away, the employer remains unconvicted, and the practice of late work continues. This has happened when I myself have given information to the inspector that the girls would be kept late, and when I have known afterwards that they actually were so kept. In New York some half-dozen women inspectors—paid at the same rate as men—have been at work for nearly a year. The other provision of Mr. Buxton's Bill is one to include laundries within its scope; and this proposal has been violently opposed on the grounds that laundresses do not desire to be included; that their wages will fall if their hours (which, in many instances, considerably exceed those of other working women) are shortened, and that a number of small employers will be driven out of the trade if they are put to the greater expense of complying with the Factory Act. As to the first point, I believe that every branch of the Laundresses' Trade Union is in favour of the inclusion. In Brighton, where the Union is strong and has already secured some reduction of hours, the women are unanimous. Where, in that town, hours have been reduced, the wages have in no case been lowered. Nor are wages lower in those laundries which have always been under the Act—those, that is, in which new under-linen is washed and "got-up" for sale. On the contrary, they are, as far as I can learn, higher than in laundries for soiled linen, which are not under the Act. Some small employers will undoubtedly be driven from the trade if they are debarred from working under conditions as to hours and sanitation which the law has declared unfit in precisely similar industries. The existence of such employers in this trade is one of the strongest arguments for its inclusion under the Act. The laundry trade is becoming more and more a factory trade; yet workers in

steam laundries may be kept working any number of hours without a break, and without any protection against dangerous machinery or unwholesome conditions. But Mr. Matthews has promised a deputation* that he will not interfere with work in laundries; so that help will not come from him in this matter.

In considering these proposals, of which I have tried to give some notion, the main question is: Would any of them, or for that matter all of them, if they were passed, remedy the great defect of the existing Act? The great defect of the existing Act is that, roughly speaking, it is not carried out. It is not carried out because there are not enough inspectors, because there are no women inspectors, and because the penalties inflicted are not deterrent. Those inspectors of whom I have known anything have been unceasing—I was going to say unwearied, but that I fear would be far from true—in their efforts; but one man cannot permanently and effectively do the work of two. There are at present, according to Whitaker's Almanac, 55 inspectors in all, and a register of factories and workshops amounting to 134,080; therefore a single yearly visit to each would involve 2437 visits on the part of each inspector, and the actual visiting is by no means the whole of an inspector's work. Moreover, the fewness of the inspectors has another drawback. It is currently reported that when the ever-vigilant Mr. Lakeman appears in the East-end, the news of his approach runs before him like wildfire, and a surprising absence of dirt, overcrowding, illegally employed juniors, and indeed of disobedience to any branch of the law, prevails in factories for the whole of the day. There is also a legend that once a new, young, junior inspector, whom no man knew by sight, descended upon the same district and secured, in spite of his inexperience, forty breaches of the Act in one afternoon. I do not vouch for the truth of this tale, but I am sadly sure that, if it be true, that zealous junior was ever afterwards a marked man, like his senior.

The appointment of an amply sufficient staff of capable and experienced men and women as inspectors will not, however, alone secure the efficient execution of the law; nor, I fear, will the fixing of minimum fines, even if these were fixed at a higher figure than Parliament is at all likely to sanction. In the measure brought before the New York Legislature it is proposed to imprison convicted employers "for not less than thirty nor more than ninety days." The labour vote must be very strong in New York State. Imagination dwells regretfully upon the amazing revolution in the dressmaking trade that would take place if one single fashionable dressmaker were sent to prison, even for seven days, for persistently keeping her girls at work

* It is a pity that the word "laundress" is used to denote both the wage-earner and the employer, so that there is no means of judging to which class the deputation of laundresses belonged which objected so strongly to inclusion.

till 10, 11, and 12 at night. A single instance would suffice to give to all girls in the trade that protection which the law professes but fails to give them. But the same imagination, even in its most sanguine mood, fails to conceive the passing of such a measure in an English House of Commons. Fines, even heavy fines (and fines under the Factory Act are seldom heavy) are not deterrent. The chance of them may be reckoned with, as a risk of trade which it may be worth while to run. Employers do not, "to any great extent," mind about a fine, so long as the public does not hear and take heed of its infliction. What they do mind is publicity. Public reprobation is the natural punishment for social misdemeanours; even imprisonment for short terms is only really deterrent when the feeling of the prisoner's public is against him. Many a man would, as the East-end song has it, "serve his bit of time" with equanimity if he felt that it involved no disgrace in the eyes of his neighbour; and it is the dread of this disgrace—the dread, that is, of publicity—which I should like to see utilised by the law. Experience shows that an employer whose record in regard to his workers is not unimpeachable, can be driven to make almost any reform by the threat of publicity; and I venture to say that there is no convicted employer who would not rather pay £50 than exhibit for six months a printed statement of his conviction in those places where his customers come and his workpeople work. If a second conviction carried with it no other penalty than the compulsion to exhibit such notices for a fixed period in every room of the factory building, I believe that second convictions would speedily become almost unknown. It is surely dealing no very hard measure to a man to make public his deliberate and systematic actions; and an employer who knowingly and wilfully broke the law of the land could hardly complain if the law, bettering the instruction of the railway companies, should compel him to state the fact on the walls within which the offence had been committed. But I fear that there is little chance of any such penalty appearing in the coming Factory Act.

CLEMENTINA BLACK.

WIT IN THE PULPIT.*

NOTHING can supersede the power of the living voice in the pulpit.

All this talk about books, newspapers, magazines, and education generally, taking the place of sermons, is idle. The face-to-face element is indispensable, the magnetic control of personality is never out of date. Remember, it was the "*Word made flesh*" that prevailed.

Preaching is only one form of the survival of the fittest. If it could have been killed, it would have been killed by the thousands of imbecile sermons preached throughout Christendom every Sunday. Think of what this divinely appointed ordinance has all the year round to contend with in England alone. The newly fledged B.A. who, with the graceful assurance of youth, explains to you the origin of evil in half an hour; the blind guide who so jauntily refutes his shallow infidel and slays his man of straw; the chartered inquisitor who conducts the incorrigible sinner with such gusto to his irrevocable doom; the beardless Oxonian in coloured stole, with his hair parted in the middle and a slight but mortified stoop, who asks you to believe in himself and be saved; the ignorant Boanerges, the inaudible stammerer, the tedious Bible thumper, the idiot who could not get sixpence a day in any other profession, the dull and unsympathetic scholar or the fool of the family—what a depressing picture gallery! Yet every one of these will have his following; when the appetite is real, anything it seems will do to stay the craving; and Livingstone's men in the wilds of Africa fell not more ravenously on a stray root or a dry bone than do poor famished souls on the mouldy hay of dogma and the bran mash of empty verbiage which is commonly

* Amongst books consulted I may mention Dean Ramsay's "*Pulpit Table-Talk*," Prebendary Jackson's "*Curiosities of the Pulpit*," Canon (T. O. W.) Haweis' "*Sketches of the Reformation*," "*Percy Anecdotes*," vol. xvi. (*Integrity*), &c.

meted out to them in church and chapel. Nothing is clearer than this: the pulpit is as much a social and religious necessity as it ever was. Its functions may vary; its sphere may be extended or restricted; but its dominion is unshaken. No doubt at one time the pulpit largely supplied the place of the School Board and the news sheet in addition to the functions of the actor, as even now in Italy, or the duties of the police as at present in Ireland. At the time of the Reformation the Bible represented popular literature and the pulpit popular instruction. But neither Bible nor pulpit is necessarily superseded, because each may now, owing to the growth of literature and the spread of education, resume its peculiar sphere, the one as instructor in righteousness, the other as the herald of salvation.

Never was there a greater appetite for pulpit teaching than there is at the present moment. What are the facts? In spite of our defective system of training in the Church of England, yet here and there a preacher occasionally emerges; whenever he appears, he is sure to attract crowds. Think of Liddon at St. Paul's, Archdeacon Farrar at St. Margaret's or Westminster Abbey, Knox Little, Basil Wilberforce, Archbishop Magee, the greatest orator on a bench of bishops which can boast of the eloquence of Moorhouse, Bishop of Manchester, Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, and Creighton, Bishop of Peterborough. It is no doubt curiously true that the High Church party at first underrated preaching, but this was only because they had no good preachers to boast of.

Newman was not so much a preacher as a personality; those who had the key to him like Mr. Gladstone, found the spell of his utterance unearthly and irresistible; but he taught for years at Birmingham in comparative obscurity.

Pusey had a sort of fascination for me when I was a boy on account of a certain far-off rhapsody of manner; but many found him monotonous and dull.

Henry Gresley was listened to attentively at St. Paul's, Brighton, in those days, simply because all the others were so very poor.

Keble, the poet never attracted as a preacher, but as soon as the High Church got Luke Rivington, Body, Liddon, they changed their tone, and organised interminable preaching functions for their favourite orators, and High Church depreciation of the pulpit at once ceased.

In Germany the pulpit has always kept itself in touch with the people, not by its advanced doctrinal character so much as by its attention to local colour, and its interest in politics and social movements in season and out of season.

Within the last few years the vitality of preaching in Italy has been evidenced by the extraordinary and romantic career of Father Agostino da Montefeltro. Whilst in Paris, all through the Third Empire, the

voices of Lacordaire, Ravignan, Félix, Hyacinthe, and at the present moment Le Père Monsabré, have attracted enormous crowds of men to the Conferences at Nôtre Dame, significantly enough at the very moment when Père Didon's "Life of Christ" is rivalling the popularity of Daudet's satires and Zola's offensive realisms.

In London, Mr. Spurgeon continues the phenomenal feat, now performed for upwards of thirty years, of attracting a congregation of six thousand people twice every Sunday.

In New York, the interest attached to pulpit utterances compels the Monday newspapers to insert long notices of the best sermons preached Sunday by Sunday.

In the face of such facts, what becomes of the parrot cry raised by some lively essayists that the pulpit has lost its hold over the people? I think I might paraphrase the common question and answer: "Is life worth living?" "That depends upon the liver," with "Is the pulpit worth keeping?" "That depends upon the preacher."

Now two facts stare us in the face. The first is, that there is an innate appetite in all religious communities for sermons; the second is, that there is a great dearth of wholesome and stimulating sermon food; and that whilst there is an abundant supply as to quantity, in many cases the hungry sheep look up and are not fed on account of the quality.

Why are there so few good preachers?

There are various reasons. Want of conviction, want of training, want of freedom; but the greatest of these is want of freedom. Without conviction, no one has any business to preach at all; without capacity, he may honestly try to preach, but he is sure to fail; without training, he is heavily handicapped (and how little training of any kind does the English Church provide for her clergy!). But freedom and spontaneity in the pulpit is what we most miss. Here is a man who will be sweet and kind to our children, chat sensibly with our wives, and discuss with us the questions of the day with acumen and good sense; an excellent man of business, too, and a scholar withal; reads books, perhaps has a speciality in science or art; but when he gets up into the pulpit he pitches his voice on one high note, and with the ceremonial nasal twang, familiar to us, begins his rapid and lifeless utterance:—"Our holy mother the Church this day commands us to crown our heads with sacred chaplets in honour of the blessed St. James—it has been taught by the holy father, St. Augustine, &c."; or, if he be a Low Churchman, he ascends the pulpit, and after giving out his text begins to tell you everything it cannot possibly mean; then quotes other texts like it to prove that it can only mean just what every one knew it meant before he began; or, if the text is a hard one, he labours to show that it would be presumptuous for us to expect to understand it at all; and then follow the usual platitudes

about the virtue of believing what sounds improbable or seems impossible.

Talk of this kind we know, and he knows very well, is not expected nor would it be tolerated by any one out of church; the clergyman himself does not attempt to palm off upon his parishioners the kind of nonsense which he thinks good enough for the pulpit when he goes his daily rounds. Hodge's atmosphere is too much for him, and he would feel discredited by twaddling about the Athanasian Creed on his own hearthrug to the local doctor, as he is not ashamed to do in the pulpit.

Yes, the great defect of current preaching, especially in the country, is want of life and freedom. Men must leave off saying things they don't believe to people who don't believe them. They must not delude themselves with the notion that others can be interested by what has no interest, perhaps even no meaning, for them, or made alive by what in their mouths is not living doctrine, but mere dead dogma.

The worst of it is, that as time goes on a school of pulpit dulness is formed throughout the land. People expect the sermons to be dull; some even go to hear sermons in order to go to sleep. They resent anything unusual; they are sensitive only to what makes a demand on their attention, or has a tendency to excite thought. Thought is an unwelcome intruder. The deep slumber of a decided opinion must not be disturbed. This terrible respectability, which puts on the cloak of reverence and decorum, is truly appalling to a spiritually awakened mind. The forlorn words of the prophet ring in our ears: "The people love to have it so, and what will ye do in the end thereof?" The end, thank God, never comes. A shaking of the dry bones comes instead, and this brings me to the main point of my article.

Every great religious revival has been marked by an outburst, sometimes a very startling outburst, of pulpit freedom and spontaneity, not only great plainness of speech, but, as in our Lord's case, great fertility of resource; anecdote, satire, local allusions, and personal applications have abounded. Indeed, every department of life was laid under contribution in turn by Christ, the Divine Teacher. The least possible use was made by Him of what had been up to that time the whole subject-matter of sermons—the texts and Bible-lore of the period—viz., Moses and the prophets. When alluded to it was for the sake of contrast, restatement, and sometimes flat contradiction. "Moses said this, but I say something quite different;" in other words, "Moses' instruction on this or that point is out of date." That is the kind of freedom we want. How indiscriminate must have seemed Jesus Christ's spontaneity! What a sensation he must have made by his pungent allusions to "Herod, that jackal," or to the superiority of loose women and swindlers over the religious hypocrites of the period; or to the children's noisy games in the market-place, in which their very cries and

watchwords were reproduced ; or to the absurdity of lighting a candle and putting it under a cover ! We want these homely figures, calculated no doubt at times to excite a smile, we want to bring the pulpit near to daily life. Jesus was prodigal of common-place allusions, and the servant need not aspire to be above his Lord. "I tell you what it is, gentlemen," said Wilberforce, the late Bishop of Oxford, turning round at a dull missionary meeting, and addressing a number of clergy seated in a solemn row on the platform, "the Church of England is being choked with its dignity. What you want is to take off your neckties and shake the starch out of them ;" and he pretended to shake in the air an imaginary stiff neckcloth, such as was at that time commonly worn by the clergy.

Every great religious revival, every living period of the Church, has been marked by a great outburst of spontaneity in the pulpit. Wit and humour have been freely used by all great preachers who happened to be gifted with these rare gifts. The notion that the preacher should be invariably what is called *dignified* and *solemn* is a modern notion, and belongs to a dead Church. The corresponding idea, that all expression of feeling on the part of the congregation is indecent and irreverent, is also essentially modern, artificial, or characteristic of apathy and lifelessness in the listeners.

When people broke out into applause at the preaching of St. Chrysostom, it is true that he checked them, but simply because he perceived that the applause was rather in praise of himself than in evidence of contrition or of enthusiasm for righteousness. The Père Félix in Paris used to check admiring murmurs at Notre Dame for the same reason ; he never rebuked the expression of deep religious feeling, or the sympathetic response to a stroke of humour.

No one who has attended Mr. Spurgeon's ministrations could have failed to notice the groans and murmurs of deep sympathy which follow many of his more delicate and tender religious utterances, nor could any one with a heart attuned to prayer wish to silence them.

At the Reformation, when doctrine was fire, and hearts were electrically sensitive alike for approval and disapproval, preachers constantly allude to the expression of congregational emotion. "How they grunt and groan at the preaching of the Gospel," said Dr. James in a sermon at Hampton Court, alluding to the behaviour of Romanists who were forced to frequent the Reformed Church services. Barton in 1589 notices, on the other side, the irritable behaviour of Protestants in churches where they suspected a leaning towards Rome. "Some," he says, "are scraping with their feet, superstitiously conceited, when they hear but the name of Jesus mentioned. Many show the whole congregation their backs by departing out of church."

At Paul's Cross the noise was sometimes so great that the preacher's voice could hardly be heard, whilst malcontents, whom Drant called

"chattering choughs," "used to throw bills into the preaching place," which occasionally hit the preacher's person, and gave him just cause for complaint.

There was one kind of interruption—viz., *incessant coughing*—of which preachers do not seem to have been more tolerant then, than now; but a witty orator knew how to deal with it, and one great Bishop at least spared neither wit nor invective in his own self-defence. "I have now preached three Lents," cries Bishop Latimer to what seems to have been a rather unruly congregation; "the first time I preached *restitution*. Restitution (quoth some), what should he preach of restitution? Let him preach of contrition, and let restitution alone; we can never make restitution; (then say I) if thou wilt not make restitution thou shalt go to the devil for it." He then proceeds to tell how one and another, being moved by his words, had made the king restitution £20, and next Lent £120 more, and here we may suppose the coughing began louder than ever; the preacher, sticking to his point, continued, "If every man that hath beguiled the king should make restitution after this sort, it would *cough* the king £20,000. Alack! alack! make restitution—for God's sake make restitution; you will cough in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing."

Under Wesley's preaching, the emotion of the congregation was wont to reach agony point, and men and women fell down in convulsions. Under Irving's eloquence they broke out in tongues, and the phenomena of the apostolic age were reproduced. When Chalmers preached, it was not uncommon for people to rise in their seats and lean towards the preacher as though drawn magnetically. Some of us may remember the strange silence which fell on the dense congregation which Henry Melville was in the habit of addressing in his best days, about 1845 to 1850, and the sudden rustle of silks and sighing all over the church as he paused at the end of each climax, having wound up the excitement whilst his voice scaled higher and higher till it almost cracked. I do not remember vocal comments, but the sensation was profound and startling enough.

When Chalmers preached for Rowland Hill, that popular and irresistible man placed himself as auditor in the front gallery opposite him, and as a loud murmur of approval ran through the congregation at the close of an eloquent period, Rowland Hill, unable to contain himself, thumped heavily on the book-board before him, and cried aloud, "Well done, well done, Chalmers!" It is hard to realise that any one in that excited and devout assembly felt such a living echo of their own thoughts and feelings irreverent or out of place under the circumstances.

But it may be urged that deep emotion is one thing, and buffoonery and laughter in church is quite another. Buffoonery is always out of place in church, so is laughter *for the sake of laughter*;

but all laughter is not trivial or irreverent ; nothing could be more tragic, for instance, than the laughter of the tragedienne Rachel, or some of the hysterical climaxes of Madame Ristori ; but, quite apart from such extreme and exceptional cases, the whole question of smiling or laughing in church, in response to or in sympathy with what is said or done in the pulpit, suggests the serious—I had almost said the burning—question, What is the function of wit and humour in the pulpit ? Ought it to be tolerated there ? Has it any legitimate *uses* at all ? For we know that it is open to much abuse, and is apt to degenerate into jesting which is not convenient.

Ever since Mr. Spurgeon in England, and Ward Beecher in America, boldly claimed the electric currents of humour and the rapier thrusts of wit for the service of God, the question of wit and humour in the pulpit has been hotly debated at intervals in most religious circles, chiefly, however, by people unblest with a sense of either. "I wonder, Mr. Spurgeon," said an old respected minister to that incomparable orator, "that you allow yourself such freedom, and discredit your sacred calling by making so many jokes in the pulpit." "Ah!" replied Spurgeon, "you would not wonder at all if you knew how many more I kept to myself." That exactly meets the point. Spurgeon's humour is part of the man ; it is his natural equipment. He gives himself to God and his people. All his wealth of illustration, all his experience, all his flashes of inspiration, all his intense perception of contrasts—he pushes his advantages, he hems the sinner in, he assails him with the shafts of irony, he pierces him with the darts of wit, he subdues, paralyses, and so leads him away a captive for God, often after electrifying him with an irresistible atmosphere of humour.

Ward Beecher says somewhere : "What a blessed reconciling, all-subjugating power is humour ! Once make a man laugh and he will listen to you, and let you do what you like with him." This I know is quite incomprehensible to some excellent people.

When poor Artemus Ward lectured at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, there were always present a certain number of persons who could see nothing in his jokes, and looked as if they wanted their money back, whilst all around them were convulsed with laughter. These are the sort of people who will be sure to criticise this article—they will not be able to see the drift of it, they will not approve of its *tendency*. Well, Artemus Ward "knew that man"—he had a special sentence for him in his printed programme. "Mr. Artemus Ward will call on the citizens at their residences and explain any jokes in his narrative which they may not understand."

No doubt it will be said, all this is very funny, but is it fit for church ? No one ever said that a comic lecture was fit for church. The question is, whether there is any legitimate sphere for wit and

humour in the pulpit? And that is a question which has been answered over and over again in the affirmative by the profession and practice of some of the greatest preachers that ever lived.

"I am surprised, Dr. South," said the Bishop, "that you allow yourself to indulge so freely in wit when you preach."

"Ah," said the ready divine, "your lordship was never tempted in that way; God never gave your lordship wit."

No doubt there have been a great many fine preachers without much sense of wit or humour, but we do not remember a single case of a preacher who was also a humorist considering it worth while or even lawful to withhold so tremendous an additional force from the service of religion in his arduous and many-sided pulpit struggles with the world, the flesh, and the devil. It would not be difficult to find sturdy defenders of pulpit humour even in the ranks of the gravest and most sententious of the clergy.

The great and solemn Dr. Barrow, in one of his most ponderous and powerful orations, says of wit: "It raiseth admiration as signifying a humble sagacity of apprehension, a special felicity of invention; it seemeth to argue a rare quickness of parts that one can fetch in remote conceits applicable, and dexterously accommodate them to the purpose before him. It procureth delight by gratifying curiosity with its rareness, and by seasoning matters otherwise distasteful or insipid with an unusual and thence grateful savour."

Porson used to say that "wit was the best sense in the world." I have described wit and humour in my lectures at the Royal Institution thus: "Humour is the electric atmosphere—wit is the flash. A situation provides the atmospheric *humour*, and with the culminating point comes the *flash*." The situation of people crowding into church on a week-day to get out of the rain was distinctly humorous—there was the shock of incongruity, which is indispensable to all humour; but when Rowland Hill espied them and said, "I have heard of people making a cloak of their religion, but I have never before seen them make an umbrella of it," then the electricity of the situation culminated in a *flash*.

It stands almost to reason that any pulpit orator who has such a weapon at his disposal, will be sure, sooner or later, to use it; especially as frequent experience will convince him that wit properly used is moral, recreative, and stimulating in a high degree, and, moreover, that people who do not blush at what is sinful can often be made to feel ashamed of what is ridiculous.

But, as every preacher knows, the first thing to do is to get people to listen at all. "Sermons," it is said, "are so dull." So strongly did Sydney Smith feel this, that when asked what he considered to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, he promptly if rather profanely answered: "In a sermon, sir, sin against the Holy Ghost is un-

doubtedly dulness." The devices used by even eminent preachers to prevent people going to sleep, or to arouse them, would fill a volume. Dr. South, preaching before Charles II., and perceiving that several of the worldly Court circle were about napping, stopped and called loudly to Lord Lauderdale by name: "My lord, my lord, I am sorry to interrupt your repose, but I must beg of you not to snore quite so loud, lest you awaken his Majesty." But perhaps for dry and pungent humour and keen satire, Dean Swift's famous sermon "On Sleeping in Church," in which he takes the Eutychus episode in Acts for his text, has never been equalled. "I have chosen," so he begins his sermon, "these words with design if possible to disturb some part of this audience of half an hour's sleep, for the convenience and exercise thereof this place at this season of the day is *very much celebrated*." He thus improves the text: "The preachers now in the world, however much they may exceed St. Paul in the art of setting men to sleep, do extremely fall short of him in the power of working miracles; therefore hearers are become more cautious, so as to choose more safe and convenient stations and positions for their repose, without hazard of their persons, and upon the whole matter choose rather to trust their destruction to a miracle than their safety."

It is commonly supposed by those that sit in the pews that the preacher gets it all his own way, and that he has the people at his mercy; were they to change places with him they would be soon undeceived.

The preacher is really in a singularly defenceless position; if he be an orator, his temperament is nervous, and his brain is so sensitive that he feels all the currents of wandering thoughts, of opposition as well as of lively sympathy, that flit to and fro like electric brain-waves between him and his audience. His ear catches the faintest sound, he hears whispering, scraping, coughing, the rustling of a fan. The wandering eye, the flourish of a handkerchief—a thousand things unperceived by others or by himself in his ordinary state, are grasped with intolerable vividness; he is for the time, in fact, highly sensitised and mediumistic: it is a battle between his magnetism and the magnetism of the crowd—he wrestles with the mass to bring it under control, he must be master and win, or he must be routed and fail miserably. The pulpit is a moral pillory or a throne.

Any one person in the congregation can set himself to insult or worry the preacher, and unless the disturber promptly finds his match in the pulpit the preacher is humiliated and defeated. Active insolence is worse than passive sleep, and none but preachers know how often it has to be dealt with or let alone in despair. It is at such crises that witty satire is the preacher's invaluable ally.

Robinson, a famous dissenting minister of Cambridge, had fre-

quently to face that most difficult audience, an audience of undergraduates, his chapel being frequented often by University men, sometimes hostile. He observed on one occasion a little knot of men who had evidently come in out of malice prepense to interrupt and annoy him. He wound his discourse round quite naturally to a subtle point in natural science, and fixing his eye on the jibing intruders, remarked gravely, "It has been long a disputed question among philosophers whether there is such a thing as a vacuum in Nature; but the difficulty has at last been solved, it having been ascertained that there is a vacuum in the head of every undergraduate who disturbs a worshipping assembly in a dissenting meeting-house."

Mr. Spurgeon has always been perfectly appalling in his readiness to deal with insolence in the house of God. The finest case on record is perhaps one in which three young fellows came in and settled themselves conspicuously in the gallery with their hats on. In vain the officials requested them to uncover. Of course Mr. Spurgeon's eye was soon upon them, and leading his discourse round to the respect which all Christians are bound to show for the feelings of others, "My friends," he said, "the other day I went into a Jewish synagogue, and I naturally uncovered my head; but on looking round I perceived that all the rest wore their hats; and so, not wishing to offend against what I supposed to be their reverent practice, though contrary to my own, I conformed to Jewish use and put on my hat. *I will now ask those three young Jews up in the gallery to show the same deference to our Christian practice in the house of God as I was prepared to show them when I visited their synagogue, and take off their hats.*" He would indeed be a pedant and a prig who could refuse a sympathetic smile of approval, even in the sanctuary, to a rebuke so genial, so witty, and so just!

Seasonable wit in the pulpit, in the estimation of most preachers able to wield it, has always ranked high as a remedy for wandering thoughts. The Neapolitan and French preachers may have, perhaps, carried their sallies too far in this direction, but we must remember that something must be forgiven to zealous men who have to contend with excitable but fickle crowds.

Gabriel Barlette, wishing to illustrate the wool-gathering mind in church, on one occasion set himself to say the Paternoster in the middle of his sermon thus: "*Pater noster qui es in Calis* (I say, lad, saddle the horse, I'm going to town to-day); *Sanctificetur nomen trum* (Catherine, put the pot on the fire); *fiat voluntas tua* (Take care! the cat's at the cheese); *panem nostrum quotidianum* (Mind the white horse has his feed of oats!)" Irreverent, and out of place, you will probably exclaim; yet it would be difficult more aptly to render or more soundly rebuke the kind of thing which goes on in the brains of many listeners

who even so interlard the preacher's words or their own prayers with snatches of alien thought.

The use of dramatic action has sometimes been carried to a ludicrous excess, but also with effective results in the way of riveting attention. "What's that thee says, Paul, 'I can do all things'? I'll bet thee half-a-crown o' that." So the preacher took out half-a-crown, and put it on the Bible. "However," he continued, "let's see what the Apostle has to say for himself." So he read on, "*through Christ that strengtheneth me.*" "Oh!" says he, "if that's the terms of the bet, I'm off!" and he put the half-crown back into his pocket. Profane jester! will you say; but what if the sermon which followed on the power of Christian grace was listened to with breathless attention, and perhaps never forgotten—who will condemn the witty sally which was for it acceptance?

Whitfield, one hot summer's day, was preaching on the duty and difficulties of self-denial, and the necessity of entering by the narrow gate, when he perceived the attention of the people to be wandering, and he suddenly left off, and began trying to catch a gnat that buzzed pertinaciously about his face. "You think it quite easy to enter the strait gate, and secure salvation. Oh! just as easy as it is for me to catch this gnat" (grasping at the insect again and again). Then, after a pause, he opened his hand and said solemnly, "*But I have missed it.*"

A cunning choice of texts has always been a favourite device with quaint preachers. Of two rival candidates for a lectureship on trial the one preached in the morning on the "*Adam, where art thou?*" His rival, in the evening, capped the text with "*Lo, here am I,*" and his ready wit won him the lectureship.

Rowland Hill's text when ladies wore their *topknots* ridiculously high has almost become a matter of history, "*topknot come down,*" i.e., "*Let him that is on the house-TOP NOT come down.*" But nothing but the exceeding quaintness of the preacher could possibly excuse such a liberty with the sense and sound of the sacred text.

I do not for a moment defend the vulgarities into which men of original minds and an overpowering sense of humour have sometimes been betrayed when placed in difficult situations. The learned author of "*Sketches of the Reformation*" relates, quoting from Bishop Latimer, how a celebrated preacher named Hubberdin, riding by a fair, where he found riotous dancing and singing, set the church-bell a-tolling, and the riotous crew, flocking in to see what it was all about, found Hubberdin up in the pulpit a-singing loudly, first in the person of Augustine, then Ambrose, and so on to Hierome, Gregory, and Chrysostom. "All," he said, "were in perfect harmony and singing the same tune. Now," he continued, "good people, ye shall see them dance together likewise in perfect harmony, all in a round ring—"

together with up! up! Hubberdin! Now dance, Christ! Now dance, Peter and Paul! Now dance, Augustine, &c.; and so," adds Fox the chronicler, "the old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stamped and took on I cannot tell, but crash goeth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, where altogether he brake not his neck, but he so brake his leg that he never came in the pulpit more, and died not long after the same." This should surely be revenge enough in the eyes of all censorious persons on the poor preacher who danced not wisely, but too well! Yet Hubberdin drew his congregation away from the fair under circumstances which were too much for Bishop Latimer, who, with all his wit and wisdom, was baffled on a similar occasion, for he too once came to a church on a popular holiday, and would have preached, but the key was lost, and after he at last got in, "One of the parish came to me and says, 'Sir, this is Robin Hood's day; the parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood, I pray you let them rest.'" Unlike old Hubberdin, the good Bishop adds, "So I was fain to give place to Robin Hood. I thought my rochet should have been regarded though I were not; but it would not serve; it was fain to give place to Robin Hood."

There are few pulpits that have not at some time or other been invaded by preachers who have startled their hearers with quaint similes and sallies of what they deemed seasonable wit. Even the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, has rung with the wit of Richard Taverner, who once opened his sermon thus: "Arriving at St. Mary's Mount, I have brought you some fine biscuits baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation!" The dignified Paley, preaching in the same pulpit to a select audience which numbered Pitt, then Prime Minister, and a host of eager place-hunters, hungry for the loaves and fishes of preferment, could not resist an irresistibly facetious fling at his audience, and after giving out his text: "*There is a lad here that hath five barley loaves and two small fishes,*" he looked round the church and added with a twinkle of keen satire, "*but what are they amongst so many?*" A smart application or a brisk repartee in the pulpit seem to have found their apologists in all ages. Burton, in a sermon at Norwich, faced boldly the cant sometimes flung at the superior clergy for enjoying large incomes: "Why, say some of these men, can you not live as the Apostles lived? Why, say I again, let them lay down their goods at the Apostles' feet, and then let them ask that question." The following application is perhaps a little too sudden and searching for the taste of to-day. "He," said the preacher of a charity sermon, "he that giveth unto the poor lendeth unto the Lord. Now, my friends, if you are content with your security, down with the cash!"

Rowland Hill was not only more urgent but more severe on stingy givers, for he said of the rich merchants who came to church that he would "as lief hang them all up by their necks till their coins dropt out of their pockets, since there was no other means of shaking them out."

But it is perhaps in the person of good Bishop Latimer that we feel most reconciled to the employment of wit and humour in the pulpit. He was certainly one of the most godly, sympathetic, and fearless Fathers of the Reformation, whilst in a position to claim that deep love and reverence due to one who sealed the truth of his reformed Gospel message with his blood. If wit and humour could ever be consecrated to the glory of God and the good of man, it must surely be the wit and humour that fell from the lips of a Christian evangelist and martyr. "His peculiar temperament," writes the author of the "Sketches of the Reformation," "prevented him from hesitating to produce any anecdote to point a moral." Lashing the ignorance of the people who would hear instruction again and again and yet not know the difference between Scripture and the catalogue of sins enumerated by Romish divines, Latimer says :

"I'll tell you now a pretty story of a friar to refresh you withal: A limitour of the Gray Friars preached many times and had but one sermon, which was on the Ten Commandments, so he was called Friar John Ten Commandments, whereupon his servant told him thereof, and advised him to preach of some other matter. 'Belike,' says the Friar, 'thou knowest the Ten Commandments well, seeing thou hast heard them so many times.' 'Yes,' says the servant, 'I warrant you.' 'Let me hear them,' saith the master. So the servant began, '*Pride, Covetousness, Lechery, &c.*,' and so numbered the deadly sins, all the time supposing these to be verily and indeed the Ten Commandments!"

Bishop Latimer, like most other popular preachers, was often grossly ridiculed and misrepresented; he cites an amusing instance of this in his third sermon preached before the young King Edward VI.:

"A certain man the other day was asked whether he was at the sermon at Paul's Cross; he said he was there, and being asked what news: 'Marry,' quoth he, 'wonderful news; we were there clean absolved—my mule and all had full absolution.' Ye may see by this," continued the witty Bishop, "that he was such an one as rode on a mule and that he was a gentleman. Indeed, his mule was wiser than he, for I daresay the mule never shundered the preacher. Ah! unhappy chance had this mule to carry such an ass upon his back. *I was there at the sermon myself.* Now, saith this gentleman, the mule was absolved, whereas the preacher absolved only such as were sorry and did relent. Belike, then, the mule did repent her stumbling; his mule was wiser than he a great deal—*tanquam equus et mulus in quibus non est intellectus*, saith the Scripture—like unto horses and mules that have no understanding. Yet if it were true that the mule repented of her stumbling, I think she was better absolved than he. I pray God stop h mouth or else give him to open it to speak better and more to His glory!

It is difficult to believe that the Court assembly kept their

countenances throughout the whole of this pungent sally, which I have considerably abbreviated; for when Latimer got on a good scent he played with his prey and was as one loth to leave it alone, just as a cat that has lighted on a mouse will dally with it and turn it about with manifold and subtle mouthing and pawing.

We owe to this freedom of anecdote so common with the great Reformation preachers many interesting glimpses of the time. Archbishop Whitgift, at Paul's Cross, waxed amusingly satirical at the expense of those who were always in search of sensational preachers and new doctrines:

"If a man commend the magistrates or confirm rites and orders established, he shall scarcely be heard with patience, but if he nip at superiors and reprove them in anything never so untruly, and inveigh against laws and orders established, oh! they flock to him like bees—esteeming him as a god, and extol him up to heaven! . . . He must either be new come or new found, or his auditory will not stick to tell him in these days they could have found as much themselves, and that if you can acquaint them with no other things they had as lief hear their own cow low. Tell them where they may hear a godly bishop. Tush! they know what these are—a grave divine. Tush! they know what these are—a temporising formularising written doctrine such as when a man learns a text he may guess himself what the sermon will be; but a trim young man that will not quote the Fathers (and good reason, for his horse never ate a bottle of hay at the Universities), and one that will not stick to revile them that be in authority—oh! for God's sake, where teacheth he? To him they will run without their dinners, sit waiting by his church till the doors be opened, climb at the windows, fill the churchyards, let him want nothing so long as he is *new*, though within two years they will leave him on a lee land and never heed him more."

History repeats itself; and I hear some of my nineteenth-century readers exclaim again: "*I know that man!*"

It has sometimes been thought indelicate or egotistical for a preacher to recite episodes in his own life in illustration of his theme; but had this been Latimer's opinion, we should have lost at least one of the most exquisite little historical vignettes which even that prolific age of anecdote can boast of. Speaking of the simple, brave manners which were fast going out amongst the yeomanry in consequence of the impoverishment of their class by rack-renters, and the big lords, who robbed the soil, but spent their money not in the country they owned, but in the towns which they demoralised, Latimer, preaching before the king, relates:

"My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds a year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse. I can remember that I buckled on his harness when we went to Blackheath field. He kept me at school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound and twenty nobles apiece, so that he

these requests no apology or justification. When I hear stilted and artificial utterances that I am occasionally condemned to hear when I go out of town on Sunday, I am often reminded of Garrick's advice to a young preacher, and I would it might be often followed :

"My dear young friend, you know how you would feel and speak in a matter concerning a friend who was in imminent danger of his life, and what energetic pathos of diction you would enforce the observance of which you really thought would be for his profit. You could not be playing the orator, studying your emphasis, cadences, gestures ; you would *be yourself*, and the interesting nature of your subject in freeing you would furnish you with the most natural tone of voice, the most natural language, and the most suitable gestures. What you would be there in the parlour, be in the pulpit, and you will not fail to please, to affect, to profit. Adieu, my dear friend."

Nor could I find any better words wherewith to close my remarks on the subject of life, spontaneity, wit and humour in the pulpit. "*Be yourself*," is the advice of a great actor ; only what comes from the heart can ever go to the heart. It is far more what you *are* than what you *say* in the pulpit that affects your hearers : what a responsibility, what a solemn duty to impart *yourself*—you cannot help it, you must do it if you are a preacher at all, and not a mere puppet. Wit, humour, and everything else has to take a back seat. Let them all alone to go, so only you labour to be what you seem. In other words, exchange self-consciousness for sincerity. Be always receptive, always aspiring, always acquiring, always sympathising, always working, always praying. You need not fear to preach if you do not mean to deceive. In the pulpit above all things, even though you are not a master of wit and humour, "*be yourself*," or you are nothing.

H. R. HAY

A PRACTICAL JUSTIFICATION OF PEASANT PROPERTIES.

WE have had peasant proprietorship brought under public notice in this country, now and again, in a rather desultory fashion. But I cannot think that the question has had anything like justice done to it. Evidently it has not yet in any way taken hold of the public mind. Stereotyped objections, poured upon it like a jet of cold water, have—Ireland apart—invariably sufficed at once to quench discussion. It cannot be said that we have gone very deeply into the subject thus far. Certainly it must seem strange that in our survey of the system at work abroad we should have confined our view almost exclusively to one country, and that a country in which the system is scarcely, I think, to be seen at its best. It is the French peasant chiefly whom we have been asked to consider as an example. Sometimes the view has been extended to the Italian or the Belgian. But France has thus far provided the main field for observation. I cannot say that the observation bestowed has in all cases shown itself very searching or very profound. And I cannot, from my own recollections, accept the picture drawn—of a hopelessly toiling, poverty-stricken population, starving, without prospect of improvement, upon something like square-rod plots, without any amusement to lighten their drudgery, and by necessity limiting their offspring to two, because the land will not support more—as at all generally correct. Neither can I admit that the charge of misery, insufficient food, clothing and shelter, comes at all well from ourselves, seeing what plight our own poorer agricultural population are in. In any case, I shall find a good many ready to bear me out in this, that, thrifty and careful as the French *cultivateur* undoubtedly is—unrivalled wherever circumstances favour his exerting his inborn skill as a market-gardener—as a purely agricultural small owner he is anything

but perfection. The same may be said of the Italian. Observant travellers have noted the marked difference in the cultivation apparent on the northern and southern slopes of the Alps. On the German side the peasant plots tell of well-directed and steady labour, progress and improvement; on the Italian they only too often proclaim stationariness, if not retrogression. The Frenchman is far too easily satisfied with little to be a model cultivator, whose leading characteristic should be, even above thrift and self-denial, a steady striving for amelioration of his lot and position. He seems to lack the power of initiative. I have quite recently had an excellent opportunity of watching, practically, the French peasant in juxtaposition with the labourer of a different country, while making a prolonged stay in Alsace-Lorraine. There the two national systems—French and German—meet. The population is in the main exactly the same in descent, and therefore, it may be presumed, in inherent capabilities, as that which furnishes to Germany her best types of small cultivators—the Franconian of the Palatinate and the Swabian of Baden. But the country has been for two centuries under French institutions. The difference produced in the same race is perfectly astonishing. In the place of eager activity, of mind no less than of body, manifesting itself not only in painstaking work, but also in the origination of independent ideas for turning opportunities to account, there is thrift indeed, and steady toil, but an absolute indifference to possible improvements, a mechanical adherence to old-fashioned “leather jacket” farming, and an utter incapacity (for the time) to initiate or originate anything. This is a cause of almost despair to the well-meaning agricultural authorities of the land. The peasants have—their own friends admit this—to be pushed to every improvement. The re-adjustment of intermingled plots—making such plots accessible, rendering drainage (very necessary it is) practicable, and offering other advantages—the formation of water-reservoirs in dry districts, the introduction of cheaper and less exacting methods of credit—all these things they accept passively, stirring not a finger to further them; and when they see that they produce good results they admit in their *patois*—*s’isch doch guet*. But take any improving step of their own motion they will not. Even the vineyards, the main source of agricultural wealth—Alsace grows more wine than any other part of Germany, but drinks it too, and imports in the bargain—I noticed, were not as carefully weeded as in Germany. And the Alsatians pride themselves upon their viticulture.

It seems strange indeed that in our study of the subject so very little notice should have been hitherto taken of the country in which, above all others, peasant proprietorship has proved a success—I mean Germany. It so happens that at the present time there is a considerable mass of highly instructive material bearing on the subject

available, in the shape of information carefully collected by the most competent authorities in the course of a systematic inquiry into the condition of agriculture, great and small.* This information possesses the double merit of absolute accuracy coupled with minuteness, and of justice, the more to be depended upon, since it was extorted by facts which proved too strong for prejudices pointed actually *against* small properties. The inquiring bodies began the inquiry with the pre-conceived notion that subdivision *must* be detrimental, and that in the national interest its further spread ought to be resisted. The story of Balaam has, however, happened over again. And from the supplementary information which I have been able to secure during the past two years by rather extended communication, chiefly verbal, with the Agricultural Departments in question and their officers, as well as with individual cultivators and other competent persons in the districts, I may add that in private talk the benediction pronounced is even more complete and unqualified.

What the German inquirers had to deal with was the patent fact that the number of small proprietors is steadily growing, that these men are encroaching upon the properties of their more substantial neighbours, and that the process, not being hindered, as in this country, by barring legislation, promises to continue. Now, it is a fixed point in the official German conception of ideal agriculture, that the medium properties form the main pillar of national prosperity. Very large properties, like our own, find few advocates indeed, because an overwhelming mass of evidence has shown them to work harm. [German economists, it may be worth remarking, have pointed out that the countries in Germany in which the "English" system prevails, are those which have most recently come into cultivation, the latest converts to civilisation. The older cultivation and civilised institutions, the more firmly rooted has become the system of subdivision and small properties. By that index you may read the local age of civilisation as by a scale.] It would scarcely gratify those who look upon our own artificial land system† with admiration to hear what foreign critics say without challenge of that system. *Englische Zustände*—an English state of things—is the ruinous evil which governments are with one consent bidden to beware of as of perdition. "England in Germany" is the name given to the most

* This information has been very briefly referred to by one or two English writers. But under their treatment it has been—unintentionally, of course—entirely distorted. This is to be accounted for by the following facts: First, the information was taken, not from the German reports (which are, indeed, bulky enough to deter most English students), but from a short *résumé* appearing in a French magazine. Secondly, the writers have confounded the German meaning of the word "peasant" (a pretty substantial proprietor, owning from 20 to 200 acres) with the English, that is, a cottier or labourer.

† Which Mr. Disraeli, some fifteen years ago, commended on the ground that it yields as he said, "three livings" (not counting the land agent's), where others yield only one. But where are those "three livings" now?

unsatisfactory state of things prevailing in some parts of broad-acred Eastern Prussia, where there are squires only, and no small owners. Gneist, Sombart, Miaskowski—by anticipation even Stein, who says that of the two evils, excessive subdivision and excessive accumulation, the former is by far the more tolerable—there is a perfect chorus of anathematisers. *Englische Zustände* “drive the labourer to emigration and estrange the peasant from the soil,” says Gneist. “Large properties are more burdened with debt than small,” says the Prussian Minister of Agriculture, Herr von Lucius. “Debt has fastened its claws so tightly upon the large proprietors,” says Herr Sombart, that in whole districts “estate by estate” is thrown upon the market. No trade, a want of workmen, the largest flow of emigration, a dull, heavy, passive, discontented peasantry, the most numerous supply of recruits to Socialism (Herr Liebknecht himself admits), agricultural distress, even a shortening of the average period of human life (fifty-eight and fifty-six years in Pomerania and Posen as against sixty-nine and sixty-eight in Westphalia and Rhineland)—these are the outcome of the “English” practice of large properties and labourers without land. And, moreover, a steady retrogression of prices, whereas the prices for small properties have advanced even in the teeth of bad times. There is no fear, then, of the German governments exerting themselves on behalf of the exploded system of which we are the champions.

But the *bauernqueter*, the properties large enough to employ one or more teams, from 20 to 200 acres (in the eastern half of Prussia the average size is about 60 acres), Agricultural Ministers and political economists actually dote upon. They do so partly on the principle proclaimed by Aristotle: “ὅτι ἡ μέση (scil. κτήσις) βελτίστη, φανερόν μόνον γὰρ ἀσρασίαιστος. Political motives have avowedly had a great deal to do with their legislative encouragement (which began, significantly enough, just after 1848). But apart from that, German Governments, forgetting that from an agricultural and corn-exporting, Germany has become a manufacturing and corn-importing, country, have until recently still clung tenaciously to the traditional old theory that agricultural competition with other countries and a dependable supply of corn for the nation are impossible, unless the producing agricultural surface be composed mainly of medium properties. Now all this notion, which the governments have backed up with pretty substantial protective legislation, the late inquiry has knocked entirely on the head. So hopelessly inferior have the medium properties shown themselves in competition with the small, that it is agreed that without strong measures to buttress them, they cannot hope to maintain themselves in the struggle. Small properties, on the other hand, have come out of the trial with flying colours, showing themselves to have added at once to the wealth of their owners and of the country, and displaying,

among other things, a truly astonishing capacity for resisting the distress of bad times. It may be worth noting that in those countries in which land is most freely saleable the distribution of landed property has been found to adapt itself to changing circumstances with a ready elasticity which one might well wish our own helplessly rigid land-system to possess. In Oldenburg, for instance, land gathers into large properties when things go well, but becomes dispersed whenever they go badly. Nature supplies her own remedy. In Saxony the larger properties (none really very large) manage to hold their own only in the more fertile districts.

I ought perhaps to mention a few of the legislative measures adopted to prevent subdivision. Under the modern Saxon law—similar laws exist in other countries—a “peasant” property is not divisible beyond a certain minimum area. It is a foolish regulation, as the result has shown. For the small plots and the “rolling”—*i.e.*, detachable—portions fetch throughout the highest prices. Protection, after its wont, has injured the interest which it desired to benefit. Following in the footsteps of the Hanoverian Government, most German Governments have introduced what they call a *hoeferolle*, a register, that is, in which peasant owners may inscribe their properties, in order to insure, in cases of intestacy, undivided descent to one heir. That law has in most countries remained a dead letter. One Agricultural Minister related to me with glee that he had done better than his short-sighted colleagues. They had left the presumption on the side of division. *He* had put it on the side of intact descent. But his shrewdness does not appear to have materially altered the result. The fact is that the proprietors know their own interest far better than do paternal governments. They find it more to their advantage to curtail their holdings, and to sell at a good price in plots, than to retain large showy estates at a loss. Foiled in respect of the *hoeferolle*, the advocates of larger properties now openly propose such preposterous measures as these—enforced devise of undivided properties at much less than their real value, a provision securing mortgagors against notice of repayment (except by a sinking fund spread over many years), and partial exemption from rates and taxes! Could there be a more complete confession of failure? These wise people have been fighting very hard against Common Sense and Providence. Both alike point out very clearly the way in which a plethora of population can and should relieve itself. They know better. But once more the sea has held its own against meddling Canute.

Very different is the account given, even by more or less unwilling witnesses, of the condition of small properties. There is poverty, there is distress, no doubt, here and there—improvidence and excessive subdivision. That is the *abusus* which, fortunately, *non tollit usum*. On the whole the system has clearly justified itself by satisfactory results.

The more subdivided, the more flourishing, generally speaking, is the land found to be. There is one argument which opponents of the system cannot get over. In no country in which the law of subdivision has once been established—no matter whether Roman, or German, or French—has it proved possible—nay, even been considered conceivable, that it could be abolished. "There would be a revolution were we to try," laughingly said to me one Agricultural Minister. "Never can it be repealed"—that is the testimony given alike in Baden, in Hesse, in Württemberg, in Rhineland. There the law stands like a rock, proving by the unconquerable support which it obtains from the many, what an unquestionable boon it has proved to the community in practice. It ought to be borne in mind that the law of subdivision is by no means that ridiculously disruptive institution which it is often described. No doubt its guiding idea is, that everything should be equally divided, not only the whole acreage, but even separate plots. However, even the original *Code Napoléon*, following the example of the Roman Institutions, allows possessions which cannot be conveniently (*commodément*) partitioned to be kept entire. And then there is the *partage d'ascendants*. German Governments have made the most of these loopholes, as of course our Courts would do, and permitted a wide interpretation of the word *commodément*. Moreover, against noxious subdivision there is the safeguard of custom. The law permits itself to be used as a servant; it does not claim to rule as a master, in opposition to sense and good reason. In the very midst of subdivision we come upon wide tracts, or else scattered oases, in which, in spite of the law, and in some cases in actual defiance of the law—*contra legem*, as the Germans call it—intact descent has maintained itself. There are countries where this is desirable. So it is in parts of Lorraine, where the heavy land cannot be otherwise cultivated than in broad *sillons* (ridges) some 30 or 36 feet wide. So it is, for the same reason, in the marshland of the lower Elbe, and in parts of Hanover and Eastern Frisia. For different reasons much land remains undivided in Franconian Upper Swabia. But there evidently the custom is out of place. And accordingly we see it bearing no good fruit, but condemning itself by the abominable practice to which it has given rise under the influence of peasant ambition. These large properties are maintained by the help of that detestable *fléau plus destructif que la peste et le choléra*, as Richet calls it—the practice of limiting a family to two children. It is revolting to read of the brutal inhumanity of peasant parents. But it should be remembered that it is the "yeomen," bent upon preserving their estates, not the small folk, interested in dividing them, who practise this abuse. Amongst small folk in Germany the practice is unknown.

Subdivision may, no doubt, be carried too far. But in practice

the evil has been found generally to correct itself. There are centripetal influences at work neutralising the centrifugal. Small owners buy as well as divide. In fact they are most eager buyers. In the most minutely divided district of Baden, the Kaiserstuhl, where small ownership has existed since the early Middle Ages, the division is not one whit more extended to-day than it was four or five centuries ago. In Rhenish Prussia it is just the same. The survey recently made there in connection with the preparation of a new cadastre, has surprised the authorities with the discovery that there are no more plots now than there were after the *Code Civil* had just been introduced. In Saxe Weimar Eisenach a similar result has been observed. In Electoral Hesse the number of holdings is actually smaller now than it was in 1760. The inference to be drawn from these results is plain. Once things find their proper level, they may be trusted to maintain it. People do not willingly quarrel with their bread-and-butter. The apprehension of indefinite subdivision is thus shown to be a mere bogie. "An *injurious* division of land," says Ministerial Councillor Buchenberger,* the chief of the Agricultural Department of Baden, "we believe to exist only in some districts of the southern Black Forest, in one portion of the Odenwald, and in a small portion of the plain of the Rhine." And Baden is one of the most divided countries of Germany. That very "Plain of the Rhine" Herr Buchenberger further on describes as without doubt the richest part of the Grand Duchy. And he goes on :

"The unmistakable advance in productive farming observable in the plain of the Rhine—the district principally affected by the (subdividing) *Landrecht*—stands in the closest possible relation to the growing subdivision. The advantage afforded by the fact that every day-labourer in the country may acquire a small plot of land, may by industry and thrift add to his modest holding, and eventually raise himself to the position of an independent *bauer*, cannot be rated too highly; for the prospect of making himself economically independent is one of the most powerful incentives to the exercise of economical virtues. The smallness of the proprietary plots in the plain of the Rhine is accordingly no evil, but rather a direct advantage. Each one of these small cultivators makes it his endeavour to raise from his soil, by the cultivation of 'trade plants,'† of vegetables and the like, the most remunerative crops possible, and to employ the surplus of his working power as profitably as he can at some trade, at paid day-work, or otherwise."

Similar testimony comes from other quarters. The passage quoted of itself disposes of the rule ostensibly laid down by the same gentleman, in agreement with authorities elsewhere, that about five *morgens* (somewhere about three acres) is the permissible minimum size of a holding. That limitation is, of course, meant to apply only to holdings of a purely agricultural character, employing the

* Germany owes a great debt to this able administrator for singularly useful work.

† These are crops used for manufacturing purposes, such as rape, tobacco, hops, flax, hemp, and beetroot. They yield generally a larger return in money than purely agricultural crops.

full labour of a family, and affording their only means of subsistence. Even so, in the fertile plains of Rhineland, and in vine-growing districts, a smaller area has been found sufficient. Professor von Miaskowski mentions three *morgens* (a trifle less than two acres) as the minimum plot on which a family of five can subsist. But where, as in most cases, the *cultivateur* plies some other work besides, a family can do on less still, and every square rod is found a help. In Württemberg the average size of separate properties is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *morgen*—about $\frac{3}{4}$ acre. But that is calculating the whole territory, including forests. If the latter be left out of account, the average dwindles to $\cdot 4$ to $\cdot 5$ *morgen*, say $\frac{1}{3}$ acre. That means that, however profitably owners may turn to account their fruit-trees, their asparagus-beds and their vineyards, they must earn money at some other work as well, if they would be clothed and fed. And very good it is that this is so. For in the combination of agricultural with industrial work or trading has been found the chief recommendation of small ownership. The two supplement one another in a peculiarly potent way. For once arithmetic is at fault, and $2+2$ is found to make not 4, but 5 or 6, or even more. It is truly wonderful how far a labourer, no matter whether agricultural or industrial, will make his little plot go. It is his granary, his kitchen-garden, his savings-bank and gather-all of spare labour all in one, as well as his playground and his home. And agriculture of this diminutive kind has been found to blend most readily with every other calling. The artisan, the village tradesman, the large class of diligent labourers toiling at one or other of those innumerable "small industries" which help to support a large portion of the population in Central and Southern Germany—clock-makers, wood-carvers, potters, crocheters, and so on—even policemen, a departmental chief in Strassburg told me, quoting an instance, find such plots an invaluable source of profit. The policeman in question, like his chief, came from a North German town, where, having no plot to help him out, he could not have subsisted with his family on anything like the same pay. With the help of his plot—for which, of course, his family supplied the greater part of the labour—he found himself in clover.

It is, then, quite as much to the worker at other, often overcrowded, callings as to the cultivator pure and simple, that small ownership proves a boon. Of agricultural labour it has been found at once to improve the quality and to increase the supply. German and French writers can scarcely understand how labourers should exist without their own little property as a support and a reserve. "Il ne restera," writes M. Guyot, "dans la campagne que ceux qui possèdent une maison et un champ. Jamais un homme et une femme, journaliers ou tâcherons, ne se marieront pour produire des ouvriers et des ouvrières." That of course happens only in England. On the

Continent, "even the poorest," writes Mohl, "can, if he will lay by in his youth as farm-servant, and if he marries an industrious and saving girl, begin with the purchase or renting of a plot, and by application, diligence, and thrift, increase his holding, and by degrees work his way up to comparative wealth." In "thousands and thousands of cases," says Councillor Buchenberger—say others whose reports appear in these publications—"have such rises been known to take place." To the industrial worker, under such circumstances, in the words of Guyot, his plot—"offre à la fois la propriété et le prix qui doit la payer, l'atelier de travail et la caisse d'épargne immobilière." Herr Nobbe, writing from Württemberg, says the same thing.

Ay, it does one good to see these small owners at work. It restores belief in human labour. The amount of toil and intelligence which they put into their holdings is perfectly astonishing. There is nothing which comes near it among hired folk. I have seen them in the Black Forest working early and late, climbing up and down steep mountain sides with manure, seed, even soil on their backs, and by sheer application forcing fertility from their little plots. You may watch them hoeing and weeding in the fertile plain of the Palatinate, or on the sandy heights in Hesse, where "trade-plants" are out of the question, with the same industry, the same application, the same never-failing results, turning, in Arthur Young's words, "a desert into a garden." You may observe them lower down the Rhine, where the whole breadth of land looks like a minutely chequered patch-work quilt, sparing no pains, barrowing the liquid manure out, even long distances, morning and night, and trudging off to Cologne with their hand-carts packed with vegetables. In one place it is peas, in another beans, in a third onions, which form the staple produce for which the locality is renowned far and wide. Then there is asparagus, on the increase everywhere, and a highly paying crop. And fruit, likewise increasing rapidly (in Baden within a few years from 10,000,000 to 32,100,000 marks). There is tobacco, there are hops, teasel, rape, and so on. One curious effect to be noticed in this petty cultivation is the odd combination of crops raised in the same field, or else the ingenious utilisation of the soil by a rapid succession of crops. In Saxony I saw three paying crops, besides a snatch-crop, raised in two years—rape, spring-rape, and wheat, with some stubble-crop to follow. In the Black Forest I found it a not uncommon practice to sow carrots among the rape. The carrots, with the help of hand-hoeing and weeding, begin to grow after the rape is carried. Maize (for green fodder) and potatoes are a similarly dovetailing mixture, possible, however, only where manure is heavily given. Professor Rau, one of the greatest authorities in Germany, speaks of even more ingenious combinations still, which he commends as highly profitable, but which,

apart from small plots and cultivators with a more substantial interest than that of tenants, would be impossible. Where sugar-beet is grown, that form of husbandry has been made largely tributary to the small proprietor's income. Even there—I am quoting from a report by Herr Gerland, written from one of the richest beet-growing districts, Halberstadt—it is “the cow-peasant,” that is, the small peasant whose holding is not sufficient to warrant his keeping a team of oxen, who pockets the largest profits. The large cultivators are overweighted with the heavy price they have to pay for labour. The “cow-peasant” knows no labour bills.

Not one whit less useful is small cultivation where highly paying “trade” crops are out of the question. That is what makes it beneficially applicable—by the side of larger properties—also in less populous and less fertile districts. I have seen it justify itself on soil of the barrenness of which we in England have no conception. Indeed, its advantages are self-evident. In Germany, as in England, the old system of crop-raising is played out. In wholesale agriculture, producing large quantities of corn for sale, we are not “in it” with America and India. But to the small man who grows the produce which he himself wants, by means of labour much of which he would otherwise waste, and raises it exactly *where* he wants it, without cost of carriage or marketing, that produce represents a return with a very handsome profit. He practically unites the two desiderata of cheap production and a dear market. The two main causes of present agricultural depression (in Germany) are the high price of labour and the low price of produce. Where the labour is the cultivator's own, given at the most convenient time, and therefore cheap, and the produce is required not for sale, but for the cultivator's own use, those causes cease to have effect. Again, fluctuation of prices do not affect him. He grows not for market but for consumption.

I have called the plot the owner's savings-bank. And that is just what in practice it has been found to be. Having it handy, knowing every inch of it, as no large farmer could know his soil, and adapting his treatment accordingly, he can turn every odd five minutes to account in improving it in some way, knowing well that in kind or money, from land which is really his own, he will get his outlay back with interest. In this work his family help very largely. Every child's effort tells. And the work has the charm of a personal interest, which wage-paid labour can never possess. If the holding is small enough to admit of being worked with a spade, with a spade it is worked. If it is larger, the cow or cows are yoked to the plough, and the spade only helps. They are wiry little beasts these peasants' cows, and if worked sparingly, half a day at a time, it has been shown that field-work does not interfere seriously with their milking powers. Herr von Babo ascertained the loss of milk during four weeks to

amount to somewhere about 7 per cent. Or, if the owner would spare his cows, he exchanges labour with his more substantial neighbour, handwork for team. This is done frequently. Or else the small owners—who are in Germany great co-operators—have been known to combine for procuring teams, just as they combine to their mutual benefit, under Government encouragement, for all sorts of other useful purposes—drainage, irrigation, the purchase of manures (about Düsseldorf the small peasants unite to purchase the manure from the cavalry barracks wholesale), bee societies, poultry societies, bull societies, fruit-culture societies, viticulture societies, and so on. The responsibilities of ownership sharpen the wits prodigiously, and teach, better than anything else, the value of independent action and independent initiative. If the Germans had only learnt, or been allowed, to be half as self-reliant in matters of government and politics as they have become in matters economic, there would not be much fault to be found with their country.

My reference to draught-cows may have indicated that a prejudice, which is not unlikely to be entertained in this country, on the ground that small properties might tend to diminish the number of stock kept, is scarcely well-founded. As a matter of fact, never was there a greater mistake. Small properties have in practice been found not to diminish but to increase the number of *instrumenta semi-vocalia*. And that not only of small animals, such as poultry, bees and pigs—all of them useful additions to a country's stock of productive agents—but also cows, and (as an equivalent) goats. The pig is as highly prized in German cottages as ever it can be in Ireland, and the thrifty housewife knows how to turn leavings to account in its feeding. Bee-hives and poultry-coops are far more numerous there than here, and as for cows, at a census taken not long ago, it was found that Württemberg, the most subdivided of all German States, had the largest stock proportionately of cows, the ratio per acre rising inversely to the size of the holding. On properties averaging one-sixth of an acre there was a cow kept to every four-ninths of an acre. On properties of a hundred acres the proportion was a cow to every three acres. Goats are, on mountainous and poor soil, considered a most serviceable substitute for cows. In some parts of the Black Forest people will sooner have two goats any day than one cow. Hesse has about 80,000 goats.

Having said so much about the proved advantages of *la petite culture*, I ought to add just one word about rented allotments, by means of which we flatter ourselves that we have solved the difficult problem of rural economy. German statesmen will not look at them. They find that allotments lack the one quality which makes small properties economically invaluable. They are not the worker's own. They are better than nothing; where they find tenants in Germany (they

exist only to a very small extent) they are taken simply because there is no freehold land to be got. They do not answer the purpose of a home, nor of a savings-bank, into which the labour of odd times may be put with a certainty of repayment. Letting land for rent is altogether the exception in Germany. Our economists have a good deal to say upon the signal advantages of our system, which gives to tenants the use of land at an extraordinarily cheap rate, allowing them the full use of their own cash as working capital. The German cultivators know that by mortgaging their land—which may be done very cheaply and easily by the help of existing credit institutions, and without any reflection of discredit—they can place themselves pecuniarily in the same position as our tenants, *plus* this material advantage—that they are free from all covenants and restrictions, that they are absolutely their own masters in respect of improvements, and that every improvement which they effect they will receive full value for. According to Professor Schmoller, little more than 10 per cent. of the land in Germany is in tenants' hands. And the Professor congratulates his country upon the smallness of this figure. When it comes to allotments, things are really ruinous for the cultivator. For allotments always fetch a long rent, since they are only taken in a dearth of available land. Ministerial Councillor Buchenberger told me of plots in Baden let at the rate of £8 to £11 an acre, where 48s. represents the full letting value. No wonder he denounces the letting of allotments as "legally sanctioned usury." Much the same thing happens in Hesse and elsewhere, as I learnt from Geheimrath Jaup and other authorities.

In view of all this it is very fortunate that the long purse does not in practice possess that paramount power of "laying field to field" with which our journalist critics are in the habit of crediting it—deeming that an absolutely unanswerable argument against peasant properties. "It would be useless to create them," they say. "Whatever you might divide to-day, would be unfailingly re-united to-morrow." Would it? German experience points exactly the opposite way. Not to have my own authority alone to rely upon, I put the question to the Agricultural Ministers whom I saw, and to others in a position to know. They laughed outright. "Capitalists buy up these plots? Why the thing is inconceivable." Land is far too much divided for that. Besides it has become too valuable. In Baden I have heard of £150 being given per acre, which is a long price for Germany. At Gonsenheim in Hesse agricultural land has even been sold at £480 per acre. Moreover, the small folk *won't* sell. They love their square perches as the great man loves his broad acres. On a small scale, it is true, the thing is done—*very* rarely, and under *quite* exceptional circumstances. In Mecklenburg and Neuvorpommern capitalists buy. But those are not countries of small ownership. In

Baden the Prince of Fürstenberg buys up land—mainly forest. Beyond that I have heard only of one noteworthy instance, which is that of Baron Maier von Rothschild buying up at Hemsbach, in Baden, with his big purse, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, some 400 acres. Well, the Rothschilds, unfortunately, are few, and for a Rothschild to purchase 400 acres is not much of a triumph for a millionaire purse. No, the idea of capital undoing all this good work of subdivision is chimerical. Capital can buy out the owner of 100 acres. Against a multitude of one-acre peasants it is powerless.

I must not forget to mention what the writers of the best of these reports lay stress on—namely, the powerful effect which ownership has been found to exercise upon the peasant in the formation of character. It makes him intelligent and industrious. Beyond that, it gives him a sense of independence and responsibility which is not otherwise to be secured. The result of this is, for one thing, very clearly seen in the provision which it was the common custom to make for the aged and helpless of a family, before Prince Bismarck, adopting State Socialism, insisted upon introducing a new Poor Law. Previously the machinery for poor relief was automatic and simple. Not only families, with affection to impel them, parishes likewise were found equal to a voluntary effort for the relief of what few poor they had among them. But retiring workers were not generally thrown upon the parish. Instead of being forced into "the house," they were left in snug possession of an *ausgedinge*, free quarters, that is, with an adequate supply of food, supplied, according to bond, by children or successors, in which they could end their days in comparative comfort. Modern legislation has not done away with this practice, though it has supplemented it by other means. No doubt the system is liable to abuse. But to my mind it embodies the right principle.

But there is the poor living and the want of amusement—stock objections to a peasant proprietary! Well, *our* peasantry do not feed particularly well, and their flesh-pots, I sadly fear, are rather a vision than a reality, and as for gaiety—"in Arcady," says the Rev. A. Jessopp, "one never hears people laugh." However he may fare in respect of food, for amusements certainly I have found the foreigner much better off. There is some poor feeding, no doubt. But taking things altogether, according to the habit of the country, it is at any rate sufficient. The small folk do not feed so very much worse than the large peasants, who might, if they chose, keep a better table. Meat twice a week, plenty of good milk, more vegetables than our agricultural folk have here—gauged, at any rate, by the standard of Eden, of Daniel, and of our modern vegetarians, it does not seem to me that the German peasants do so very badly. Butchers' meat, we ought to remember, has not become an article of religious orthodoxy with them. The Bavarian prides himself upon his *schmalzkost*,

which his fathers have fed on for 250 years, and which, he boasts, makes him in strength a match for Beelzebub. The "Saxon" of Brunswick and Hanover similarly prides himself on his "bacon and sausage," which, according to an old rhyme, give him "broad shoulders and sound loins." Some of the reports published furnish a minute account of the food consumed and a daily bill of fare. I have no space to quote that here, but I would urge this point—granting that the foreign peasant feeds badly, he, at any rate, secures an equivalent for that which he foregoes. What he saves in meat he obtains in marks or acres. What return does our peasant get for his starving?

I think it will be seen that peasant proprietorship confers very substantial benefits. There is this to be said on its behalf. Its blessings are all its own, to be secured by no other means. Its drawbacks are one and all remediable. So it is with the confusion occasioned by the intermingling of plots. With perfect ease have the various governments been able to carry their remedial measures of re-arrangement, known as *zusammenlegung* or *feldbereinigung*. Their execution depends, of course, upon the voluntary consent of the majority of proprietors. But so plain, so palpable have proved their benefits, that the governments have received more applications than they sometimes quite knew how conveniently to deal with. The cost is trifling—in Baden it amounts to 12s. or 15s. per acre—and the work is always well done, securing access to all plots, saving space in roads, facilitating drainage, irrigation and other necessary work. I have seen several *zusammenlegungen* of the kind carried out in Saxony. In Rhineland the work has only recently been taken in hand. Knowing how violently attached are owners there to their individual plots, the authorities apprehended difficulties and resistance. But the peasants, perceiving at once what they had to gain, Geheimrath Dünkelberg informed me with visible satisfaction, readily accepted the boon.

So it is, again, with the question of credit. The small proprietors have had much to suffer from usurers. But by means of the co-operative credit associations, introduced by Herr Schulze-Delitzsch, and even more by the help of those established on the plan of Herr Raiffeisen—which I should like to explain, had I space—those grasping gentry are being completely disarmed. Writers sometimes make much of the heavy burden of mortgages which appears to lie on small properties. Mortgaging, as I have shown, is a standing feature in German ownership, and often means nothing. It has been proved in the official statistics referred to, that in some of the most flourishing districts mortgages are ostensibly heaviest. Very often it is merely a matter of entry, debts paid off not having been erased from the register. In all cases the small properties show much worse than they are, because the little building, which is really the principal

object pawned, is not entered in the valuation. In very many cases the debt is an actual proof of strength and not of weakness. These toiling, pushing, thrifty cultivators go on adding to their holdings. If they have £15 in hand—in lower Rhineland you may see the process continually at work—they do not put it into a bank, but purchase a fresh plot, worth £50, £60, or even more, undertaking to clear off the amount by instalments. The £15 is paid down. The balance is taken out of the land itself. For the small people there could be no better system.

It comes then to this. Small ownership, tried by slightly prejudiced judges, has issued from the trial triumphant at all points. Even where doubts are still insinuated, the figures pronounce a favourable verdict. Of course, no one will argue that small properties are equally applicable in all places and all circumstances. In fertile, densely populated districts, with good markets, or where certain highly paying crops may be cultivated, they may well monopolise the land, as they practically do in South-Western Germany. Elsewhere, as an adjunct to larger properties, they are still highly useful; their absence leaves a distinct void. In our country their introduction would not at once stamp out all large estates or do away with private parks. No sane man would advocate that. But whether in fertile land or barren, amid markets or in the solitude of Eastern steppes, small properties have invariably shown an almost miraculous power of producing wealth and raising the working-classes. Even in Russia this result has been observed as a sequel to the agrarian law of 1863, which made the peasants owners. I have no recent report available, but I may well quote from the book on the "Baltic Provinces," written in 1868, by Herr Eckardt:

"Within a very few years the prosperity of the peasants has increased so rapidly that, in the aggregate, the small capitals accumulated in their hands already amount to millions, and the material condition of the small landowners may be described as, on the whole, more satisfactory than that of the owners of 'knight's estates,' more especially in Livonia, where bankruptcies of noble landowners are steadily becoming more frequent."

Another benefit, which ought to appeal to the commercial instincts of our nation of "shopkeepers," is this, that small ownership has been found distinctly to *swell the volume of home trade*. We seem to judge otherwise. We look at the one squire with his large income and his expenditure on horses and French wines and other luxuries. We do not see that the number of peasants who might stand in his stead would in the aggregate consume very much more, not in wines or imported articles of fashion, but in products of native manufacture. That is what they have been found to do in Germany. And the lesson is worth heeding. It is the discovery of the remunerativeness of third-class traffic on railways over again.

From the reports to which I refer the benefits resulting from small properties may be summed up thus:—Larger production; intelligent cultivation; a substantial appreciation of land; an industrious peasantry, comparatively thriving, certainly raising itself continually in the social and material scale, averse to political agitation; a steadier and larger supply of labour; large families; a material increase of home trade; a sensible drawing together of classes; and a positively astonishing power of self-support in times of depression. "How our poor people manage in our wine-growing districts," said Ministerial Councillor Buchenberger to me, "I really cannot understand. For ten years they have had bad harvests; their losses are estimated at about £2,000,000. (That is in a comparatively small district.) Yet they go on and do not seem much the worse." With all deference I consider that a more creditable and satisfactory attainment than if they had eaten "more butcher's meat." To my mind—and evidently to that of many of the German inquirers—an even greater benefit of the system is, that it makes the small owners in the full sense citizens of their country, giving them an independent standing, and a sense of that independence, and securing to them the inestimable advantage of a permanent home, really their own, which the country where "Home" is most glorified in song, still barely accords to them.

"La maison est pauvre," says Jules Simon, "mais c'est la maison paternelle, et ceux qui l'habitent et la possèdent ne se sentent plus étrangers au milieu de la société. Ils comprennent, pour la première fois peut-être, l'étroite parenté de la propriété et du travail. Oui, les enfants succéderont à leur père dans sa propriété, ils deviendront maîtres à leur tour de ce joli jardin, témoin de leur enfance, de ce foyer où leur mère leur souriait. Quand ils l'auront perdue ils la retrouveront partout dans la maison, avec le souvenir de ses caresses et de ses conseils. Ils raconteront à leur tour leur histoire à leurs enfants, car la famille peut avoir une histoire à présent qu'elle est attachée à un coin de terre. Nous voilà loin de ces nomades, de ces demi-sauvages chassés de taudis en taudis par les exigences des propriétaires, habitués à la mal-propreté, vivant séparés les uns des autres par nécessité, ne pensant à leur demeure que pour se rappeler leur misère, obligés de demander au cabaret, parfois à l'ivrognerie, un moment de distraction et d'oubli."

In the concluding sentence it is difficult not to read a reference to our "village pub." and "the house."

It is not my business here to consider whether, and by what means, that which has proved so great a blessing elsewhere could be made a blessing also to our country. There is a good deal that stands in the way. I might tell from experience of the ease and cheapness with which real property may be bought and sold abroad, without a doubt as to title and identity of the property, and of the troubles besetting a similar transaction at home, with the result sometimes of innocently disposing of property which is not one's own—since the title is dependent not on a register, but on an affidavit. Our lawyers see the difficulties, but not the benefits, of a change.

They forget that when land is more easily saleable there will be more sales, and, perhaps in the aggregate, as much business. In Lorraine landed property changes hands, on an average, every twenty years. Here, no doubt, as elsewhere, the time will come when the knot will have to be cut as Napoleon cut it when he ruled—*possession vaut titre*. Certainly, when I look at the position of these despised peasant proprietors abroad, I feel a wish rising in my breast that some good fairy might help our own poor Hodges to their little freehold cottage and freehold plot. Once they had it, I have little doubt that they would learn to thrive like their cousins on the Rhine and the Neckar.

NOTE.—The principal publications referred to in the foregoing article, in which fuller particulars will be found, are the following :—

"Erhebungen über die Lage der Landwirtschaft im Grossherzogthum Baden: 1883." (Official Publication.)

"Ergebnisse der Erhebungen über die Lage der bauerlichen Landwirtschaft im Königreich Württemberg: 1884-1885." (Official Publication.)

"Untersuchung der Lage und Bedürfnisse der Landwirtschaft in Elsass-Lothringen, 1884." (Official Publication.)

"Die Landwirtschaftliche enquête im Grossherzogthum Hessen: 1884-1886." (Official Publication.)

"Die Landwirtschaft im Grossherzogthum Baden: 1889." (Official Publication.)

"Die Practischen Ergebnisse der Badischen Landwirtschaftserhebungen von A. Buchenberger, Ministerialrath," in Schmoller's *Jahrbücher*.

"Die Landwirtschaft in Bayern. 1890." (Semi-official.)

"Die Landwirtschaft im Kgr. Sachsen," von K. von Langsdorf, Oekonomierath. 1889. (Semi-official.)

"Die Lage der bauerlichen Grundbesitzer in Deutschland." (Verhandlungen des Deutschen Landwirtschaftsraths.)

"Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik," *sub vocibus* "Der bauerliche Grundbesitz," and v. Miaskowski, "Das Erbrecht," vols. xx., xxii., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., xxviii., xxx.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

A WORLD-WIDE DEMOCRATIC CHURCH.

THE LATEST EXPERIMENT.

I HAVE heard thoughtful men express surprise that England, which they are good enough to acknowledge as the home of self-government, has not yet gone in for self-government in its Church. The disappointment is surely premature. Even our civil freedom has slowly broadened down, and can only be said to be based upon the people's will within the present generation. Sometimes an old Conservative Premier admits—sometimes a young Conservative member proclaims—the advent of Democracy. But that merely means that it is certain in the early future. It does not mean, and it is not the case, that the mass of the rural population, for example, do as yet exercise the duties or realise the responsibilities of self-government even in matters secular. It is coming. It is sure to come. But this also will be a gradual process, delayed by the instinctive opposition of an old aristocratic society on the one hand, and on the other by the constant lapses into Imperialism of short-breathed and summer friends of freedom. Still less is it matter for surprise that self-government has not yet begun to take hold of what is technically the Church of England. Let us remember how that great body has historically defined itself. Originally it was coterminous with English citizenship. As Hooker puts it: "There is not a man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth, nor any man a member of the Commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England." And on this intolerant understanding it was that the Tudor supremacy, administrative, legislative and judicial, was fastened down on the Church as well as the State. Since then the history of England has been an evolving of democracy, a slow setting up of self-government over against what was once the divine right of the Crown. In the struggle, great part

of the Church of England took the side of the people, and it was they who shook off the yoke from the nation as a whole in things secular, and from themselves as a part of it in matters ecclesiastical. But the Church, as a body, was throughout the struggle on the anti-democratic side; and now that it can no longer be defined as including all Englishmen, it would be difficult to define it otherwise than as the part of the nation which has not yet claimed ecclesiastical self-government, or popular government in matters religious. And it is a little hard in modern critics to complain of a body for acting up to its historical definition.

Yet there need be no doubt that England and the Church of England will contribute their chapter of self-government to the half-unrolled book of the future. Is there any reason to suppose that the process of the past, in which each stratum of the population, in proportion as it became more thoughtful and educated, or more earnest in its religion, claimed its share of Church responsibility, will be now arrested? Is there not some reason to think that it may be more rapid in the future than heretofore? "The people of England" said Sir Harry Vane, before he went to the scaffold, "have been long asleep: *I doubt they will be hungry when they awake.*" "They have slept," adds T. H. Green (the Grey of Robert Elsmere), "another two hundred years." But Sir Harry Vane, the younger, was perhaps too much of an individualist in church matters to be accepted as a prophet on the future of his country. Let us turn to one who leans the other way—against individualism and in favour of authority; yet who, alone among the statesmen of our age, has earned Vane's praise,

To know
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each.

It is forty years since Mr. Gladstone urged the recognition of the "Functions of Laymen in the Church" as a step inevitable in the future, and therefore wise in the present.

"It is a great and noble secret, that of constitutional freedom, which has given to us the largest liberties, with the steadiest throne and most vigorous executive in Christendom. I confess to my strong faith in the virtue of this principle. I have lived now for many years in the midst of the hottest and noisiest of its workshops, and have seen that amidst the clatter and the din a ceaseless labour is going on; stubborn matter is reduced to obedience, and the brute powers of society, like the fire, air, water, and mineral of nature, are with clamour indeed, but also with might, educated and shaped into the most refined and regular forms of usefulness for man. I am deeply convinced, that among us all systems, whether religious or political, which rest on a principle of absolutism, must of necessity be, not indeed tyrannical, but feeble and ineffective systems; and that methodically to enlist the members of a community with due regard to their several capacities in the performance of its public duties, is the way to make that community powerful and healthful, to give a firm seat to its rulers, and to engender a warm and intelligent devotion to those beneath their sway. Can it be thought that

this, being true of civil, is false in regard to ecclesiastical, affairs? To my mind there could be no more monstrous paradox than such a proposition would involve."*

No more monstrous paradox, let us add, unless we were to contemplate the possibility of a Church free internally, and governed in its departments and details by its own members, while its church legislation was managed for it by a secular body outside, whose members were not necessarily members of the Church at all. Yet the chance of the English Church becoming a democratic body is at the present moment not diminished, it is greatly increased, by the fact that it is national. It is a Church of which every Englishman is in some sense a member by the mere fact of his birth, and of which every M.P., no matter what his creed may be, is at least a governor. And so long as it claims to be national, every layman, as well as every M.P., is entitled to his share in its government. That claim, on the part of outsiders and Nonconformists, is no doubt merely one of civil justice, descending from the days when all were one people. On the part of laymen who are also full members of the Church, it is a double and a stronger claim. But in the latter case it is balanced by the opposing tradition of clerical divine right, and the question whether a Church under the present episcopate, even if disestablished, could ever be a democratic body, must be held to be an open one. Yet that need not delay our coming to the conclusion that the Church future of England is in any case likely to be democratic. It will be so whether its development be along the line of civil right or along that of Church freedom. For in either case Britain has simply to move on in the path in which it has moved in the past, *and in which Greater Britain is moving now.*

For here we pass from England to the English world. Those who assert, regretfully or triumphantly, that the march of democracy has begun for our race, acknowledge at the same time that we at home are not the pioneers but the followers. And the pioneers—the great Anglo-Celtic majority whom we of the English minority must follow—have already elected that their Church shall be free and democratic. I do not mean by "free" merely free from the State; that no doubt has its own importance. It is an amazing fact that in that chain of our young self-governing empires which now surrounds the globe, there is not one which retains either a State Church, or ordinary State aid to religion. It was not so when, about the middle of the century, their Parliaments began to enjoy independent as well as representative government. In several of them the dregs of State Churchism were still found remaining, as they were found even in Massachusetts so late as 1823. But in all of them, as the self-governing democracy began gradually to feel its responsibilities, it realised that it could

* Letter to the Scottish Primus, 1852. Reprinted in Mr. Gladstone's "Gleanings," vi. p. 17.

not tax the whole people to support a creed held only by the majority ; and now, all round the world, the church of the English speaking community is not only free from government by the State, but free in possessing government by its own people and laity. Even the Episcopal Church in the colonies, whose lack of self-governing organisation was deplored by Mr. Gladstone in 1852, has since then, in many places, attained something of the desired autonomy. But let us, for the sake of illustration, throw into one the Anglican and the Catholic churches. And for the sake of argument let us concede that in both bodies thus conjoined the laity is ruled by sacerdotal, though not infallible authority. The substantial result remains the same. The only colony in which these two bodies, taken together, make even a half of the population is Canada. And that is caused of course by our having taken over so large a population direct from France : the adherents of the Church of England in the Dominion do not number one-eighth of the population, as in Cape Colony they are not one-tenth. Open Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," and look at Australia. There are six thousand churches throughout its territories : the Roman Catholic and Episcopal edifices, taken together, amount only to about one-third of the whole. (Even in England, with its thirty-five thousand churches, the Nonconformist places of worship largely outnumber those of the Church and of the Catholics taken together ; but in England that is perhaps not so good an index to population on the one hand or to energy on the other.) In Australia as in Africa and in Canada the future is apparently with the bodies which are democratic, though they are not, as here, labelled Nonconformist ; and had there been doubt as to the dip of the world-wide balance, it would be settled by the overwhelming preponderance in that greatest of our self-governing colonies which now calls itself the United States of America. That vast vanguard of the race clusters in and around ninety-two thousand places of worship, not one-tenth of which belong to the Roman and Anglican tradition. By far the largest number belong to that twofold body which popular instinct, neglecting differences both doctrinal and ecclesiastical, masses under the name of Methodist. The next in numerical importance is the Baptist body ; and Congregationalists and Presbyterians follow after a rather long interval. But in truth there is no contrast between any of these last four bodies. Some of them are children of the Reforming and Puritan impulse, while others only draw back to the revival of last century. But all alike represent that supremacy of the individual conscience, and that passion for individual access to, and reconciliation with the Divine, which have formed the backbone of Protestantism.

That these churches all round the world are self-governing, and are, speaking roughly, democratic, will scarcely be doubted. In one sense, indeed, they protest against being considered governments at all.

The Church, in their view, is a kingdom; but *not* of this world. It is a community; but, in the first place, an invisible community. It is not conterminous with any land or people, according to the pagan or national idea; nor is it a visible *dominium* stretching across different nations and rivalling their secular reign. They all cling to the magnificent paradox which Luther borrowed from the primitive Church, that the Word is the only weapon of the Christian army, and that the conscience is the only field in which its power is to be exercised. And they hold it as vital and permanent. By the persuasive Word alone are men originally attracted into the believing body, by adherence to it alone do they maintain their Church connection, and when they abandon their hold on their belief it is unlawful to retain them by national or other external bonds. It was the doctrine which swept the world in the first century and in the sixteenth. Luther, indeed, neutralised his own doctrine by at last permitting the secular arm to control the Church, as his Calvinistic contemporaries did by inviting it to promote the truth. But the churches with which we are dealing energetically reject both intrusions, and it is one of the points of contrast between them and the bodies which specially affect external Catholicity, that the latter either denounce liberty of conscience, name and thing alike, and all religious equality before the law (as the Syllabus of 1864 did in the face of the constitutions of civilised Europe), or, at least, as in our own country, avoid acknowledging them in practice or in name.

But in so far as the Church in the free Churches constitutes a government at all, in so far, indeed, as it becomes in any degree a visible society, it is a self-governing society. And it is, so far, on the plane of our modern democracy—if we may not rather say, of that English self-government in which our “precedence of teaching nations how to live” mainly consists. And self-government with these Churches means substantially the government of the Church by its lay members. This follows, in their view, from the Christian principle of the priesthood of all believers, and from what even those outside them have been willing to recognise as “the re-establishment by the Reformation of a most important ethical and social principle, in throwing upon each individual Christian the weighty responsibility of being, except in the case of open and palpable offences of whatever kind, his own spiritual director, and himself the sole judge of his own need for help in that kind.”* It has followed in some cases, by a sure instinct, but in the face of great difficulties—difficulties artificially created, as in the diverse cases of the Wesleyans and the Presbyterians, by regulations of the bodies themselves or of the founders. But it has followed all round; and amidst the great diversities of administration and of machinery which the allied bodies now possess, and

* Mr. Gladstone on the “Functions of Laymen.” *Gleanings*, vi. 18.

which in the future they will retain and exchange, they are sure to retain increasingly the aspect of a self-governing democracy, in all cases independent of the secular states, within which and across which they extend. The main diversity, indeed, springs from what is recognised as an internal difference—as indeed the main difference between ancient and modern democracy. The “Church” of English Nonconformity is accepted by many as being necessarily like the *πολις*, or little State of Greece, all whose free members could meet on one day in one place to regulate their common interests. But the great mass of English Nonconformity throughout the world has, like the democracy of the modern time generally, already adopted the device of representation. The congregation may remain the unit of government, and may not, in forming a union, have surrendered its independence. But union of some sort it has almost universally gone in for, and the working out of this presents to our self-governing churches some of the worthier problems which confront every free democracy.

Only, the democracy of the churches is a real democracy—not the sham which in some parts of our contemporary literature is beginning to covet the name, with the scarcely disguised view of surrendering the thing. English Nonconformists, that is, have set up self-government with the intention of maintaining and perpetuating it, not in order to exchange it for Caesarism and personal rule, or even centralisation. Their opposition to that ideal may, I think, be said to be as intelligent as it is implacable. They are not in the least insensible to cases of high and exceptional excellence. In the case of General Booth as in that of John Wesley, they have been willing to make occasional experiments, even on a great scale, in the way of gathering round the man who can attract, and following the man who can lead. But so long as such a gathering retains that form it is a transient and justifiable experiment, not a permanent and world-wide institute. Whenever it becomes a church—a life-long association of all sorts and conditions of men in a common faith—it falls back upon the former “ethical and social principle,” that no one on earth is lord of that faith, that the holder of it is called to live by it as a free man among his brethren, and that this responsibility of citizenship under an unseen king, however imperfectly met, would be ill exchanged for submission to the most beneficent despotism, personal or ecclesiastical. And, plainly, it is the English speaking race which is to represent that principle. There are others of other races who hold it; in every tongue and on every shore there are individuals, often the choicest products of Christian culture, who maintain it in honourable isolation. But those who maintain it as a people are the people of Greater Britain, the great mingled Anglo-American Church. The Latin races, in so far as they deal with religion at all, take to a hierarchical multitudinism, culminating in the recently defined infallibility of one

head. The chief Eastern church reposes under the authority, both legislative and administrative, of its Emperor. The German or Northern races of Europe mix up the two principles, of the secular rule and of Church administration, in a traditional and somewhat unintelligent way, which at least cannot be described as self-government. But the island tongue which has outrun them all in its world-journey has brought with it not only secular self-government, such as at present discusses in Australasia its own federation, but, as we have seen, a persistent and predominant passion for a freedom in the Church perhaps greater still. Mingled and amorphous as this stream of church tendency is, it has therefore before it a great future. It is far less mingled and amorphous than was that congregationalism of the primitive church which filtered in fiery particles through the solid barriers of opposing Rome. The same moral force, before which temple and tower went down even when it worked merely in supple Greek and Jew, if embodied in these later days in the descendants of tough England or tougher New England, would conquer without difficulty the already half-conquered world. But now, as of old, it will be exposed at every point to the temptation of some Caesarism or pseudo-Catholicism. For now, as of old, Imperialism in the Church is a temptation and not a necessity. It is demonstrable that the Christian confederation, had it remained in its earliest form of polity, could have leavened the more eager and receptive mass of the invading north, as it had already the harder and more hostile mass of the Pagan south. But the temptations to a hierarchical unity, perhaps suggested by the forms of Imperial administration, and certainly culminating in the oneness of an Imperial and intolerant church establishment, were for that back-going age of human freedom too great to be resisted. It is otherwise now. The light is on our faces, but its shining to perfect day depends on the English free churches maintaining self-government by their own members—not government by the crowd outside, and still less by any Bonaparte or Boulanger, pontiff or prince, to whom that crowd may have delegated its powers.

But all this being said, there remains the question which I wish to urge, Why should not the system of the free churches—call it democracy, or call it self-government—why should it not now aspire to a visible world-wide unity? It has already, in its English guise, gone round the world; and if that entitles it to reflect that there is no other world to conquer, it forces it also to recognise that in the world so encircled there is much to conquer still. Yet no one conquers anything until he has first matched himself against it, and if anything is certain about the origin of Christianity, it is that it was the "whole world" into which its disciples were to go, and which they were to annex and capture. There is a true as well as a false Catholicity, and it is a mistake to suppose that the spell which that

name so often exerts upon the imagination is wholly woven from unworthy materials. In so far as the passion is for a mere external unity, or for the greatness of intellect and of will which the building up of a great external unity implies, it may be held to be non-moral and therefore unchristian. But one of the strongest ingredients of that early enthusiasm, whether we name it of humanity or of divinity, was the passion to break down all partition walls and gather the race into the one fold. The new religion was founded expressly to traverse the barriers of nationality and of race; and the present moment, when there is a resurrection all around us of some of these barriers in their coarsest form of intolerant greed, is not the time to forget it. For the future is with catholicism. Men believe in wholes; men believe in the race; they know that what is deeply good for one is good for all, and that what is true in fact for the individual is true in fact for the world. And therefore individualism is fully consistent with the more inward catholicism which we desire. It was so in the beginning. The Holy Catholic Church was also apostolic; and the glowing individualism of such an apostle as Paul—the way in which he claims, for the humblest private Christian whom he addresses, precisely the same access, intimacy and privilege which he aspires to for himself,—is found side by side with another thing equally strange. The other is, how that glow spreads into conflagration whenever the Roman Jew catches a glimpse of the mystery hid from ages but at last revealed, that all men of all peoples are now to be members of the same body; no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens, and united in the very household of God! There is indeed no difficulty about the theory. The doubt will be whether any practical action could be taken upon it—in particular, (1) whether it is possible for the congregations that stud the English-speaking belt of our planet to unite in any visible way; and (2) whether, if this were now done, the unity gained for the whole would not *tend* to diminish the liberty of the parts, at least in those of the free churches which have had a certain tradition of intolerance in the past?

An experiment has recently been tried which seems to me conclusive upon both these points.

During this month of May the Presbyterian Churches throughout the world, some of them weighted with very long creeds, will be invited to name Committees with a view "to prepare a short creed," as a confession common to them all. The proposal comes from the General Assembly of the American Presbyterians,* who though on the matter of creed notoriously more conservative than their brethren on this side, have already appointed their committee. And even this is

* Each Church is invited to "appoint a Committee to enter into correspondence with

only one stage in an experiment of world-wide unity, carried on in what is for so "dour" a denomination a very liberal spirit. The Americans suggest that the common creed should contain the "essential articles" of the Westminster confession. Now that confession, while too detailed and partial in its theology even for its own age, made on the subject of the Church and its unity an advance on all the creeds of the Reformation. Like them, it begins with the Invisible Church—what they called "one company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace Him by true faith in Christ Jesus—a Church invisible known only to God." But, unlike them, it goes on to affirm a Catholic Church, visible.

"The visible Church, which is also Catholic or Universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation, as before under the Law) consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children, and is the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Unto this Catholic visible Church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles and ordinances of God."

So Catholic is the Presbyterian doctrine on the matter of the church. It acknowledges, first, a universal church visible, to which—not to the invisible church—Christ has given his ordinances, and of which in the first place men are bound to be members. And only thereafter does their confession go on to admit—and that in a very qualified and subordinate way—the existence and the rights of provincial and national churches within that whole. It was only natural that the Presbyterian members of this world-wide body should within the last twenty years begin to remember their obligations to intercommunion, a communion which, the creed goes on to affirm, "as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all who in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus." The opened gates of East and West now offered the opportunity, and the readers of history remembered how Calvin, writing to Cranmer in 1552, lamented the separations of Protestantism, and protested that with a view to restoring its unity, "if I can be of any use, I will readily pass over ten seas." Whether America or Scotland originated the Pan-Presbyterian Council may be a question, for President McCosh of Princeton, whose voice was first heard demanding it, had left a Scottish pulpit to adorn his American presidency, and Professor Blaikie, of Edinburgh (the biographer of Livingstone), has more than any other man carried on the movement so originated. Englishmen do not generally regard Scotland as representative of Catholicity; yet their own too provincial "Articles of Religion" contrast unfavourably

the Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., with a view to the consideration and preparation of a short creed containing the essential articles of the Westminster Confession, and to be used as the common creed of these Churches, not as a substitute for the creed of any particular denomination, but to supplement it for the common work of the Church."

with the Scottish "Second Book of Discipline," which, so early as 1578, demands (in addition to the provincial and national assemblies which rule Presbyterian churches as Parliament does that of England) "another more general kind of assembly, which is of all nations and estates," and which as "representing the universal Kirk * [church] of Christ" may be called properly "*the* general Assembly, or general Council of the whole Kirk of God." Enough of precedent and principle—the result was that in July 1877 the first ecumenical Presbyterian Council met in Edinburgh, the second in 1880 in Philadelphia, the third in 1884 in Belfast,† the fourth in 1888 in London, the next is due in 1892 in North America, and the whole institution is as secure of permanency as most things can be in a world where even what is good must yield to better.

I speak not without authority in saying that the men who on either side of the Atlantic originated this success had in their imaginations a larger future. The formal name of the alliance they have created is "the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the world *holding the Presbyterian System.*" These last words no doubt pointed out the natural pathway to union;‡ but, in so far as they suggest a permanent restriction, they are inconsistent with the Presbyterian creed itself, which, as we have seen, asserts the union, and demands the communion, of all professing Christians. How hopeful though how difficult this larger problem is for our time we have already seen; and I shall devote the rest of this paper to those parts of the Presbyterian experiment which may be suggestive for the future. In the first place, their council is consultative, not authoritative. It is not administrative, or judicial, or legislative. The churches throughout the world are "to meet in General Council from time to time in order to confer upon matters of common interest, and to further the ends for which the Church has been constituted." But, the constitution provides, the Council "shall not interfere with the existing creed or constitution of any Church in the Alliance, or with its internal order or external relations." In short, as it was put ten years before the first meeting in a paper on "Our Presbyterian Empire," all the churches of the name are to "confer for ecumenical purposes, while each church, for local purposes, retains her own autonomy, and holds herself perfectly free to accept the decisions of the Council in the exercise of her own independent judgment under Christ." It may be objected that the

* *Kirk* (*κυριακόν*) is, of course, the word from which the softer vocable *church* is distorted and derived—not *vice-versâ*.

† The proceedings of each Council are contained in a bulky volume sent to members or subscribers, and to be heard of at the office of the Secretary of the Alliance, 25, Christ Church Road, Brondesbury, N.W.

‡ Yet this did not prevent the last Council, meeting in London and finding a Lambeth Episcopal Conference also in session, from sending it an address by way of Christian greeting; which, as was perhaps unavoidable, was only partially responded to.

Council's decisions can thus carry only moral weight. But, for churches, moral weight is overwhelming weight. And, in the second place, the Council is not only consultative but representative. In this respect it differs from the Church Congresses which have been so successful in England, and agrees rather with that "International Congregational Council" which is to sit in London at the end of July. It is a *Synode Officiel* rather than a *Synode Officieux*. For the Presbyterian Council "shall consist of delegates, being ministers and elders, appointed by the churches forming the Alliance." The whole number of delegates was originally fixed at three hundred; Presbyterian Churches with less than one hundred congregations send only two; those with congregations rising to one thousand in number, send up to twenty; and the ratio rather diminishes for the still larger and more powerful ecclesiastical bodies. And, lastly, it was provided that half the delegates should be not ministers but elders; that is, should be laymen, in the sense of not merely refusing sacerdotal powers, but of being men engaged in the ordinary avocations of life, while they are at the same time rulers of the Church. The success of the Council has been largely owing to the equal counterpoise between the British representatives on the one side, and those of America on the other, while both these larger masses have found a congenial and common work in helping the many small and struggling churches on the Continent to gather into something like association.

But has this Presbyterian consolidation not been rather hostile to a wider union? When the problem before men was to unite all the strands of a world-wide chain, was it not a mistake to select one and work specially at it? In point of fact, it has not been found to be so. And the reasons are not difficult to understand. The first effect of bringing together all the representatives of Presbyterianism was to reveal to each of them that the mere name covers at this moment an extraordinary variety of different institutions. Some of these were justifiable, as called for by the present circumstances of the church which has authorised them. Others were mere geographical inheritances, which have survived their usefulness, but will not survive the contempt that comes with wider knowledge. And others were impositions from outside the church which never had any proper authority at all. But in the meantime all existed, and were clung to by some. It followed at once that the desired union could in no respect be founded on uniformity, but rather on the recognition of difference and probably of local independence. The conclusion threw Presbyterianism back on the catholicity for which its creed provides. But it also brought it face to face with *confederation* as, if not the final solution of the problem, at least the way in which it is to be now sought. Accordingly their world-wide alliance has become a confederated alliance. But if so, why should not the same idea be applied on a wider area than that

of Presbytery? It may be said that the principles of Presbytery demand, at least from churches in the same area, a closer union than confederation. Men in one country like Scotland should become one, and have no right to be merely federated. But Scottish Presbyterians have come to recognise that their union, and still more their reunion, in any one body, is only possible on condition of much greater independence being now allowed to particular congregations than their forefathers contemplated. Among Scottish churchmen the most authoritative man at present is undoubtedly Principal Rainy, and no one has ever accused him of precipitancy. But even he, in publishing formal addresses delivered three years ago from the chair of the Free Church General Assembly, demanded for congregations in the present and future an increasing "local liberty," the "most obvious" applications of which would be "to matters of worship and arrangement and even discipline; for example, as regards the last, the admission to membership of persons disapproving of infant baptism, and analogous questions." This tendency to congregational independence, in even the most conservative and central of the three Scottish Presbyterian bodies, is important in more questions than one. Two hundred years ago our Scottish passion for uniformity did as much on the one side as that of Laud did on the other, to wreck the hopes of the English people. But the matter has a scope wider than England. With international Presbytery now offering freedom to its congregations, and international Independency calling them this year to join in stricter union, what limits need there be to our hopes or to our plans?

For a final illustration of the Presbyterian "experiment of Catholicity," I shall select the matter of creed. Among the free Churches this denomination is remarkable for combining two things, the great importance which it attaches to the Church's creed, and its absolute refusal of authority to the documents of creed in the Church's past. It is safe to say that there is six times as much Athanasianism in any ordinary Scottish congregation as there is in any English congregation of the same class. But the attempt to introduce into the worship of the former that fine bit of pre-scholastic scholasticism, or even to fetter its minister by subscribing it, would be scornfully rejected. Of course, Presbytery also has its local stagnations and superstitions. But the attempt to behold its own face in one glass was a great awakening. On the first day of its first Council, Dr. Schaff, of New York, who has written by far the most useful book on this subject in the language,* called attention to the twenty or thirty Creeds represented there (all, by its constitution, "in harmony with the consensus of the Reformed Confessions," and under "the supreme authority of

* "Creeds" (Ancient and Modern, translated, with their History). Three vols. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

the Scriptures in matters of faith and morals"), and proposed that the council or its successor should boil them down into one. The suggestion was thought too hasty, and on the motion of the writer of this article, a Committee was appointed instead, which spent three years in collecting the existing facts. It revealed a remarkable state of things. True to the fundamental Presbyterian principle of revision, by which the older Creed becomes again "the living voice of the Church," every one of these bodies, with scarcely an exception, has abandoned its Reformed Confession; and in the majority of cases the revision has resulted in a wholly new *form* of Creed. The most important of the older revisions was the Confession of Westminster already mentioned; but it also has become antiquated, and some things in it no one can honestly sign. Accordingly the Council's inquiry disclosed a new era of independent revision on the part of its constituent Churches. The modern bodies generally write new and short Creeds, and so do those suddenly resuscitated—like the Reformed Church of France at the solitary Synod granted it by Thiers in 1872, when Guizot carried through the six clauses of its Evangelical Creed.* The older ones are always tempted in the first instance to try patching and tinkering the ancient documents. The most successful instance of this was the revision of the Westminster Confession by the American Churches in 1787, for they simply spunged out some objectionable clauses. Yet this is not enough when, as a representative Scottish theologian lately told his assembly, there has been a "shifting of the centre of gravity" of the theological system since the Confession was composed. In such a case, the tendency is to rectify the bias by a new explanatory or declaratory document. This was done with some success by the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland in 1879, and their lines have been followed by other Churches since: but not with the same satisfaction to themselves. The English Presbyterians constructed such an amending Act a few years ago, but after being generally approved by their central Synod it was rejected in detail by the local Presbyteries, who preferred a new Creed. The American revising Committee on one side of the Atlantic, and that of the Free Church of Scotland on the other, have been during the present year attempting this kind of declaratory amendment of the Confession; and their work will not be superseded, though it may be overshadowed, by the larger proposal for "the co-operation of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian system to prepare a short Creed." For it is expressly stated that the desired short Creed for all is not intended "as a substitute for the Creed of any particular denomination;" which is therefore still called upon to amend its own

* The finest debate on the principles of Creed known to literature was that carried on for a fortnight in this Synod; admirably reported by the late M. Bernier, in his "Synode Générale. Paris. 1872."

Creed so long as it chooses to retain it, as it is (much more loudly in some cases) to amend its terms or formula* of subscription.

My object, indeed, in giving the detail of this illustration is to show that even in so delicate a matter as creed, and even among so stiff a people as the Presbyterians, the two elements—the denominational and the ecumenical, the local and the world-wide—have already been made so to work together as to promise great things for the future. The unity which the last fifteen years have given them is universal: it includes every church in California and Australia, as much as in Midlothian or the Mearns. But it is a unity without authority or jurisdiction, and therefore without machinery for tyranny. Their proposal to have one short creed for the world is an immense advance in catholicity from the position in 1877, and from their bondage under merely inherited confessions. Yet even it will no doubt be dealt with tentatively. Their Committee should give large latitude as to the various forms to be tabled; it should not be too hasty in deciding between them; and it should not be disappointed if there is an insufficient general agreement to enable it to report any result at all. And, in any case, the whole proposal will only be taken up this year on the understanding that the result, come when it may, shall leave free alike the congregations throughout the world, and the "Churches," or local unions of congregations—which also, as we have seen, are now less and less interfering with matters congregational.

The fifteen years' experiment of the Presbyterians seems therefore to suggest or prove two things: (1) that a union of the free churches throughout the world is practicable at some early date, and (2) that such a union, instead of impairing their freedom, may be made a means rather of advancing or establishing it.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

* The formula, which binds only one class of officials, but binds them in conscience, is more easily amended than the Creed, which vaguely represents the whole Church. The bodies named above have nearly all exchanged their old subscription for one more general and reasonable. The Established Church of Scotland, four years ago, went as far in this direction as its relations to Parliament permit. The Free Church alone retains the antiquated form, with an ambiguous and discreditable statement on the subject of toleration. This matter will be altered now, however, for even a Declaratory Act cannot be passed without a virtual or formal alteration of subscription. The Free Church may, no doubt, hesitate to send down such an Act to struggle at once through the Presbyteries, and may prefer to wait a few years till it can judge of the "short Creed" to emerge from the Presbyterian Alliance. But in that case it would be all the more necessary to put right now the matter of subscription. The tendency, however, would be only to relax in that case *ad interim*, leaving the question to be finally dealt with at the close of the leisurely Confessional inquiry.

THE POLITICAL POSITION IN CANADA.

THE Dominion of Canada was created by an Act of the Imperial Parliament which came into operation on the 1st of July, 1867. It then embraced only the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Subsequently the Great North-West was acquired, and the province of Manitoba formed; and afterwards British Columbia and Prince Edward Island were included within its boundaries.

This Confederation was brought about by the combination of Liberals and Conservatives in the different provinces, out of which grew the present Liberal-Conservative party. The tariff from that time until 1874 was only about 15 per cent., but the country was very prosperous during that period. A great expansion of trade took place, no doubt much augmented by the civil war, which paralysed the labour market and industries of the United States. In the latter part of 1873 Sir John A. Macdonald's Government was defeated, and the Liberal party came into power, with the Hon. A. Mackenzie at its head. He obtained a dissolution and a majority of from seventy to eighty at the polls in the early part of 1874.

During the session of that year the duties were increased to about $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Peace had been followed by a complete change in the condition of labour in the great adjoining Republic, where the adoption of a high protective tariff promptly galvanised into activity the industries of that country. Notwithstanding the increase of the tariff in Canada, deficit followed deficit, from the complete prostration of trade and business. The Liberal-Conservative party in opposition urged the adoption of such an increase of the tariff as would give incidental protection to Canadian industries, and at the same time increase the revenue, and thus provide means for the development of

the country. On March 7, 1878, Sir John Macdonald, in the House of Commons, moved the following resolution :

"Resolved—That this House is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing, and other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home; will restore prosperity to our struggling industries now so sadly depressed; will prevent Canada from being a sacrifice market; will encourage and develop an active inter-provincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbours, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country eventually a reciprocity of trade."

This resolution was defeated in the House of Commons, but at the General Election Sir John Macdonald was returned to power by a majority nearly as great as that obtained by Mr. Mackenzie five years before. Mr. Mackenzie, who was in failing health, soon afterwards resigned the leadership of the Opposition, and was succeeded by the Hon. Edward Blake, a barrister of very high standing, who had long been a member of the House of Commons. The great questions that divided the two parties were the national or protective policy, and the vigorous prosecution of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Government undertook the completion of the line between the head of Lake Superior and Winnipeg, and placed under contract 127 miles of most difficult and expensive work between Kamloops and tide water in British Columbia. In October 1880, they made a contract with a syndicate, now known as the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, for the completion of an inter-oceanic line of railway connecting the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans by a direct line on British territory throughout. This was to be opened for traffic by June 1st of this year. It was urged by the Opposition that it was impracticable, and would so burden the credit of the country as to destroy it. The road was operated from end to end five years before the time stipulated, and the credit of Canada steadily appreciated. The gross earnings of the Canadian Pacific Railway last year amounted to no less than \$16,552,000, and Canada obtained £95 1s. per cent. for a loan of £4,000,000 at 3 per cent. in 1888. The successful completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway removed this subject of controversy from the arena of party politics. The effect of this great enterprise upon the development of the country may be illustrated by the fact that the assessment rolls of last year showed over 100 millions of dollars of property created in towns and villages, without the increased value of farm lands along the line, where nothing but wilderness existed before. The public accounts of last year show an expenditure

in all of nearly \$70,000,000 for the Canadian Pacific Railway, Dominion lands, and North-West territories.

At the General Elections of 1882 and 1887 Sir John Macdonald's Government was triumphantly sustained. During the election of 1887 a speech by the Hon. Edward Blake removed the remaining issue—that of incidental protection—which still separated the two parties. Speaking at Malvern, he said :

“ No man, I care not how convinced an advocate of Free Trade for Canada he may be, has yet suggested—no man, I believe, can suggest—a practicable plan whereby our great revenue needs can be met otherwise than by the continued imposition of very high duties on goods similar to those we make, or can make, within our bounds, *or on the raw materials*. I invite the most ardent free trader in public life to present a plausible solution of this problem ; and I contend that he is bound to do so before he talks of Free Trade as practicable in Canada. I have not believed it soluble in any day ; and any chance of its solubility, if chance there were, has been destroyed by the vast increase of our yearly charge, and by the other conditions which have been created. The thing is removed from the domain of practical politics.”

Had the Liberal party loyally accepted this rational declaration of their leader, there is good reason to believe that they would have obtained power at the General Election, which would, by the efflux of time, have taken place a year hence. But it was not so. Sir Richard Cartwright, who had been the Finance Minister of the Hon. A. Mackenzie, during the debate on the Budget, shortly afterwards made an extreme Free Trade speech. From that time Mr. Blake never made a party speech, and shortly thereafter resigned the leadership of the party, and was succeeded by the Hon. W. Laurier, an eloquent French Canadian.

The success of the policy of incidental protection was most marked. A wonderful impetus was given to Canadian industries, and Boston and New York ceased to be the commercial capitals of Canada. Trade revived, and the revenue increased. Instead of deficits, there were over \$15,000,000 of surplus revenue from 1880 to 1890 inclusive.

Some idea may be formed of the impetus given to Canada under Sir John Macdonald's Government by the following figures :

In 1878, Canada had 6143 miles of railway ; in 1890, she had 13,988.

In 1878, she employed 23,102,551 tons of shipping in the coasting trade, and in the transport of her exports and imports by sea and on the great lakes ; in 1890, Canada in the same service employed 41,243,215 tons of shipping.

In 1878, the letters and post-cards carried by the Post Office Department numbered 50,840,000 ; in 1890, they numbered 100,000,000.

In 1878, the deposits in the chartered banks and in the various saving banks in the Dominion were \$88,995,126 ; in 1890, they amounted to \$197,895,452.

In 1878, the money orders received and sent out by the Money Order Branch of the Post Office Department amounted to \$7,130,000; in 1890 they amounted to \$11,907,862.

In 1878, the business of the country required a note circulation of \$29,786,805; in 1890, it required a note circulation of \$47,417,071.

In 1878, the Four per cent. bonds of Canada were six below par; the quotation for January 14, 1891, shows that they were on that date nine above par.

In 1878, the production of coal in Canada was 1,152,783 tons; in 1890, it was nearly 3,000,000 tons.

In 1878, the value of exported Canadian-made cheese was \$3,997,521; and during the whole period of Liberal rule this important industry had stood still. In 1890, the value of exported cheese was \$9,372,212, the highest in any year, and greater than that of the United States, as it has been for three years past.

In 1878, the exports of cattle amounted to \$1,152,334, and of sheep to \$699,337; in 1890, the exports of cattle were \$6,949,417, and of sheep, \$1,234,347.

In 1878, the exports of manufactures of wood, including sawn lumber, staves, shingles, box shooks, &c., were \$13,908,629 in value; in 1890, these exports were valued at \$20,659,348.

In 1878, the exports of home manufactures, including manufactures of wood as above, were \$18,182,647; in 1890, they were \$25,530,003.

The extent to which the national policy has developed the manufactures of the country is partly seen in the fact that the import of raw materials for manufacturing purposes in 1879 was \$5,342,912, and that in 1890 it had risen to over \$16,000,000.

Pig-iron is at the basis of so many industries that it is a good index of the development of all industries of a certain class. In 1879, the pig-iron entered for home consumption was 15,504 tons, which, with the quantity manufactured within the Dominion, was sufficient to meet all demands. In 1890, the import of pig-iron for home consumption was 87,613 tons, and the amount manufactured within the country was nearly 25,000 tons. This is an increase of more than four times the amount used in 1879, and is the measure of the development that has taken place in this important class of manufacture.

These figures are rendered still more striking by contrasting them with the shrinkage which took place during Mr. Mackenzie's Free Trade régime, from 1873 to 1878.

The total exports of Canada in 1873 were \$89,789,900, and in 1878 \$79,323,600.

The exports of the products of the mines in 1873 were \$6,471,000, and in 1878 they were \$2,816,347.

The exports of the products of our forests in 1873 were \$28,586,000, and in 1878 they \$19,511,500.

The imports in 1873 for home consumption were \$127,514,000, and in 1878 they were \$91,200,000, without any national policy to reduce imports.

The note circulation in 1873 was \$41,830,302. Business of all kinds had so shrunk that in 1878 the note circulation was \$29,786,805, or over \$11,000,000 less than in 1873.

The adoption of the policy of incidental protection in Canada was attacked on the ground that it would injure trade with Great Britain. An examination of the trade statistics shows the reverse.

The following table shows the imports into Canada from Great Britain and the United States respectively, under the low tariff in operation from 1874 to 1878, and under what is called the National Policy, which was inaugurated by legislation in 1879 :

		Great Britain.		United States.
1873	.	\$68,522,000	...	\$47,735,000
1879	.	30,993,000	...	43,739,000
1889	.	42,317,000	...	50,537,000

It will be seen that between 1873 and the time the present tariff was inaugurated, the imports from Great Britain declined about \$37,500,000, and those from the United States about \$4,000,000 ; and that, under the higher duties, the imports from Great Britain have augmented, since 1879, to the extent of \$11,300,000, as against \$7,000,000 in the case of the United States. If you deduct the articles imported from the United States which England does not produce or export, for 1889, the net figures, consisting largely of manufactured goods, become about \$40,992,000 for Great Britain, and about \$24,401,000 for the United States. This is a very different thing from the bald statement of the total imports from the two countries, which gives \$42,317,000 to the former, and \$50,537,000 to the latter.

Coming, however, to the great manufactures, Great Britain easily puts the United States in the shade, as the following tables will show :

	Great Britain.			United States.	
	1888	1889		1888	1889
	\$	\$		\$	\$
Cotton manufactures	3,326,524	3,457,846	...	761,623	672,146
Woollen „	9,140,940	9,557,569	...	142,370	131,219
Silk „	2,448,075	2,606,994	...	142,818	121,192
Fancy goods	1,247,415	1,298,172	...	240,351	250,158
Flax, Hemp and Jute } manufatures }	1,304,280	1,415,415	...	31,189	48,743

These figures demonstrate that the importation of British manufactures into Canada is increasing, while that of the United States

is decreasing—a slight increase being shown only in fancy goods, and flax, hemp, and jute manufactures from the latter country.

In the case of iron, steel, and the manufactures thereof, that are on the dutiable list, the two countries occupy about the same position, the imports being \$4,834,751 and \$4,454,649 respectively. Such importations on the free list, chiefly railway material, are, however, much in favour of Great Britain, which sent goods of the kind to Canada to the value of \$3,377,570 in 1889, as against those to the value of \$763,156 received from the Republic.

No one who takes the trouble to look into the figures can doubt that the adoption of incidental protection in Canada has greatly increased the trade between that country and Great Britain. With the abounding evidences on every side that Canada was, under the policy of the Liberal-Conservative party, making the most satisfactory progress, and developing her resources with great success, the Opposition, again and again rejected by the people at the polls, despaired of obtaining power. About four years ago, an Americanised Canadian who has resided in New York for the last quarter of a century, found them, like Japhet, in search of a policy, and an easy prey to his scheme of commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. Sir Richard Cartwright and Mr. Laurier joined hands with Mr. Wiman, and the Hon. Mr. Hitt, a member of the House of Representatives in the United States, in agitating this policy in the press, on the platform, in the House of Representatives of the United States, and in the Canadian House of Commons. Sir R. Cartwright obtained the services of Mr. Ed. Farrer to edit the *Globe* newspaper, his principal organ. Mr. Wiman, in the United States, pointed out the means of "capturing Canada," and utilising her 5,000,000 of consumers to promote the interests of American manufacturers, while Sir Richard Cartwright agitated Canada, both in and out of Parliament, with the pernicious doctrine of utter dependence upon the United States. The situation became accentuated by the passage of the McKinley Tariff Act, which, so far as it relates to Canada, was no doubt prompted by those who wished to give an object lesson to the Canadian farmers, who, alarmed at the exclusion of their produce from their principal market, were told that Free Trade with the United States would make them rich, and that to obtain it was the policy of the Liberal party. The Government of Sir John Macdonald addressed itself to the means of meeting the restriction of Canadian trade caused by the McKinley tariff by the promotion of trade with the Mother Country, Australia, China and Japan, and the West Indies. Finding that closer trade relations were mooted between the United States and Newfoundland, it was suggested by Sir Julian Pauncefote that Canada should be included, and the 4th of March was named by Mr. Blaine as the time when he would be ready to take up that question with repre-

sentatives from Canada. Sir John Macdonald finding that his position was greatly weakened by the declaration on the part of his opponents that he was only sustained by a moribund Parliament, that he would be out of power in another year, and the fiscal policy of the country completely swept away, promptly met this serious obstruction by an appeal to the people.

The Hon. Mr. Hitt had reported a resolution from the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives proposing Commercial Union with Canada. He described it in these terms :

"What is commercial union with Canada? It means, as set out in this resolution, the adoption by both countries of precisely the same tariff of duties or taxes to be levied on goods coming from abroad, abolishing altogether our line of customs houses on the North, by which we collect tariff duties on goods coming from Canada; abolishing their custom houses along the same line, by which they collect duties upon goods we send into Canada; and leaving intercourse as unrestricted between this country and Canada as it is between the States. The line of custom houses would follow the sea and include both countries.

"The internal revenue system of taxes on liquors and tobacco in the two countries would also have to be made uniform in both.

"The proceeds of taxation thus collected would be equitably divided, and the fairest way would seem to be in proportion to population."

Mr. Hitt had invariably resisted any action in Congress for freer trade relations with Canada. The "Congressional Record" reports him as saying on the 8th of June, 1888: "I am in favour of unrestricted trade with Canada, and still more of Commercial Union, and with the hope of such a solution of all our troubles in the North I have thought we should not at this time touch the tariff of lumber and the other products of Canada while they are a motive for an active movement toward us from the side of Canada." At the great meeting in Toronto on the 17th of February Sir John Macdonald charged Mr. Farrer, the leading editor of the *Globe* newspaper, the organ of the Opposition, with having secretly printed twelve copies of a pamphlet containing these atrocious suggestions for the destruction of Canada, and forcing it into annexation with the United States :

"The imposition by the United States of a tonnage tax on all Nova Scotian vessels, laden whole or in part with fish, would speedily put an end to seizures, and, indeed, the whole controversy. Another ready way of bringing the Government and all concerned to their senses would be to suspend the bonding privilege, or to cut the connection of the Canadian Pacific with United States territory at Sault Ste. Marie. Either of these methods would rouse the full force of Eastern Canada influence against the Government.

"It would be better still to oblige Britain to withdraw her countenance and support from the Canadian contention as she did in 1871. That would secure the end desired, without leaving the United States open to the charge of being animated by hatred of Canada, on which Sir John Macdonald trades. Whatever course the United States may see fit to adopt, it is plain that Sir John's disappearance from the stage is to be the signal for a move-

ment towards annexation. The enormous debt of the Dominion (\$50 per head), the virtual bankruptcy of all the Provinces except Ontario, the pressure of the American tariff upon trade and industry, the incurable issue of race, and the action of the natural forces making for the consolidation of the lesser country with the greater have already prepared the minds of most intelligent Canadians for the destiny that awaits them, and a leader will be forthcoming when the hour arrives."

Mr. Farrer admitted the publication, but attempted to excuse himself by saying:

"Not a single one was circulated in Washington or elsewhere. I can vouch for that. They were not intended for the eye of any person in Congress, nor had I the remotest intention of prejudicing the case of Canada in respect of the North Atlantic Fisheries. I wrote freely and privately concerning what I regard as the illogical, unfair, and wholly out-of-date policy which the Government of the Dominion has pursued towards the vessels of a friendly neighbour, and, having been asked, proffered my view of the mode which I should favour, were I an American, of bringing about a more rational state of affairs for both countries."

The *Globe* supported this denial by the following statement, in its issue of February 21:

"The *Empire* alleged yesterday that the pamphlet written by Mr. Farrer was written for the information of Mr. Hitt, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee at Washington. Mr. Hitt telegraphed yesterday as follows:—'I never saw or heard of the pamphlet described by Sir John Macdonald. Nor have I ever heard of Canadians coming here for political consultations, although I have seen many distinguished Canadians, both Conservatives and Liberals, whom I have met socially, but nothing more.—R. R. HITT.'"

Finding that we were face to face with a formidable conspiracy to subvert British institutions in Canada, and annex it to the United States, I felt it my duty to lay before the public, at a meeting at Windsor, February 23, the following evidence in my possession which conclusively proved that Messrs. Farrer, Wiman, and Hitt were united in that conspiracy:

"Toronto, April 22, 1889.

"MY DEAR MR. WIMAN,—Our Ottawa man will send a good summary of your speech, so that on our account you need not go to the trouble of preparation. At present the C. U. movement is at a standstill. First of all the Jesuit agitation, which is here to stay, has to some extent supplanted it. Secondly, the general belief is that the Republicans would not listen to any such scheme. Thirdly, a very large number of persons are inclined to think that we had better make for annexation at once, instead of wasting two bites on the cherry. Lastly, the old parties here are rapidly breaking up, and when Sir John goes we shall be adrift without a port in sight, save annexation. Moreover, although the Liberals have taken up C. U., they are not pushing it with any vigour. For these reasons the 'Mail' has, in the slang of the day, given the subject a rest. There is really no use talking it up to a people whose politics are in a state of flux, and whose future is wrapped in doubt. I saw Mr. Hoar while at Washington, and told him just what he says I did, namely, 'That the smaller forces favour annexation, and

will favour it all the more if C. U. be withheld. It seems to me, and I have talked the matter over lately with maritime members as well as with Manitobans, that C. U. would only delay the coming of the event those people most desire. Hence, in the provinces referred to, C. U. does not take hold, whereas annexation will always demand a hearing. In Ontario the Jesuit campaign has brought that aspect of things home to thousands who would not look at C. U. The littleness and half-heartedness of the Liberals is also very disheartening. Then, again, the truth is that every man who preaches C. U. would prefer annexation, so that the party is virtually wearing a mask. Can't you come round this way and have a talk.

"Yours very truly,
(Signed) "E. FARRER."

"House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.,
"April 25, 1889."

"Erastus Wiman, Esq., 314 Broadway, New York,

"DEAR SIR,—I am greatly obliged to you for sending to me the proof slips of the *North American* article, and have been much interested also in Mr. Farrer's letter, which surprised me somewhat, as I did not think from his conversation, which gave me a very favourable impression, that he would be so easily discouraged. The reasons he gives existed before the Commercial Union movement began, with greater force than to-day. The Republicans, as Protectionists, it was apprehended would be against it. They are not. Their representatives vote for it, their newspapers have received it kindly, and often with warm approval. The Jesuit agitation, which has taken the place of Commercial Union in his mind, is largely sentimental, and will probably not last long. The other C. U. is a business question that concerns each citizen, and in a way which he does not understand at first, but sees more and more clearly the more he talks intelligently about it. There is some logic in what F. says of not making two bites of a cherry, but going for annexation at once, but I think he is misled on that point in a way that often occurs. Where a man is thinking much upon a point and discussing it, he is liable to narrow his horizon to those with his reach; and his own mind, and, perhaps, those he meets, having passed on by discussion to distant results, he takes it for granted that the wide world, which is so wonderfully slow, has kept up with him, and has the same results in sight. We must be very patient with the slow moving popular mind. If the Canadian public of farmers, artisans, lumbermen, miners, and fishers, can be in three years argued up to the point of voting Commercial Union, and giving sanction to the movement in Parliament, it will be great progress. Slow as such movements are, the comforting thing is that they never go backward. To you personally it ought to be, in your moments of reflection, a consolation that long hereafter, when this ball which you set rolling has gone on and on, and finished its work, every one may then look back and see and appreciate the service done to mankind by the hand that set it in motion. I shall look with interest for what you say in Ottawa. The *North American Review* article will have a powerful tendency to keep our public men from scattering away on annexation next winter, and I hope we can get the offer of Commercial Union formulated into law. I return the proof slips of the article, and the letter of Mr. Farrer.

"Very truly yours,
(Signed) "R. R. HITT."

"P.S.—Just received yours of yesterday, with Goldwin Smith's; it reads admirably."

These letters had been sent to me by a gentleman who received them from Mr. Wiman himself, and who did not disapprove of the use I made of them at so important a crisis. No man can read them and arrive at any other conclusion than that the object and design of Messrs. Wiman, Hitt, and Farrer was the annexation of Canada to the United States. They only differed upon the best way in which to accomplish that object. Mr. Farrer was for taking off the mask and acting boldly; Messrs. Wiman and Hitt thought that would endanger success, and that a surer way of obtaining the same result would be to induce the Parliament of Canada to declare for Free Trade with the United States, with discrimination against England, which must inevitably lead to a quarrel between England and Canada, and the severance of the tie that binds us to the Crown. With these parties Sir R. Cartwright and Hon. W. Laurier were closely associated. They pretended that they did not intend to adopt the United States tariff as promised by Mr. Wiman, but the *New York Tribune* promptly settled that question in the following words, on February 12:

"Allowance must be made for the anxiety of Canadians of opposite parties to represent their wishes in the most popular form. But the *Halifax Chronicle* makes statements which appear to need prompt correction. It argues in favour of unrestricted and absolute reciprocity between Canada and the United States (with each country at liberty to adopt such tariff as it may prefer) and represents this, and no more than this, as the deliberate purpose of one party in the Canadian contest. If this is the fact, one party of Canadians closely resembles the baby which cried for the moon, and got into a rage because the moon would not consent to be grasped. This nation has not the slightest notion of allowing Canada to open a back door as wide as it may please, while tariff enactments by the United States are closing the front door against sundry importations at New York and Boston. If anybody is really silly enough to suppose that such a plan is entertained by Americans he does not live in this country. All such representations may as well be put aside as utterly and widely at variance with anything that Americans can possibly be brought to adopt. For that would mean simply this: The United States might impose what duty it pleased on foreign imports, but any goods could come in free of duty across the Canadian border if the Canadian Government should see fit to admit them free of duty. The United States does not want Canadian reciprocity very passionately at any price or on any terms, but on such terms as these there is probably not a sane man in this country who would assent to reciprocity."

Mr. Wiman still implored Congress to pass the Hitt resolution, and thus support their friends, the Liberal party. He had spent years in denouncing the Government of Canada, as will be seen from the following extracts from his article in the January number of the *North American Review*:

"Whatever may have been the motive, or whatever may be the outcome, the policy of the Tory party has certainly been in the direction of isolation. To this must be attributed the harsh and antiquated interpretation of the Fishery Treaty—the refusal of hospitality to a few fishing smacks in Canadian ports, while enjoying an unbounded hospitality for British and

Canadian ships in every port of the United States. To this policy must be credited the denial of bonding privileges for a few quintals of fish, while enjoying unlimited bonding privileges from the United States, without which Canadian railroads would rapidly reach bankruptcy. The same idea prevails in the discrimination against United States vessels in the canals, the creation of which was only justified by the patronage of these craft.

"This catalogue of Tory achievements, supplemented by the guerilla railroad warfare, which, owing to the enforcement of the United States inter-State regulations, threatens to ruin American railway investments, and which the Canadian Government is accused of encouraging, makes the indictment complete."

Sir R. Cartwright and Mr. Laurier had endorsed these charges although they have no foundation in fact. The *Globe*, their organ, had charged the Government with failing in its duty by not sufficiently protecting Canadian fishermen, after the abrogation of the Treaty of 1871 by the United States. The bonding privileges are enjoyed under the portion of that Treaty still in force, and they are reciprocal. When I submitted the Treaty of Washington of 1888 to the House of Commons for ratification, which settled all these irritating questions, the Liberal party, including Sir R. Cartwright and Mr. Laurier, denounced me for conceding so much to the United States.

There is no discrimination on the canals of Canada. United States vessels are treated the same as Canadian. Our railways have not carried on a "guerilla railroad warfare," as asserted by Mr. Wiman, and which Messrs. Farrer and Wiman suggested should be "reduced to bankruptcy" by stopping the bonding privileges.

The Treaty of 1854, denounced by Mr. Wiman as a jug-handled Treaty that ought not to be granted by the United States, showed a balance of trade in their favour of over \$75,000,000. When an Act was passed by the United States Congress authorising the President to proclaim non-intercourse with Canada, I met it with the following statement in my speech on the Budget in 1887:

"But, as I say, we were met by the proposal to arm the President with the power of declaring non-intercourse. I do not believe he will put that power into force, and I am strengthened in that belief by the letter which the President of the United States addressed to the parties who communicated with him on the subject, and which showed that that gentleman, armed with this tremendous power, fully recognised the enormous interests that had grown up under that peaceful intercourse between Canada and the United States, and that he was fully alive to the momentous responsibility that would rest upon his shoulders if he should put it in operation. He might well feel that, when the statistics of his own country prove that during the fifty years to which the President alluded as having been expended in creating between the United States and Canada an enormous commerce and strong ties and relations, the people of the United States had sent into Canada no less than \$1,200,000,000 worth of products of the farm and manufactories and various industries of the United States, and that, in addition to that \$1,200,000,000 worth of American products sent into Canada, they had also sent in \$200,000,000 of foreign products, whereas Canada, during that fifty years, had sent into the United States but

\$1,050,000,000 products in all; leaving a balance of trade during that fifty years of no less than \$350,000,000 in favour of the United States. Now, these figures show that, large as are the interests which Canada has, the United States has a still larger interest in maintaining those friendly reciprocal relations that have enabled these two countries, the great Republic to the south of us and this rising Dominion of Canada, to steadily progress as friendly rivals in commercial enterprise, and in developing as best they could the resources of the two countries on both sides of the line.

"Had this threatened non-intercourse been carried out, had any President, armed with such a power, under any circumstances been induced to put it in operation, what would have been our position as we stood half a dozen years ago? I ask this House what would have been our position under such a condition of things if this Government had not carried out the policy of completing at the earliest possible moment a great transcontinental railway from the port of Montreal to the shores of the Pacific Ocean? During the late insurrection the value of that policy was established beyond controversy. On that occasion it was shown that Canada had saved in blood and treasure, by the fact of being able to utilise that line of communication in order to send the gallant yeomanry of the older provinces to the scene of the troubles, more than would cover the \$30,000,000 which I asked the House to grant as a loan, even if it had been made a gift, and we had never received a dollar of it back again except in the service which we received from the advanced position to which that Company was enabled to carry that great national enterprise, and which enabled us to send our forces over that line. But what would be our position to-day if we stood with this threat of non-intercourse flaunted in our faces and knew that we were dependent on American channels of communication for our connection with the rising city of Winnipeg, the capital of the Province of Manitoba, and the Great North-West of this country? What would have been our position if the Canadian Pacific Railway had not penetrated the Rocky Mountains, if the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite had been adopted, and there was no line north of Lake Superior or through the Rocky Mountains to connect us with British Columbia? In that case we would have been at the feet of our American neighbours, instead of, as we are to-day, though only five millions of people, able to say to them, that deeply as we would deplore so mad and so unjustifiable an act on the part of a great country like this great Republic of the United States adopting such a barbarous policy as that of non-intercourse with a friendly power, we stand in the proud position of knowing that if that policy were adopted to-morrow, we have perfected our own lines of communication and have the most complete means of communication from the furthest and most remote section of our country down to the sea."

The foregoing sketch will give some idea of the issues which arose during the late election in Canada. The Government felt that the policy of the Opposition under the circumstances involved the most momentous considerations to Canada. The danger was greater because it was concealed. Many in this country were inclined to think that the Liberal-Conservative party exaggerated the consequences of the success of the Opposition. What do they think now, with the declaration before them of the Hon. Edward Blake, the most distinguished man in the Liberal party in Canada, that he refused to go into the battle with Messrs. Laurier and Cartwright because he would "not fight under false colours?"

Mr. Blake says :—

“The tendency in Canada of unrestricted Free Trade with the States, high duties being maintained against the United Kingdom, would be towards political union, and the more successful the plan, the stronger the tendency, both by reason of the community of interests, the intermingling of populations, the more intimate business and social connections, and the trade and fiscal relations, amounting to dependency, which it would create with the States and of the greater isolation and divergency from Britain which it would produce, and, also, especially through inconvenience experienced in the maintenance and apprehensions entertained as to the termination of the treaty, our hopes and our fears alike would draw one way. We would then indeed be looking to Washington.”

No reasonable man can question the weight of this evidence from such an unwilling source, or the vital importance to Canada and to the Empire of the recent struggle. The result was all that could be desired. The Government were sustained by a larger majority than at the previous General Election, although they had the most strenuous efforts of the local Governments of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Manitoba to contend against. The Grand Trunk Railway Company did its utmost to support a party united with Messrs. Farrer and Wiman, who had pointed out to the United States how to punish them and reduce them to bankruptcy. Loudly as Mr. Laurier and Sir Richard Cartwright asserted their loyalty, the treasonable character of their associates and admitted policy of discrimination against England in favour of a foreign country induced the best men in their ranks to leave them and aid in their defeat. The great body of the Liberal party are loyal to the core; and had Mr. Blake's denunciation of the Laurier and Cartwright policy been made public before the elections, the majority of the Government would have been over fifty. As it is, the country is now awake to the danger it has escaped, and Commercial Union with the United States involving discrimination against Great Britain is dead.

CHARLES TUPPER.

ITALY AND FRANCE.

READING the article in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW entitled "The Savoy Dynasty, the Pope, and the Republic," I was long in doubt whether the author deserved the trouble of a reply. His object is to misrepresent the Italian Government, painting it as hostile to France, panting for a war with its neighbour, desiring its destruction. To attain this end, King Humbert, according to the author, formed the alliance with the two central empires, and his ministers had increased the national armaments to the point of exhaustion of the forces of Italy, provoked disputes, and endangered the peace of Europe.

If peace was preserved, it was, on this hypothesis, due to the influence of the Government of the Republic, which, to prove its good intentions, invited the nations to a rivalry in industry. But this did not suffice to the author of the article, who, after having told his way the story of Italy for the last thirty years, and offered advice which no one had asked him for, ended by threatening the Italians with defeat in case of a war with France;—with the consequences of the fall of the Dynasty and the establishment of a general Republic in the Peninsula. Thus would be fulfilled two prophecies—one of Mazzini, who predicted that Francesco Crispi would be the last Minister of the monarchy, and the other of Terenzio Panzani, who said that in Rome there could only be room for the Pope or Cola di Rienzi.

It pains me that these extravagances can be circulated in England in a Liberal journal, and that the Liberal party in England, which so long aided Italy, morally and materially, during the life of Mazzini, should now, through a mistaken propaganda of democracy, become associated with the enemies of Italian unity.* In Italy no one thinks

The writer is evidently unaware of the independent position of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.—ED. C.R.]

of making war on France, and the Ministers of King Humbert, including Signor Crispi, have never desired other than friendly relations between the two sister nations. The treaty of alliance with Austria and Germany was concluded for the sole purpose of defence, after Italy was menaced, both on the Mediterranean and on the Alps, through her isolation. No imputation can lie against Italy of having broken the commercial relations with France, but, rather, this is chargeable to France, who believed that by a war of tariffs she could weaken an enemy whom sooner or later she must meet in arms. At Friedrichsruhe no conditions were added to the treaty of the Triple Alliance, and it is false to say that in the retirement of the Prince-Chancellor projects of how to make war on France were concocted. The facts prove the contrary, in that the peace was kept during the four years that I was in power. Everybody knows that the treaty of navigation and commerce between the two Governments, negotiated and signed by the Minister Rouvier, ratified by King Humbert, and approved by the Italian Parliament, was rejected by the French Parliament; and the commercial negotiations conducted at Rome, from the 31st of December 1887 to the 2nd of February 1888, were broken off under futile pretexts. I can guarantee the truth of the statement that the Senator Teisserenc de Bort, taking leave of one of the Italian delegates, had the frankness to say that there was no ground to hope for the conclusion of a treaty between France and Italy so long as the latter belonged to the Triple Alliance. And later occurrences have given further proofs of the intentions of the French Government. It is now three months since I left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and my successor has not been more fortunate than myself with the Government of the Republic. They say that the French Ambassador, Billot, before leaving Rome, declared to the Marquis di Rudini that Italy would obtain nothing from France until she was freed from all relations to the central Powers. Will the Italian Minister accept the counsel that the French Ambassador has given? That is the question.

I do not believe in the Latin Union, as I do not believe in the consanguinity of the races which have been improperly called Latin, and which retain of the antique only the language used in the church. Certainly it would be desirable that between those countries a union should be formed in the interest of civilisation and progress. But in order that the dream should become reality it would be necessary that France should forget the story of her kings, and put aside her ambition, even of a moral dominion over the people of the two adjoining peninsulas. It would be necessary that she should treat the nations as her equals, and that she should renounce any dominion in the Mediterranean or on the Continent. The France of — 89

gave hope of this, but the Governments which followed forgot the principles of the great Revolution, and the peoples that believed in the proclamation of liberty and rejoiced in it were left to their delusions.

A little history, but true history—not the fallacious and treacherous history of the author of the article, “The Savoy Dynasty, the Pope, and the Republic”—will be useful.

The space which this article permits would not suffice to tell fully the history of the violence done to Italy by France from Charlemagne to Napoleon III., but, since the events which took place under the last Emperor are set forth in a way to induce the belief that Italy owes her unity to France, I limit myself to the historical period between 1859 and 1870. The war of 1859 was for Napoleon a matter of business, and not a generous undertaking for the national redemption of Italy. At Plombières it was agreed that the war should be undertaken for the liberation of Italy “from the Alps to the Adriatic,” France receiving as her compensation Savoy and Nice, and fifty millions of francs for the expenses of the war. Mazzini, who was opposed to the Franco-Sardinian alliance, from which he foresaw for the Peninsula a new slavery in the substitution of the Napoleonic for the Austrian influence, exposed the bargain, and prophesied that the war would only have dynastic objects, and that it would be stopped half-way as soon as it should be convenient and agreeable. This appeared in an article signed by the great patriot in a London journal, in September 1858. And that Italian unity could not be the purpose of that war had been revealed by the intrigues of the agent of Napoleon, who laboured to give the throne of Naples to a Murat, and that of Tuscany to Prince Jerome Napoleon. The notion could not find approval with the Great Powers, who could not permit the reconstruction in the Peninsula of the order overthrown in 1815. England could not but look with favour on the liberation of Italy from the princes whose government had been a permanent cause of agitation in Europe. Add to this that the party of action directed by Mazzini worked in opposition to Napoleon’s plan of the three monarchies, and for an insurrection with the object of national unity. The war commenced under good auspices, and continued fortunate for the allied arms, when unexpectedly, by the initiative of the Emperor and without the knowledge of the King, it was arrested on the 8th of July at Villafranca. For Mazzini and the party of action this was a victory, but it was a defeat for Cavour, who resigned his portfolio in indignation. Napoleon, who after the victories had entered Milan amidst the exultation of the population, left Italy almost like a fugitive. Mazzini, moved, but not surprised, by the proclamation of peace, wrote as follows:—

“The delusion is dissipated faster even than we anticipated. All our

We all know the rascally way in which peace was announced by Victor Emmanuel. Napoleon, posing as master rather than servant, telegraphed the King: "Peace is concluded between the Emperor of Austria and me." The substantial agreement had been made, but should have a federation of princes, with Pius IX. as president, and only did Austria still keep her footing in the Peninsula as a member of the Confederation, but France, as the guardian of the Italian Empire, to continue to exercise her dominion. Italy was already consumed by a perpetual helplessness; besides the weakness of the Confederation, she would have the two foreign influences eating away the life of the nation.

Napoleon III. did not know the strength of the party of Italian unity, which confided too much in the Piedmontese Government, the King of Sardinia, which was already shaken by the diplomatic failure of the Crimean War, and the withdrawal of Cavour from the Ministry. The Italian Revolution, which had disturbed Italy from 1853 to 1858, if they were suppressed, had been nevertheless of great moral fecundity, the Italian martyrs to their country having strengthened in the hearts of the Italians the sentiment of national unity. Still, Piedmont, Sardinia, and France, could not combat, and indeed had no interest in the movement for the unification of Italy. On the announcement of peace, a network of conspirators, coming directly from France, covered the Peninsula. Mazzini took up his head-quarters in Genoa, and his friends overran the southern and central provinces, working against every attempt at local autonomy. The workers sought to incite the people to ask for annexation to Piedmont as the end of the constitution of Italy as a united State. The movement of action contended with powerful enemies, but never flag-

these justice demands the recording of the names of Bettino Ricasoli and Carlo Luigi Farini.

Napoleon opposed the annexations, and with menaces and flatteries hindered Victor Emmanuel from accepting the declarations of union made by Tuscany and Emilia; but when he saw that his efforts were futile, he demanded compensation, and received it. This was a proof of his dishonesty, and, I should say, of his claim to rule as well. He insisted on the cession of Nice and Savoy to France, though, having failed in the fulfilment of his part of the agreement, he had no right to them. The treaty of Plombières, substantially nullified at Villafranca, was renewed at Turin on March 24, 1860, and Cavour, returned to the Ministry, was induced to yield, though he might have held out, having the support of England and Prussia. And this was not the utmost of the Emperor's injustice to the new life of a people who asked nothing of others but to be allowed to live. Later came the expedition of the Thousand, and Louis Napoleon, who could not get Naples for his cousin Murat, became protector of the Bourbons, and urged an alliance between Francis II. and Victor Emmanuel, an alliance which events made impossible. And when Garibaldi, victorious from Marsala to Milazzo, prepared to pass the Straits, the Emperor declared that he would prevent him, but his infernal propositions were opposed by England, who demanded and secured, for Italian affairs, the principle of non-intervention.

Fortune overruled the enemies of Italian unity, and Bonaparte, not being able to save the throne of Charles III., collected all his resources to preserve the patrimony of St. Peter, and succeeded. At Chambéry it was agreed that the Sardinian army should cross the Tronto to prevent Garibaldi and his volunteers from occupying Rome. The proclamation of the kingdom of Italy, without its natural capital and the Venetian provinces, showed that Napoleon had no other intention than to keep it in a state of impotence. The frontiers open, the heart of the nation occupied by a foreign garrison, the new King had no weight in Europe, and must ask the permission of Paris to move. Then came the fratricide of Aspromonte, and, apprehending that a new popular movement might be directed against the Pope, Bonaparte imposed the Convention of September 15, 1864, by which Florence was chosen as the capital of the new kingdom, and the Italian Government recognised the territory of the Pope and assumed the obligation of defending it against every attack from without. It was a declaration of civil war which was imposed on Italy. And three years later this would have happened, when Garibaldi with his volunteers invaded the Roman provinces, if at Florence, at the head of the Government, there had not been a true heart. Urban Rattazzi had had too much of Aspromonte, and refused to repeat the tragedy which was dictated to

the sacrifice was complete, and Garibaldi, who had occupied a good part of the Tyrol, and Medici, who was a few miles from Trent, were ordered by telegraph to retreat; a few days after General Lebœuf, in the name and by orders of Napoleon III., handed over Venice to the commissioner of the King. Four years later, almost at the same date, Napoleon was conquered at Sedan, and only through this was Italy enabled to occupy her capital.

Certainly this brief story will suffice to show that Napoleon III. was the most rancorous enemy of Italian unity, and that it was against his will that Italy became a State. Nevertheless, to the demonstration of facts let us add the confirmation of official documents. The Minister Thouvenel, on the 12th of July 1861, wrote, by order of his master, to the Ambassadors of Austria and Spain these words: "We have seen with pain that the stipulations of Villafranca and of Zürich have not been fully executed, and it was our desire that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should not be overthrown." And on the 15th of April 1865, during the discussion of the Convention of September in the Chamber of Deputies, the Minister Rouher said:

"When Naples was attacked, when the Marches and Umbria were invaded, the French Government was profoundly disturbed. It could not then, perhaps, speak with more force, but it hoped that a reconciliation was still possible. If in effect the revolutionary element had combined with the national movement, the separation was effected at Aspromonte. Let Italy study her internal reorganisation and the reform of her legislation, but not cast her looks imprudently on the few square leagues and the population of 600,000 souls, or she will run into a great danger. If she does not wish to put herself in an uncertain and precarious situation, let her not think of Rome; if she wishes to avoid the beginnings of dissolution and of death, let her not think of Rome; if she wishes to avoid frightful conflicts, let her not think of Rome. These are not words of menace, but warnings of friendship and sympathy."

It was, however, a menace—and Mentana proved it. The same Minister, on the 5th of December 1867, after having pleaded the cause of the Pope, concluded his speech with these sentences, which confirm his hostile feeling towards the Italian people:—

"We are confronted by this dilemma: the Pope must have Rome; and the Italians cannot do without it. We declare that Italy shall never become mistress of Rome. Never will France support such a violence done to her honour and her Catholicism. She will demand of Italy the rigorous and energetic execution of the Convention of September, otherwise she will provide by her own means. Is this clear?"

These words, often interrupted by the unanimous applause of the Chamber, were the echo of the public opinion of France. But beside this, if other evidence were necessary, there are two diplomatic transactions which it is worth while to recall. After Mentana, Napoleon III. desired to place the temporal power under a European guarantee. He proposed an international treaty to make

that for nine years peace has been maintained in Europe, and it is a malicious falsehood that the Italian Government has raised difficulties in order to bring about a war. At Florence, at Massowah, at Tunis, the controversies between the two Governments were due to the imprudence of French functionaries, and the Government at Rome had the audacity to defend itself with an energy to which the Government at Paris was not accustomed, having up to 1887 been habituated to find Italy disposed to concessions and deference before demands, even unjust demands, coming from Paris. I do not know what the Marquis di Rudini may do in 1892; but I wish to ask one question. It is this: What has France done to convince Italy that a separation from the central Powers would be useful to her? Up to this day goes on the war of tariffs which France began in 1885 against Italy; and Cardinal Lavigerie continues to flatter the Vatican that sooner or later, with the Republic, the Pope will resume his civil power. Hostile demonstrations are certainly not the means by which harmony is shown or brotherhood proved.

It has been said that Italy, before the alliance with the two Empires, was in a prosperous condition, and that now she is in misery from the increase of taxation, the consequence of the increased armaments. The errors of the author of the article to which I am replying are as many as his ideas. To prove the financial progress of Italy, and that it is a mistake to suppose that it has gone backward since 1882, let us examine and institute a comparison between the conditions of the Peninsula in 1860—*i.e.*, the year in which its unification began—and those of to-day. Ports, roads, telegraphs, railways, army, navy, all were wanting to the young nation, and had all to be provided; hence it is that, studying the Budgets of the thirty years of its national life, we see the steady increase in its income and expenditure as in all the European States.

I do not know whether the author of the article has travelled in Italy, or whether he follows the French novel-writers, who, after their manner, write romances, and not history, when they write about foreign countries. It is certain that, if the author had visited the agricultural sections as well as the great cities of the Peninsula, he would have formed more serious opinions, and not have repeated the nonsense about the *Agro Romano* current twenty years ago, before Rome became the capital of Italy. It is worth while, then, to recall certain data which show the financial progress of the new Italy. In 1861, the year of the constitution of the kingdom, there were 2561 kilometres of railway; in 1890 there were 15,600, and they had cost 2,946,785,894 lire. By the laws of 1881 and 1885 public works to the amount of about three milliards were decreed. For other public works in 1862 there were provided in the Budget 18,771,914 lire.

These appropriations were increased from year to year, until in the Budget of 1890-91 they reached the sum of 39,170,676 lire. From the actual outlay, as stated in the returns, it is shown that from 1862 to 1891 there were expended in this direction 810 millions. Since the riches of a country are in the measure of its production, we may affirm that, according to the tariff of 1887, manufactures, especially the textile, have made progress; nor are the conditions of agricultural industry different, though since 1884 the landlords have complained of a crisis which affects all Europe. The production of cereals rose from 71,303,000 hectolitres in 1862 to 86,325,000 in 1889, and the production of wine, one of the principal exports of Italy, which in 1862 was 24,003,000 hectolitres, in 1890 was 36,760,000. Another indication not less significant of the prosperity of the country is its sanitary condition. The mortality in 1866 was 30 per 1000, but had fallen in 1887 to 27, and in 1888 to 25.

Much has been said of the injury to Italy resulting from the rupture of the commercial relations with France. The fact is that both countries suffer. From calculations made by a French Chamber of Commerce in Milan it appears that the losses of France have been about 200 millions of francs, while Italy is slowly recouping from other countries what she loses from France. Italian exports to France, which were in 1887, the last year of the treaty, 404 millions, fell the year after to 170, and in 1889 to 165. There was, on the other hand, an increase with other States, and to them the exports rose from 597 millions to 785. Similar proportions are observed in the imports from France into Italy. In 1887 these amounted to 326 millions, in 1888 they fell to 155, and in 1889 rose again to 167. The returns in the imports from other countries show a slower increase, for they rose from 1019 millions to 1223; but this is not a cause of grief, for it is evident that a people receiving less from abroad has fewer needs, and can, from its own resources, supply the necessities of its existence. However, the conclusion is this: While the exports from Italy into France fell in the proportion of 100 to 37, they increased in respect to other countries from 100 to 135, from which we gather that the losses did not exceed 28 per 100. The losses of France were more serious, for her exports to Italy fell from 100 to 54. It is useless, therefore, to proclaim to the four winds that, Italy having by her political management broken off her commercial relations with her neighbours, the Triple Alliance is the cause of all her troubles.

It is, moreover, untrue that since 1881, in consequence of the treaty of alliance with the two Empires, the taxes have been increased in Italy on account of the increased armaments. This is a subject easy to demonstrate, and I shall not have great difficulty in showing that in that also the author of the article is mistaken. During

the last nine years no new tax has been imposed by the Italian Parliament; some have been suppressed;—the grist tax and that on the smaller incomes in the tax on personal property, and two-tenths of the war increase on the real estate tax; and the price of salt has been reduced. These were certainly imprudences, for the income of the State lost by them more than 145 millions a year. It is true that it was hoped to obtain compensation for them by custom-house taxes; the calculations were inaccurate, and we found the income decreasing. We must believe that the writer of the article referred to has never studied the Budget of Italy, for he errs not only in his reasoning but in his figures. Let us rectify the one and the other. According to the statements of expenses approved by Parliament, the expenditure in 1881 was 1,467,648,225 lire, and in 1889-90, 1,879,636,028 lire. There was, then, an increase of 411,987,803 lire, but this was not only on account of the military expenses, but for public works, railways included. From official statistics it appears that of the sums inscribed for the extraordinary expenses in the general Budget of the State, a third was devoted to works of public utility. We read in the book referred to that in the ten years from 1877 to 1887, out of a sum of 1,273,200,876 lire there were spent on public works, harbours, roads, &c., 452,317,294 lire; and that for railways, while in 1877 the expenditure was 57,644,652 lire, in the year 1888-89 it was 235,784,102 lire. These figures prove satisfactorily my assertions.

It is clear, then, that these expenditures being all of an economical character, the treaty of alliance had nothing to do with them, and that the increase of expenditure in the Budget would have happened without it; from which we see that there is no reason to despond, for the Italian people do not lack the means to supply the needs of the State. They need the man who will know how to apply the resources which the country offers, and who, above all, dares to encounter unpopularity and conquer popular prejudices. I have said above that several imposts have been abolished which gave the Government 145 millions a year; and I will add that not all in Italy pay equally in proportion to their means, and that a part of the personal property escapes the researches of the fisc. Our armaments have been purely defensive, and none but an ignorant man or a mendacious one could say the contrary.

The kingdom of Italy cannot be unarmed, having on its frontiers two military Powers of the first order, and the liberty of the Mediterranean being already compromised. This necessity is evident, nor is it true that its armaments are the result of the alliances with the two Empires. Recent history makes them obligatory, and ancient history proves that Italy, being divided and unarmed, was always the field of battle of other nations. Being included in the Triple Alliance, Italy can limit her armaments to those purely necessary for the defence

of her territory on one side. On the contrary, if she were alone, if she were obliged to depend only on herself, she must triple her army and fortifications to provide against the dangers which might fall on her from the two frontiers and the coast in case of war. If to-morrow France and Germany should take up arms, Austria could not remain idle, even apart from the treaty of alliance of 1879. It is unquestionable, moreover, that Russia, taking advantage of the general dissension, would move her army towards the Levant, where questions are always open on account of the Bulgarian Government not being yet recognised. In such a state of things, it is improbable that Italy could remain neutral, and would not be obliged to take part; and she might not be able to go where she pleased if she were not well armed. Those who desire to see her unarmed, do so because they wish her weak and helpless, and therefore a prey to her enemies, as she was after the fall of the Roman Empire. There are those who even to-day would see Italy a workshop of artists, a museum of antiquities, but not a nation. But she exists, and the States that are her rivals must tolerate her, even if they have no disposition to love her. Since the constitution of the kingdom, the party of action has by its chiefs in Parliament constantly demanded the organisation of the army, the fortification of the frontiers, and the defence of her waters. In 1862 a commission of generals was appointed for this purpose, and only in 1871 did it present its plans, which have not to this day been entirely carried out. The Ministries which succeeded each other for sixteen years built and demolished the fortresses on the frontiers, formed and dissolved the army,—sometimes from reasons of economy which were not always realised, so that from 1862 to 1886 there were spent four and a half milliards, and Italy still had not a force capable of defending herself efficiently against an attack on the frontier and by sea. It was only in 1882, just before the signature of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, that Parliament gave definite organisation to the army; in 1884 it voted the law for the completion of the defences, and in 1885 a considerable credit for armament and fortification.

When the Crispi Ministry was formed (August 7, 1887), and for the period during which the fortunes of the nation were entrusted to it, the military expenses were limited to those which had been voted by its predecessors, and even the law of December 1889 had no other object than to anticipate the amount voted in 1885. To show how absurd are the accusations of having increased the armaments, the facts stated suffice; but to show that the burthens of the Italian taxpayer were not so serious as is stated, I add still a few figures. For the financial year 1888-89—the year most seriously burthened with military expenditure—the Italian citizen, for the possession of an efficient national defence, paid 18 lire a year, while

in Germany the contribution was 20 for each individual, in Great Britain 21, and in France 25.

It being proved that the Italian Government had not nor could have offensive intentions, and that its armaments were and are the result of a normal organisation of the national forces and for purely defensive purposes, all the hypotheses of our accuser are shown to be erroneous, and fall to the ground. I am willing to believe that France will not attack Italy, but if she wishes, let her do so; it would be one of the many errors of which her kings were guilty. The expedition against Rome in 1849 was a blot on the Republic, not completely expiated by the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December. And I can say that Italy will not give the pretext for an aggression, as she gave none for the preceding wars. Calculations are based on the Papacy and on the Radicals; it is thought that both are causes of weakness in the Italian monarchy; the author of the article, indeed, takes them into special account and calculation as auxiliaries in case of war. The Radicals, as a body militant, have no importance. They are few, undisciplined, without a directing intelligence, and without means of action. They are noisy, and therefore, from a distance and to those who do not know them near by, seem a cohort ready to rise and demolish the present state of things; nevertheless, the Radicals in Italy have virtues which their colleagues in other countries do not possess. If Italy were assailed by a foreign army, they would remember that they were Italians, and would fight in defence of their country. They have shown this in all the past; in 1848, in 1859, 1860, and 1866, the soldiers who fought with Garibaldi for the national redemption were Radicals.

The Pope, while he was King, had need of a foreign garrison to rule. On the 24th of November 1848, Pius IX., convinced of his helplessness against the revolution which menaced him, fled to Gaeta, where he asked and obtained asylum from the Bourbon Ferdinand. When, after his continued defeats, Napoleon III. in 1870 had to recall his troops from Rome, the Antibes legion (French soldiers disguised) were left alone to defend him, and, these conquered, Pius IX. found no one in his realm to defend him. The Italian clergy underwent a transformation after September 1870; their independence in the exercise of their spiritual functions is absolute, and it would be difficult to find its parallel in other Catholic countries. Nevertheless, they have not lost their old ways, which come from their ancient education. In Piedmont the clergy are faithful to the dynasty of Savoy; in Venice, Lombardy, Tuscany, in the kingdom of Naples, and in Sicily they were never Papal, and are not so now. One may count on one's fingers the clerical bishops; and even in Rome one must look

amongst the high ecclesiastical functionaries to find partisans of the temporal power. Leo XIII. demands it, desires it, but fears to resume it, and, whenever he discusses it, finishes by saying that if the civil power were restored to him, it would be so difficult to maintain it that he might, if he became King, before long be obliged to ask for the return of the Italian troops.

Italy has good soldiers, says our enemy, and good officers. This is a concession of which we may take note; but he doubts if there is a chief who is capable of directing the soldiers and officers in battle. This may, indeed, be said of France, judging by the proofs she gave in 1870. But in all these doubts there is one thing fairly assured: that, if France attacked Italy, Germany would renew the movement of 1870, and that Austria would be found side by side with King Humbert. England, interested in the Mediterranean, could not be inactive. The game, to say the least, would not be a sure one for the Government of the Republic, since the Great Powers would be opposed to it. But here I am willing to admit an absurdity, and to suppose for an instant that England, Austria, Germany, and Italy were defeated by France, defeated by arms and by intrigues. It is a magnificent dream for the *chauvins* to have Europe at their feet, Waterloo and Sedan avenged, the Treaty of Frankfort of 1871 and what remains of that of 1815 wiped out! But the intrigues of France are understood, and that her Government has long employed them; they have also often been circumvented. The military side of the affair is more difficult, if I may be permitted to say so. To conquer the three allied Powers, France must have at least four millions of soldiers, and she has not got them; she must moreover, to become mistress of the sea, have a fleet superior to that of Great Britain, Austria, Germany, and Italy.

France in the years since 1870 has spent on her army and fleet four milliards, but there is a limit to everything, and her forces are necessarily proportioned to her population. What she has done in the last twenty years is certainly extraordinary, and it has obliged the other Governments to increase their armaments as well. The French Parliament has increased its military Budget from 420 millions to 735, and that of the navy from 182 to 254; nor was this enough, for in a special Budget she appropriated the enormous sum of 1073 millions; and, as if not satisfied with that, by the laws of June and December 1888 established for the same purpose a credit of 770 millions. All this is amazing, and proves not only the power of ambition, but that of the patriotism of France. Nevertheless, as the number of soldiers is always in proportion to that of the population, it is necessary to remember that the population of France is less than one-fourth of that of the States of the Triple Alliance.

I have alluded to French intrigues, and I will recall one which

proves the insidiousness of the attitude of the Government of the Republic towards the Government of Rome, and at the same time shows the reluctance of Leo XIII. to enter openly into undertakings which might cause him to be accused of being the cause of a war between France and Italy. He fears to alienate the Italian clergy and provoke a schism which would injure Catholicism. Two years ago Count Lefebvre de Behaine was at Paris during the summer, I do not know for what reasons, whether for the usual *cong * or for political motives. He had left Italy after having come to an understanding with certain high functionaries of the Curia, who are the most fanatical advocates of the temporal power. One day, about the beginning of July, M. Baylin de Monbel, the Charg  d'Affaires of the Embassy of France to the Vatican, went to the Pope with a telegram, announcing that it was time to leave, and that in France all was ready. The telegram said, "Faites vite, car tout est pr t." Leo XIII., who prefers the Vatican to an uncertainty, replied that it was necessary to consider, that he must consult the College of Cardinals in a matter of such gravity, and that M. de Monbel must come again in a couple of days. M. de Monbel, who is known in the Roman world as a man of infinite resource, went to the audience appointed, accompanied by the General of the Jesuits. The Pope this time opposed the plan, showing his aversion to an act which might turn out otherwise than safe for him. M. de Monbel then proposed a simulation of flight, a trip to a neighbouring shore ; but this made the Pope still more hesitating, and nothing was decided. The French Ministry had prepared a dilemma : if the Pope succeeded in escaping and taking refuge in France, the Roman question would revive, obliging the Powers to resolve it ; if the Italian Government hindered the flight of Leo XIII., it would be proved that he was not free in his movements, and the Catholic Powers would be obliged to undertake his defence. In the one case or the other, war would be inevitable, and as Italy would have been the cause of it, she could not plead the *casus f deris*, and would have been left alone against France. The plan failed, but another was attempted, this time easier to detect.

One day there came to Rome one of those people who call themselves agents of the Latin league, who go and come to and from Paris under the pretext of reconciling the two countries. In fact, he was an *agent provocateur*. He had been in the Vosges with Garibaldi, had been an officer of artillery, was freely received in the military workshops of France, and, in consequence, was intimate with certain generals of the Republic. He had an interview with a high functionary of the Italian Government, to whom he confided as a State secret that an expedition against Italy was already decided on. To put it into effect they waited for an excuse in some question which should be raised. The Government of the Republic had decided to attack Italy by sea

assistance of the allied powers. The furious Sicilian, as the journals delight to call him, did not fall into the snare, and even communicate the information to his colleagues. He returned to Paris, with the conviction that the Ministry at least had no desire for war.

The Italian Confederation—i.e., weakness—is the object of the desires of French statesmen. It is the plan of Napoleon. In 1859 he wanted it with the federation of princes; to-day through the Republic; a great State, a rival State, they would tolerate. It is a malady which dates from the time of Louis XIV. and which had got into the blood of Thiers, who reproached the Ministers of the Empire with having, contrary to the tradition of France, permitted the constitution of Germany and Italy.

It is useless to talk of the Confederation. At the Congress of Vienna they would not even discuss the idea of a federation, though it was proposed. Attempted in 1820 and 1848, it disappeared in defeat. I have shown in the preceding pages how the arrangement between the two Emperors was received, and how, of them, Italian unity was effected. The Republic would have been less fortunate, no traditions of it existing in any region of Italy. In the spring of 1870 Mazzini attempted a Republican movement, but failed, although his propaganda had penetrated even into the mountains. It gave rise to the Barsanti incident, and to the band of Nathan on the mountains above Lake Como—a band which was compelled to disperse by the indifference of the population around them. They took refuge in Switzerland. Distrusted on the Continent, they made an attempt in Sicily, urged by some agitators, who had made use of the name of the great patriot, to call to arms the population of Palermo. We all know the result: Mazzini's death.

was helpless before the Pope, and that only the people could take possession of their capital. To-day there is not even this motive. The King entered Rome in September, 1870, and remains there. This was an act of the most revolutionary character for a dynasty that holds somewhat from the divine right. The Pope, freed from all his grave cares of civil rule, has exercised his high spiritual authority for twenty-one years in absolute independence, blessing and cursing; and this is the greatest proof the Royal Government can give of toleration towards a Pretender, and the best affirmation of the needlessness of the Republic, because the Supreme Pontiff rules freely over the Catholic world.

It is time to conclude, and I conclude, begging those Frenchmen who are gifted with common-sense, those democrats who are animated by good-will, all those who desire the reign of peace in the world, to overrule the politicians by profession, and compel them to cease this newspaper war which they are waging on Italy in the hope of converting it into a war with cannon. Italy wishes to live in tranquillity; she has no jealousies, no envies, no plans of aggression; she has need of peace to reorganise her internal affairs and complete her unity. She has no other ambition than to co-operate with the other nations in the progress of civilisation.

And this is my desire.

AN ITALIAN STATESMAN.

CHILD-LABOUR.

I.

MINIMUM AGE FOR LABOUR OF CHILDREN.

BY our existing law the minimum age for child-labour is ten. The Factories and Workshops Bill, introduced by the Home Secretary, contained no new provision as to the age at which children may be employed in factories and workshops. This omission, after all that has been said and written in and out of Parliament in the last years, and especially as we shall see in the International Labour Conference in Berlin, is strange, and, except upon one inadequate supposition, unintelligible.

From the International Congress in Berlin Sir John Gorst, writing to Lord Salisbury on the 18th of March last year, says:

"The Third Commission discussed the age for the admission of children to work in factories, and passed a resolution for an absolute limit of twelve years by the following eight votes in its favour, namely—Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland."

"There were no votes against this resolution, but England, Spain, and Italy abstained from voting."

"We are all (including our experts) in favour of the above proposition, and should be glad to receive instructions as to whether we may support it in plenary conference."*

On March 20 Lord Salisbury replied:

"I approve the course proposed in First and Third Commissions. Our intentions apprehended rightly. To-day's post takes instructions."†

On March 24 Sir John Gorst writes again as follows:

"We understand that we have your Lordship's authority to assent to the following proposals, which are in advance of our present law:

- (a) Raising the minimum age of child labour to twelve years.
- (b) Raising the minimum age of underground labour in mines to fourteen years.
- (c) Providing four weeks' cessation from labour for a woman that has been confined."‡

* Correspondence respecting the International Labour Conference at Berlin, presented to Parliament June 1890, p. 11.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 24.

On March 26 Lord Salisbury replies :

"Your attitude approved. You may assent to three proposals mentioned at the close of your despatch of 24th instant."*

With these repeated and explicit declarations of the Prime Minister it is hard to understand how the Government Bill should omit all reference to a question so vital as the minimum age at which children should be employed, at least in factories and workshops.

In order to supply this signal omission, when the Bill was under consideration in the Grand Committee, Mr. Sydney Buxton proposed the insertion of the following very temperate provision, making full allowance for possible inconvenience in supplying hands :

"On and after the first day of January 1893 no child under the age of 11 years, and on and after the first day of January 1894 no child under the age of 12 years shall be employed in a factory or workshop; and, except as therein provided, any parent causing or permitting his or her child to be employed in contravention of this section for hire, and any person employing such child for hire shall be guilty of misdemeanour."

Mr. Buxton's amendment was rejected by 26 votes to 23.

On this disastrous result we will make only three remarks :

1. If the Government Bill shall pass in its present state we shall have departed from our express assent given at the International Conference at Berlin. We shall then have placed ourselves on a lower level than Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland; and taken our place on the same level with Spain and Italy, which, after all allowance made for their southern climate, are no examples for the greatest and most advanced industrial people of the world. The comments of the other European Powers on this act of the English Government will certainly not gratify either our self-love or our self-respect. Moreover, there is an ominous sentence in Sir John Gorst's letter of March 24, in which he says: "We support all the resolutions of the various Commissions, so far as they are in accordance with existing English law. Where the proposals of the Commissions do not come up to the existing law we propose to call the notice of the Conferences thereto, and to recommend our system for their adoption."†

This would seem to say that it is we who teach the nations how to live, and how to legislate. If so, the rejection of Mr. Buxton's amendment is a mournful abdication of our high estate. Of all the chief European nations we should be conspicuously the last, for when England is in question neither Italy or Spain can count. We have great reason to fear that this failure in high legislative wisdom will seriously strengthen the opposition in foreign countries to their actual just and humane legislation in behalf of childhood.

* Correspondence respecting the International Labour Conference at Berlin, presented to Parliament June 1890, p. 31.

† *Ibid.* p. 24.

2. Another obvious remark to be made is this, there is no surer test of the civilisation of a people than the way in which parents and legislators treat the children of the land. Those who are old enough to remember how the efforts of the late Lord Shaftesbury were hindered and sometimes defeated by both Whigs and Tories, who prophesied with the confidence of plenary inspiration that the prohibition to employ children, and often mere infants, in factories where the filaments and fluff of cotton caused rapid disease and death, would paralyse the commercial prosperity of England, will look on now with impatient sorrow at any legislation which shall not at once raise the minimum age for employment of children in factories and workshops to the age of twelve at least. It is more than vain to talk about the claim of parents to profit by the wages of their children. Their children are not chattels, but human beings with rights of their own, which no parents for their own pleasures or uses may violate. And if parents fail to protect the rights of their children, the Commonwealth is bound to do so. This opens a large subject on which we need not enter further now, for the revelations of the National Society for the Protection of Children from Cruelty have already humbled us in the light of civilisation, but at the same time it has vindicated both the conscience and heart of the English race.

3. A last and obvious reflection is this: If you wish to bury an urgent duty, appoint a Royal Commission, and strongly report upon our obligations in a Blue Book. The late Commission on Education reported unanimously that the minimum age for the employment of children should be raised from ten to eleven.* A large number of the members, probably a majority, would have voted the minimum age twelve; but, and in the face of this, the new Factory Bill omits the whole question, and a majority of the Grand Committee rejects Mr. Buxton's very guarded and temperate amendment.

There is no need now for the repetition of facts which are self-evident. It is enough to say that the years of childhood up to twelve at least are without price to children, and the loss of them can never be recovered. It is a wrong and a robbery to deprive our children of the full period needed for their education—that is, not only for their intellectual instruction, but for the moral formation of their character. Much evidence was laid before the Education Commission to show that the half-time system is an ill-advised compromise. It hinders the solid acquisition of knowledge and effaces much that has been already learnt. And worse than this, it is not only hurtful to the children one by one, but it seriously affects the discipline and moral qualities of the school to which they return. The half-timers come back with the habit of liberty that they have learned in factories

* Final Report: Recommendation 48, p. 212.

and workshops—a liberty given to them before they know how to use it—to the disturbance of the order and conduct of the school.

When the Bill for factories and workshops reaches the stage of Report in the House of Commons, Mr. Buxton will once more have opportunity to propose his amendment, and we are unwilling to think it possible that a proposal so vital to our children, and sanctioned by the example of the Great Powers of Europe, can be again rejected. Surely our faith is pledged to the International Labour Conference in Berlin, and to our own dignity as the first industrial Power of the world.

HENRY EDWARD CARD. MANNING.

THE HALF-WAYERS

When the Factory and Workshops Bill was before the Standing Committee in 1846 a few weeks ago two amendments were made to add a clause to the Bill in the interests of the half-timers. Some members feared that some further clause may be inserted when the House comes to deal with the Bill in the House of Commons. It may be to the end to say a few words especially with reference to the clause inserted which requires the young majority of the half-timers to present a card that they be sent to work at the age of ten provided it appears on the card a statement of recommendation which shall be signed by the parent or guardian of the child. The clause is the first and gives the following effect: as he is under ten years of age he shall be sent to work at the age of ten years; and every child between ten and twelve working the other half; and the recommendation shall be a half-timer. It is the age of twelve as he passed the Fourth Schedule he becomes a young person and may work full time. When he is fourteen he may work full time provided it is recommended. The clause will make the law to say at age ten for beginning work. They say that children of such tender years ought not to be required to say a statement that is full of immorality and is a bad thing. They say that it is the duty of the parent to the child to send him to the factory. The clause is a clause giving the law to say that the law of 1844 is still under the law of 1844 and in 1844 the law of 1844 is still under the law of 1844 and in 1844 the law of 1844 is still under the law of 1844.

William Houldsworth then proposed the addition of a similar clause, but dealing only with children between the ages of ten and eleven, and making the latter age the commencing limit of half-time. This was rejected by 27 to 22. Mr. Buxton then proposed that no child under the age of fourteen should be employed unless it had passed the Fifth Standard, or such higher Standard as might for the time being be in force under the by-law of the local authority. The Committee rejected this proposal by a much larger majority, and there for the present the matter rests.

Whether the House can be induced to go back upon the Report, and to insert in the Bill one or other of the rejected clauses, remains to be seen. I venture to hope that an effort will be made to bring about a reconsideration of the question, and that it will succeed. The Standing Committees are composed, to a large extent, of hon. members who have a general knowledge of the subject-matter of the class of Bills with which they will have to deal, or who represent constituencies more especially interested in them. This is a wise arrangement, and the results are beneficial. But there are some questions on which mere knowledge is not sufficient. Sympathy is wanted as well, together with a clear discernment and a just appreciation of the moral interests involved. We have long heard that knowledge is power, but power may be the very thing that needs softening or moderating or turning in a right direction. The Standing Committee on Trade may be trusted in everything that relates to trade, but in things that relate to education, physical well-being, the good of families, and the welfare of society, a tribunal constituted on a wider basis may be desirable. The question of half-timers is just one of those on which an appeal may fairly be made to the House, since it has to do with sectional interests, and sectional interests need to be controlled by the general sense of the community. Factory children have long since been placed under the special protection of Parliament. It has been found necessary to defend them against the indifference of employers who are willing to take what suits them when it is offered, and against the short-sighted eagerness of parents to make a premature profit out of their offspring. If the Factory Bills which have been before Parliament at various times for the last forty years had been doomed to await their fiat from a Standing Committee on Trade, it is possible that very few of them would have found their way to the Statute Book. The House of Commons as a whole has assumed the responsibility of deciding upon such questions, and either now in connection with the Factory and Workshops Bill, or at an early period by a more general measure, we may hope that it will be asked to pronounce judgment on the claims of the half-timers.

The first thing to be considered is the welfare of the children themselves. They belong to their parents, but they also belong to

the nation. In a few years they will enter into the material of which adult society is made, and we have to be on our guard against a damaged article. The nation has recognised its interest as well as its obligations by devoting millions of money every year to the instruction of the young, and it has a right to see that the utmost possible amount of benefit is derived from the outlay. Those who agree with Mr. Buxton contend that ten years of age is too soon to send a child to work at a factory under the half-time system. This division of time between labour and learning seems nice in theory. It lends itself to the idea that some sort of manual instruction should be given to children from very early years. Mr. Matthews tells us that the work is light, and the imagination, which is often optimist, readily pictures the children running blithely from the spindle to the desk. But the reality does not quite correspond to this idyllic conception. The half-timer works six hours a day. He has to be in the factory in the morning when the clock strikes six. To do this he must be up at half-past five, for he may live a mile away, though the average distance is perhaps less. His first spell of work is from six to eight, when there is a break of half an hour for breakfast. The interval is too short to allow him to go home for the meal, and he has probably brought it with him. At half-past eight he begins work again, and goes on till half-past twelve. His half-time is now finished; he goes home to dinner, and is at school by two o'clock, where he remains till half-past four. This is his half-time at school. He has worked six hours, and has spent two hours and a half at his lessons. After tea he has to prepare his lessons for the next day, with the visit of the Inspector before his eyes, and then he may think of going to bed.

Mr. Matthews is within the mark in saying that the work at the factory is light. There are no heavy burdens to be carried. Hardly any muscular exertion is required. The business of the half-timer is to piece together the ends of the thread when it happens to break in the process of spinning. The machine at which he works is the spinning mule. One part of it is a sort of travelling frame which advances a distance of 63 inches from the fixed part of the machine, the thread being spun as it advances, and then returns, the thread then being wound round the spindle. The mule completes three and a half such motions per minute—that is, three and a half times 126 inches. The piecer follows the travelling frame to and fro, bending over it with searching eyes to discover where a thread is broken, and then, with what seems like a mere touch of the finger, the ends are joined together. He cannot relax his vigilance for a moment; his eyes and hands and feet are incessantly engaged, and by the time he has finished his six hours he has walked miles and a half. A mule contains 950 spindles, and of course

as many threads. These are all under his inspection, and he must work unremittingly to keep pace with the average number of breakages. The rooms in which the piecers work are loftier than they used to be, and there is plenty of air; but the temperature is high—from 80° to 90° . The piecer works in his shirt. He may not feel the heat as one would who is unaccustomed to it, but he nevertheless perspires. It is a small matter, but yet of some sanitary consequence. His garments are not saturated, but they have a warm dampness about them which may turn to a clinging chilliness in the cooler atmosphere outside. A run home is the best thing, and then a corner by the fire, or, perhaps better still, a change of clothes. Without such precautions there must always be some danger to health. There may be some, perhaps, in the transition from walking all morning in a temperature of 90° to sitting still all afternoon, with the clothes unchanged, in a room where the temperature is twenty or thirty degrees lower.

All this is a rather stiff dose of work and learning for a child of ten. Mr. Buxton would have us defer it for a couple of years, and make twelve the starting-point for half-time. That the children's interests, physical and intellectual, present and future, would be promoted by the change can hardly be doubted. The only consideration that can make us hesitate is the loss to the parents of the child's wages. Mr. Matthews puts the total amount earned by half-timers between ten and twelve, in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, at £5500 a week or £278,000 a year, which, divided among the 39,000 who are employed in the three counties, is something less than three shillings a week per child. Sir W. Houldsworth thinks that children between ten and eleven cannot earn much more than two shillings. In Oldham, the great centre of cotton-spinning, where more cotton is spun than in any other town in the world, the earnings of children between the given ages are higher. A "little" piecer on full time will earn ten shillings or eleven shillings a week. This will of course be divided between two half-timers, one of whom may get five shillings and the other four, the immediate employer, perhaps, keeping the balance as a teaching fee. The factory-owner has but little concern in the matter. The minder of the mule is the actual employer of the children. He employs a "big" piecer and a "little" piecer, the little piecers being the half-timers. At the end of the week he is paid according to the number of hanks he has produced; out of this sum he pays his piecers, and the rest, from 32s. to 40s., is his wages. There is therefore no occasion to inveigh against the greed of Lancashire employers. It is solely a question for the minders, or head workmen. They no doubt like to pay as little as they can for the services of the children, and if those between the ages of ten and twelve were cut off, the supply of child-labour would

be sensibly reduced. But for this consideration they would not care much for half-timers, who are apt to give trouble, and whose labour is not continuous. Notwithstanding what Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Mr. Maclean have said of the opinions of their factory constituents, there is not much doubt that the minders would soon be reconciled to the change. The parents would of course have to lose the child's wages for a couple of years. Except in rare and extreme cases, this would involve no great hardship, while it would be borne for their children's benefit, and ultimately for their own. It is now certain that, whatever Government may be in power, school-fees will soon be abolished. The remission in point of money will be no equivalent to the parents for the loss of their children's wages, but it shows an anxiety for the welfare of the rising generation which, for reasons which should be of overwhelming force with them, they may be expected to share. It will be of good omen if the sacrifice exacted should tend to foster a worthier ideal of parental duty.

The Government ought to have no hesitation in adopting Mr. Buxton's clause as their own. The British representatives at the Berlin Labour Conference, with the sanction and subsequent approval of Lord Salisbury, voted for the proposal that children should not begin work before the age of twelve. "The limit of twelve years," said Sir John Gorst, "has been specially adopted by the Conference in consideration of the demands of physical, moral, and intellectual development of the children. It is specially because lesser restrictions would not be sufficient for the necessary primary instruction, nor for the making of good citizens, that these first years of life should be consecrated to education." And then he added, in conclusion: "We can pledge ourselves for Great Britain that our Government, faithful to its action in the past, will conform resolutely in the future, if it does not even go beyond them, to the benevolent principles of the Conference." It is now for the Government to redeem the pledge which it gave in the face of Europe.

HENRY DUNCKLEY.

THE LAW OF DIVORCE.

A REPLY TO MR. GLADSTONE.

WHATEVER may be said in favour of divorce extension, it appears to be universally conceded that in the great Commonwealth of America, or several of its States and Territories, there is a latitudinarianism in the laws on that subject and a laxity in their administration, fatal eventually to the institution of marriage; whether we regard alone its holy character, or the mutual obligations, religious and moral, which it imposes. It is not denied that on the observance of these depend the ties which bind families together, and sustain the social fabric. The question for solution, therefore, has been for those peoples, as for Germany and other parts of Europe, and more recently has arisen in our Australian colonies, when and under what circumstances, if at all, dissolution of the marriage contract shall by law be allowed, in case of the violation, more or less gross, of these obligations. To aid in that solution, the Rev. S. W. Dike, LL.D., the energetic secretary of the Divorce Reform League of America, proposed, through the *North American Review*, four questions, to be answered by persons eminent in character and position, of known antagonistic views. In reply to this invitation, there was sent to that periodical in December last, by—among other distinguished respondents—the venerable scholar and statesman, Mr. Gladstone, a contribution eminently characteristic, upon which the writer of this article, an Australian legislator, desires to offer some comments.

The questions submitted by Dr. Dike were four—(1) Whether divorce ought to be allowed under any circumstances? (2) Whether divorced persons ought to be allowed to marry again? (3) What would probably be the effect of divorce on the integrity of the family? (4) Is the absolute prohibition of divorce favourable to personal purity, or conducive to the general welfare of society?

Mr. Gladstone commences by observing, that "The future of America, in its highest features, vitally depends upon the incidents of marriage," that "The solidity and health of the social body depends upon the soundness of its unit," and that "That unit is the family." These propositions may safely be admitted, without touching the questions proposed. For, in the first place, we have to inquire, what are not only the legal, but the actual matter-of-fact, incidents of marriage; the results flowing from or in effect traceable to them. Are the highest interests of this unit, for example, or of society, submerged or promoted, where the father is an habitual drunkard or criminal, or both criminal and drunkard, brutal in conduct and infamous in speech—one, perhaps, who has, after years of inflicted cruelty on his wife, attempted her murder—are those interests advanced by retaining the ruffian in his position in the family? And if not, are they promoted (supposing that in the cases put judicial separation would be attainable) by sentencing the innocent wife, equally with the father, to life-long temptations to vice, with the evils and crimes attendant on concubinage and illegitimacy, and the impossibility of retrieval in a second married life? The home may equally be desecrated, and family life rendered hopeless, by a drunken or dissolute wife. Is it for the interests of the children, or the welfare of the State, that she should still preside over them, or retain the wifely name? Again, there are often occurring cases of cruel, persistent, heartless desertion; either by wife or husband. Can the social body be healthy, or its units truly said to be sound, in which homes are destroyed by incidents such as these; virtually remediless by law, unless we are content to call that a remedy which Indissolubility provides? But these were in effect the questions to be answered; and except by inference from texts, themselves of controverted application and meaning, the distinguished respondent has not answered them. On those texts Mr. Gladstone relies for the conclusion that divorce is scripturally unlawful; but as to the results of the dogma, or its alternative, the separation of the parties, he is silent. He notices incidentally the subject of jactitation, or nullity of marriage; cases where there has in fact been a solemn contract of union, but where the law of the land or the Church, invoked only at the will of the parties, or one of them—and in unscrupulous times made the easy road to divorce—holds it to be invalid. But with these topics we have at present no concern.

The practical annihilation of marriage by separation of the parties merely, was invented originally by monks and canonists; but Mr. Gladstone holds that it is that alone to which the passages in St. Matthew (fifth and nineteenth chapters) respecting "putting away" apply. He observes, that in the thirty-second verse of the former, the word "divorced" in our ordinary version is changed to

the words "put away" in the Revised Version. I am unable to discover for what purpose that observation was made. The probability is, simply, that the revisers adopted in that verse the words "put away" for uniformity's sake alone. In every other place where the separation of married persons is spoken of, the words used are "put away." They are the same in the two other Gospels, in our own and in the Douay Bible. It may be added, that neither in that nor in the Revised Version is there any variation in the passages relating to the subject, except such as are mere differences of expression. Bill of divorcement occurs, for example, instead of writing of divorcement. For "they twain shall be one flesh" in the Anglican, the words are "the twain shall be in one flesh" in the Douay Version (Matt. xix.); and instead of "all men cannot receive this saying" (in our version), the words are, "all receive not this word." Mr. Gladstone, referring to the Greek particle, draws a distinction between the definite words, "The woman put away," and the indefinite, "any woman put away." But the verses in each Gospel refer not to the case of any particular woman, but speak of women (indefinitely) put away. The distinction drawn, therefore, is, as to the matter in hand (may I be pardoned for so saying), without meaning.

But on what grounds does Mr. Gladstone maintain that the words "put away," in St. Matthew, mean separation only, and not absolute divorce? He says that the word "divorced," changed in the Revised Version to "put away," was (or, as he expresses himself, was "apparently") employed in the sense of divorce from bed and board only. And then he assumes that this minor species or degree was the one proposed in the magazine for discussion. "The question now before me," he says, "appears to speak of a severance which does not annul the contract of marriage, nor release the party from its obligations, but which, conditionally, and for certain grave causes, suspends their operation in vital points." Mr. Gladstone is "not prepared to question in any manner the concession which the law of the Church makes in this respect to the necessities and infirmities of human nature." This is very good of Mr. Gladstone; but we Protestants should have been better satisfied had the so-called concession been that of the Saviour, or mentioned in Scripture. And I think it possible to demonstrate, that in adopting this limited construction, the great commentator is mistaken. The law or concession spoken of, separation from bed and board, is said by Mr. Gladstone to be "apparently with the direct authority of St. Paul." But the passages cited (1 Cor. vii. 10, 11) by no means support the suggestion. A command is there given to the wife not to depart from her husband; but if she does depart she must remain unmarried. And the husband is not to put away his wife. This is all that is said. The succeeding verses are as little to the purpose. They relate in terms (ver. 12-15)

to the departing of either wife or husband, being an unbeliever. In that case, the believing spouse is said to be "not under bondage." That can only mean that the marriage is at an end. By what process of induction these six verses, or any of them, can be converted into a recognition of the Church system of bed and board separations, with its obvious evils—the marriage still remaining—one is greatly puzzled to conjecture. Our Lord, in each of the conversations mentioned in the Gospels (Matt. xix. 7, and Mark x. 3), referred to the law in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 1. 2) announced by Moses, authorising the husband, where the wife "finds no favour in his eyes," to write her a bill of divorcement, and send her away. It is immediately added, that "when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife." Such is the Anglican rendering. In the Douay Version the words of permission expressly given are not found; but those which follow, "And when she is departed and married another husband," show equally the woman's right. Such was unquestionably the law to which the Pharisees appealed, when interrogating the Saviour as to the right supposed to be their own. And of this law Christ undoubtedly spoke, in St. Mark's Gospel and St. Matthew's alike, when he asked, What did Moses command you? But that law, as we have seen, using the words "put away" only, meant absolute release from the marriage tie; with the resulting mutual right (certainly to the wife) of re-marriage. In the face of all this, Mr. Gladstone's restriction of Our Lord's words, in the excepted case mentioned by St. Matthew, to separation merely of the man and wife from bed and board, does seem a very strange one. There is nothing to show that the Jews had ever heard of that kind of putting away. Is Mr. Gladstone's construction, with the authoritative exclusion of a divorced wife (but not her husband) from re-marriage, a dogma also of the Church?

Let us examine his contention a little further. It will hardly be maintained that the phrase "put away" in Matthew, Mark and Luke, has not in each the same meaning. But if so, since "putting away" in St. Matthew means, by the hypothesis, judicial separation only—a severance which suspends the marital obligations but does not release them—it follows that "putting away" in the other Gospels alike means a suspended operation only. That limited degree of divorce, consequently, is in them equally forbidden; and, according to those Gospels, in all cases. In other words, unless "putting away" means one thing in Matthew, but another thing in Mark and Luke, the conclusion is irresistible, Mr. Gladstone being the interpreter, that judicial separation equally with divorce proper is forbidden by our Saviour. Yet, for a score of causes, the Church of Rome, followed by that of England, has sanctioned and decreed nevertheless that same forbidden putting away. But the dilemma is

that of indissolubility alone. The natural and right interpretation is in each case the same. The "putting away" of the wife meant divorce, followed by the right of re-marriage. Separation, with the bond of marriage remaining, was unknown. As a measure of protection, or possibly of punishment, its value may perhaps not be disputed; but the evils resulting from it are too obvious to be denied; and, if sanctioned in Scripture, its advocates have hitherto failed to adduce the authority.

Mr. Gladstone, accepting that perilous invention as a substitute, maintains that "according to the laws of just interpretation" re-marriage—in effect divorce proper, so called by him—is "forbidden by the text of Holy Scripture," and therefore "not admissible under any circumstances." In support of this he observes that "the declarations of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and of St. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 10) make no exception"—whether for the cause of fornication or any other. And then he adds, as apparently a special prohibition applied to women, that "the language of St. Matthew prohibits absolutely the re-marriage of a woman divorced or put away." He says that the laws both of the Latin and Anglican Churches "from time immemorial have never allowed re-marriage." The remarkable fact is noticed, parenthetically, that "divorce with liberty to re-marry was included in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* under Edward VI." But, he observes, "that Code never received sanction—in all likelihood it was disapproved by Queen Elizabeth and her advisers." Now, what were the opinions and conclusions on this great question of the very eminent and learned men, bishops, clergy, and laymen, the most trusted of their time, who framed the Code which Mr. Gladstone so summarily disposes of; and how and for what purposes were they appointed?

By the authority of a Statute passed in Edward's third year, a Royal Commission was issued to thirty-two persons, half being clerical and half lay, by whom the whole body of Ecclesiastical Laws was to be re-arranged and revised. The Commissioners, for the purpose of more special examination, were divided into groups of eight; and the labours of the entire body when completed were finally revised and settled by one body of eight selected from among them. Among the thirty-two were Archbishop Cranmer, with Bishops Ridley and Latimer, Peter Martyr, Judge Hales,* Scory, Coverdale, and others of note; doctors of the Civil Law, and also Common Law lawyers, being included in the list. By those distinguished persons, thus acting under Parliamentary and Episcopal sanction, it was finally resolved that Scripture forbade not divorce or re-marriage, for grave and

* Sir James Hales, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, ever to be revered, as the one who refused to concur in the measures taken to exclude Mary, the legal heir, from the throne.

weighty causes, equally with unfaithfulness. Especially they held that it was lawful for desertion, persisted in for years, for gross cases of hatreds (*inimicitie capitales*), indicated by cruel actions of one spouse against the other, or by continued and probably incurable bitterness, in deeds or words, apparently unrestrainable. It has been asserted that incompatibility of temper was included as a justifiable cause of divorce; but the clause presumably referred to does not, I submit, sustain the imputation. What are termed *parvae contentiones* are excluded, unless perpetually and finally irreconcilable. But these, I apprehend, imply a degree of wretchedness, fatal to domestic peace and to the home, far more than is implied by mere incompatibility of temper.*

Mr. Gladstone would detract from the value of that code, by observing that it "never received" (I presume royal or legislative) "sanction." But the code was twice before Parliament in Elizabeth's reign, and was never rejected. It was a code of the most comprehensive character, embracing, and intending to legislate for, the entire range of ecclesiastical or canonical law and religious faith, including the sacraments, heresies, and the assembling of convocations, down to the subject of wills and tithes. It can excite no surprise, that so large a body of enactments occupied much time in discussion, and was finally dropped, if only from sheer exhaustion. Four of its principal authors had been burnt alive by Queen Mary; and Elizabeth and her Ministers had quite enough to do in detecting and meeting the conspiracies and movements which daily threatened alike her person and her throne. But the perfected work remains, and the unrefuted conclusions of its authors, the result of no self-imposed labour, are before us. Sanctioned by such authority, so invoked, and with the sacred writing in our hands given to be read by all men, we who believe in divorce for grave causes fatal to continued union may be pardoned, in spite of denunciation and anathema, for preferring the opinions of the gifted thirty-two, to dogmas which nearly every Protestant State in Europe and America rejects, and the instincts of humanity, and of mercy to the wronged and helpless, disavow.

The subject of marriage, its sacred and enduring character, not meant for time only, yet, by hatreds, vice, or abandonment, desecrated and destroyed, was doubtless among the most important of the subjects which those great men were commissioned to consider; and we may be sure that they approached it in no light spirit. They were met on the question of divorce, or putting away, by difficulties, not only in the construction, but the application of the words of prohibition in the Gospels; and they were startled by the manifest opposition to

* The invention was Dr. Lingard's—adopted apparently by Mr. Gladstone in the debate on the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857. It is corrected by Mr. Hallam, in a note to p. 140 of the first volume of his "Constitutional History" (second edition), referring approvingly to the *Reformatio Code*.

each other of the texts, as there recorded. Literally taken, they are irreconcilable. In St. Mark and St. Luke divorce is forbidden for whatever cause. According to St. Matthew, twice recorded, it is permitted for one. Yet there must be some way of agreement, though we may not all be able to discover it. The words of a Divine law-giver cannot present a hopeless inconsistency. What, then, was the one permitted cause? In the Greek version of St. Matthew, the only one known to us, it is termed *porneia*, which our version renders as fornication, and the Douay version as adultery. But the true meaning of the word, as used, has never yet been settled by the learned; and, as I understand him, our authorised translation is not accepted by Mr. Gladstone. He says that "the reservation found in St. Matthew is reasonably to be referred only to the special law of Moses, or what is here termed *porneia*." But the justifying cause of a Jewish divorce—the wife's disfavour in her husband's eyes—was his "finding some uncleanness" (or, according to our Revised Version, "some unseemly thing") in her (Deut. xxiv.). But, again, what was that unseemly thing? It had evidently become a matter of controversy among the Jews: whence the impression, real or pretended, that a husband could put away his wife for any cause whatever, in his eyes a sufficient one. What in St. Matthew's original record was the excepted cause we know not, since that Gospel was written in Hebrew, and the entire text has been lost. May "unfaithfulness" be the equivalent rendering? But is unfaithfulness only of one kind? May not persistent drunkenness, brutality, or desertion, with the utter violation of every other marital or wifely duty, be as complete a severance of married life as adultery? May not the two narratives of Christ's colloquy with the Jews, that in Matthew and that in Mark, be in fact referable to the same one occasion? The account, as given in each, corresponds in some material particulars. The Pharisees in each come to Jesus tempting him; they quote to him Moses; the disciples in each remonstrate, or specially inquire, as to his judgment; but, although repeating it, Christ says (according to St. Matthew's version) that "all men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given," adding the remarkable words, "he that is able to receive it let him receive it." Is such the language of prohibition, either absolute or qualified, intended as a law for all nations, and for all time? One remarkable variation between the two narratives will have been noticed. In Matthew the question is whether it be lawful to put away a wife for every cause, an inquiry evidently referring to the Mosaic rule, and excused possibly by doubts as to its construction. But, according to St. Mark, the question put was the lawfulness of putting away in any case—an inquiry scarcely probable, since every Israelite knew that for certain causes, or some one cause of disfavour, the law clearly gave the man

that right. With such considerations before them, would the Commissioners have been wrong in concluding that Christ's answer had reference to Jewish law alone, and was meant as a rule for the Jews only in the administering of that law, and not for all cases and other peoples? If the suggestion be not irreverent, may there not have been some error in transcription from one or the other of these narratives? We know, for example, with respect to one important passage in St. Luke (xvi. 18) occurring twice in St. Matthew also (v. and xix.), that the latter portion of the sentence in our Authorised Version is "not found in some ancient versions," notably, it seems, among others, in that called the Sinaitic (see Revised Version, in note to the passage).

How far the decisions of the Royal Commissioners may have been affected by considerations such as those here adverted to—or by reference to decrees of the early Christian Emperors, and the opinions of ancient Fathers in the Church, allowing divorce for sundry causes,—we have no means of ascertaining. But they could have had no difficulty in concluding, that our Saviour's words related only to wives or husbands still retaining, or at least claiming to retain, the position as well as the name:—not to any who, by gross violation of every marital or wifely duty, had abandoned or forfeited every such right. How, indeed, could the forbidden "putting away" apply, for example, to a man or woman already so separated—put away by his or her own act? In Scotland, such considerations were not without fruit. It was at all events declared in 1573 (one-and-twenty years after the *Reformatio Code*), by her Parliament and divines, that Christ's words did not preclude divorce for desertion. And the statute passed in that year, legalising divorce and re-marriage in such cases, remains the approved law of our sister kingdom, acted on to this day. Yet, since desertion is not adultery, Christ's prohibition is obviously equally violated by the one relaxation as by the other. Since, moreover, the taking of oaths—the swearing on any occasion—is, in emphatic language, in the same chapter of St. Matthew, forbidden, equally with putting away, yet nevertheless it is conceded that oaths may lawfully be taken when enjoined by the State, the thirty-two doubtless concluded that the like rule might, for grave causes, equally be applied to divorce:—causes not determined by suspicion only, or by caprice, but by a constituted and cautiously inquiring tribunal. On one subject, indeed, they felt themselves on immovable ground. They had seen in operation the system of bed and board separation; and they condemned it, on grounds dictated equally by observation and by Scripture:—"Cum a sacris literis aliena sit" (says the Code), "et maximam perversitatem habeat, et malorum sentinam in matrimonium comportaverit." Such was the conclusion of the learned referees; overborne hitherto by invented canonical law too strong alike for the

Bible and the logic of facts. In their reference here to Scripture, were they mistaken? If man and wife separation, unaccompanied by divorce, be found there, the passage surely can be produced.

The subject remains, of the alleged exclusion—in any event—of a divorced wife from the right of marriage. In the Mosaic dispensation, as we have seen, that right is specially recognised, while the divorcing husband's right, even if necessarily inferred, follows by inference only. Now, under the same law, we know that a wife could divorce her husband. She certainly, up to the time of our Saviour, as the 12th verse of Mark x. shows, claimed that right; the divorcing party being, in either case apparently, sole judge of the cause, without prescribed investigation or appeal. And that women divorced or divorcing exercised the reciprocal right sufficiently appears (St. John iv. 18) by the instance of the Samaritan woman at the well, still I assume living under Mosaic rule, who had five times been married. She could hardly have been thus often, at her probable age, a widow. No wonder that such puttings away as these were condemned. I ask, assuming that (according to St. Matthew) the offence or cause termed "*porneia*" is a permitted ground of divorce, authorising the man's re-marriage, what is there in Scripture denying in that case the same right to a divorced or divorcing woman? Mr. Gladstone disposes of the question by an assertion. He says that "the language of St. Matthew prohibits absolutely" her re-marriage. But his reference to the declarations in Mark and Luke (he cites also St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 10) is scarcely to the purpose. If putting away be forbidden alike to both wife and husband, according to those Gospels, it is of course forbidden to the wife. But, if permitted in an excepted case, as twice stated by St. Matthew, is the man alone there allowed re-marriage, and the woman excluded? If so, she would be equally excluded in every case allowed by a national law. The Anglican communion, in England and the United States alike, holding that divorce is allowed for adultery only, refuses in the latter to recognise the laws of their country, which permit divorce for other causes also. And the Anglican prelates, in their recent Lambeth Conference, while resolving to refuse the rites of the Church to a divorced adulterous offender, suggest a doubt whether our Lord did not mean to deny the right of re-marriage equally to the innocent party.

What, however, in Scripture forbids re-marriage specially in the case of a divorced woman? The exclusion is arrived at by separating the latter portion of the same one sentence from the former; and thus making the passage read, unconnectedly, as if it were two. The explanation will hardly be believed, but here is the proof. In Matthew v., the words are these: "Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to

commit adultery; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced (or 'her when she is put away') committeth adultery." The plain and natural meaning of this is, that putting away a wife for any other than the excepted cause leaves the marriage still in force. It therefore makes her (*i.e.*, on marrying again) guilty of adultery; and, for the same reason, makes the new husband also guilty, for he allies himself to a woman still continuing married. It follows that the divorcing husband himself would by re-marriage be equally guilty of adultery. But this inevitable inference, although supplied in the same Gospel, c. xix., and in St. Mark, happens to be in the fifth omitted. Hence in part the conclusion, so strange to the unclerical mind, that re-marriage is forbidden to the divorced or divorcing woman alone. In the nineteenth chapter of Matthew the words (including in terms the divorcing man equally) are the same; the whole in each place occupying the same one verse. In St. Mark (verses 11 and 12) the words, admitting no excepted case, speak only in terms of the re-marriage of the divorcing parties. In St. Luke xvi. 18, the words (without of course any excepted cause) are again the same as in Matthew. All of them are in one verse and one and the same sentence. Yet such is the effect of long instilled and accepted dogma, that to this day the cited passages, one portion divided unnaturally from the other, are held to forbid re-marriage to a divorced wife under all circumstances, even where she is innocent and the divorce itself is unimpeachable. Mr. Gladstone, holding that dogma, appears to have the sanction of many among the distinguished and venerable persons, eminent alike by character and position, who took part in the Conference at Lambeth. But the authority to which he appeals contradicts him. With the deepest respect for him and for them personally, I therefore reject the doctrine. Above all do I protest against the base idea that a divorced wife, cruelly wronged in her first marriage by brutality, desertion, or crime, is tempted to contract a second by passion merely. As if she could have no higher and holier as well as happier views prompting her—a desire for companionship for communion of mind, for mutual help and comfort, realised in the marriage—for all that as declared by the Creator makes it "not good for man to be alone."

As to the passage referred to by Mr. Gladstone from St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, it has, so far as I can discover, no direct reference to divorce. It enjoins husbands and wives to live together, the wife not departing from her husband, and the husband not putting away his wife; "but if she depart" (it is added) "let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband." There is nothing as to the unlawfulness of second marriages, whether by wife or husband. If the man had not put away his wife, no question of re-marriage

could arise. Her departure merely, undivorced, could not confer the right on either.

The questions suggested in the *North American Review*, for discussion in that journal, on the subject of "Divorce with Remarriage," were based obviously on the assumption, that the right of determining them, so far as not closed by Christ, was in every country vested in its legislature. But in the vast North American continent there are forty-seven States and territories, each, as I recollect, having on those questions independent legislative powers, exercised apparently in some instances very much at random, and entrusted in their administration to inferior tribunals and uneducated men. Because of such examples, all America with its civilised peoples, equal in intelligence and in religious and virtuous impulses to any in Europe, has been unjustly scandalised. But the work of reformation in those laws has already, with the fostering aid, searching investigation, and exposures of the Divorce Reform League, induced extensive improvement. An elaborate Report on the Marriage and Divorce Laws of the United States, with statistical returns of the most elaborate character, on an inquiry under the authority of Congress instigated by the League, has recently been presented. It shows the laws of many other countries on the subject of divorce, and is a marvel of research and industry. The number of divorces reported is appalling; but they are largely the result of a wandering, mixed, and unsettled population, and they are spread over twenty years, and comprise (it must be borne in mind) a population of nearly sixty-six millions of people. The Marriage and Divorce Laws of the United States, we may be well assured, will be thoroughly reformed; but not in the direction of indissolubility, or of sexual unfaithfulness alone. In cases of mere incompatibility of temper, or mutual distrusts and faults in the married life where concession and compromise are possible, the law will not interfere. But when by hopeless desertion, by brutality long persisted in, or habitual and aggravated crime, all the holy objects of marriage have been defeated, the laws of the United States will, we doubt not, in common with those recently passed in New South Wales and Victoria, enable the wronged wife or husband, if so desiring, to obtain relief from the broken and desecrated legal bond.

ALFRED STEPHEN.

MR. HOLMAN HUNT'S "MAY-DAY, MAGDALEN TOWER."

NO artist has ever been more inflexibly faithful to a high ideal than Mr. Holman Hunt. No artist has ever been more conscientiously thorough in the study and treatment of his subjects. At one time Art was almost exclusively devoted to the service of Religion, of which she was regarded as the humble handmaid. Since the close of the Renaissance, she has assumed a more independent attitude, and aimed at more varied ends, some of which have had but a remote connection with religion, and some have been not only alien from all religious feelings, but even directly antagonistic to them. In the Royal Academy Exhibition of this year the proportion of religious pictures to landscapes, portraits, and every variety of *genre* painting, is exceedingly small, and few of the sparse religious pictures are by the greatest artists, or attain to the supremest excellence. Mr. Holman Hunt deserves the honour and gratitude of his country, and of the age, for the lofty purpose which has animated his entire career. He has painted but few works which are not intended to appeal to our deepest and purest thoughts, and the masterpieces by which he will be known to future ages are works which, like "The Light of the World," "The Scapegoat," "The Finding of Christ in the Temple," "The Shadow of Death," and "The Triumph of the Innocents," are directly sacred.

The noble work which he is now exhibiting, though it might seem less directly religious than those which were devoted to the illustration of great thoughts and scenes of Holy Scripture, is in reality a religious picture, and that in the highest sense. And in the element of simple loveliness the artist has never surpassed this last and enchanting production of his artistic imagination.

He has, indeed, chosen for illustration a scene of contemporary life

but one which constitutes in itself a peaceful idyl of beauty and innocence, linked by tradition with far antiquity, and involving an act of worship performed under conditions of unique freshness, interest, and simplicity. Into this picture he has concentrated the conception of spring with its loveliest flowers, and the rosy dawn of sunrise, and innocent boyhood, and holy worship. We may almost say of the picture, in the words of the Psalmist, that "the dew of its birth is of the womb of the morning."

The actual scene is indeed idealised, and rightly idealised. It is only of recent years that the old ceremony has been restored to its right significance. Within living memory it used to be a dreary survival vulgarised by irreverence, and emptied of all its meaning. The choir-lads, we are informed, used in former days to sing the hymn with their caps on, and in their ordinary dress, and in the most perfunctory manner. And, when it was over, they used to pelt those who were passing over the bridge below, and to indulge in other forms of boyish fun. The restoration of the May-dawn service to its true dignity was due to Dr. Bloxam, and the late venerable President of Magdalen College, Dr. Routh. They laid down three rules:—That the choristers should wear their surplices; that they should uncover their heads at the beginning of their *Hymnus Eucharisticus*; and that they should turn towards the East to face the rising sun. In this picture the artist has added further elements of idealism by banishing the undergraduates who crowd the summit of the tower, and by enriching the scene with a wealth of garlands.

Milton says that the theme of "Paradise Lost" "pleased him long choosing and beginning late." In the same way Mr. Holman Hunt has passed this subject for many years through the alembic of his imagination. The scene presented almost insuperable difficulties of treatment, but he was struck by its capabilities no less than forty years ago—as far back as the year 1851. Residence abroad, long years spent in Palestine, and other circumstances, rendered it impossible for him to take the picture seriously in hand till within the last three or four years. When he began to work at it he spared no pains, and took the trouble to ascend Magdalen Tower at sunrise for weeks together; sometimes as early as four o'clock in the morning, considerably to the discomfiture of the porter—who was, however, sent to bed again when he had unlocked the tower stairs.

Let me now describe the picture. It is five o'clock on May-day morning. The sun has risen about a minute. The pale blue of the morning sky is illumined with cirrus and cumulus, and winding streams of broken cloud, all flushed with the softest and purest rose-colour, and all tending to give the effect of distance and free air. The whole picture is suffused with the sweet auroral light, and one is involuntarily reminded of the fine lines of the "In Memoriam":

"And suck'd from out the distant gloom
 A breeze began to tremble o'er
 The large leaves of the sycamore,
 And fluctuate all the still perfume;
 And, gathering freshlier overhead,
 Rocked the full-foliaged elms, and swung
 The heavy-folded rose, and flung
 The lilies to and fro, and said,
 'The dawn, the dawn'—and died away.*

The scene is the ribbed leaden roof of Magdalen Tower. The two turrets, bathed in the morning light, and part of the quatre-foiled parapets, sufficiently show the architecture of the grand old structure. Between the turrets and through the parapets we catch glimpses of the roofs and fields of Oxford, and the river, with its swans. A number of rooks and jackdaws have been winging their way towards their old place of assembly on the battlements, but swerve in their course, as though displeased at the unwonted presence of such extraordinary intruders.

The roof is strewn with flowers, chiefly tulips, and hyacinths, and lilies, and imperial martagons and fritillaries. The latter, as all visitors to Oxford know, grow abundantly in the field which, from their popular name, is called "Snakeshead Meadow;" and among the commoner variegated fritillaries the painter has introduced some of the rare white ones which are to be found among the rest.

But all these details are of course absolutely subordinated to the human interest of the scene.

To the right of the picture, as the spectator faces it, stands a row of men with those grave and noble faces to which the painter has accustomed us in his other works. Nearest us, with his head reverently bowed and his hands folded in prayer, stands a Parsee, in his robe of white silk and his crimson head dress. The presence of this worshipper of God under the symbol of the sun is not a merely fantastic element in the scene. A Parsee gentleman did make the remark that he should like to be present on the occasion, and that he, from his point of view also, should regard it as an act of solemn adoration. The attitude in which he stands is accurate. It probably came to Europe from India and Central Asia, and is not an attitude borrowed from the Hebrews, whose manner of folding their hands in prayer is different. This visitor may readily be supposed to be a member of the Indian Institute at Oxford.

Next to him, in his surplice, is the President of Magdalen; and next to him, in his robes of black and scarlet, stands the Senior Fellow, the late Rev. Dr. Bloxam, who died last year at the age of 84. He always took a deep interest in the annual ceremony, as well as in the progress of this picture, which will add to it so fresh and permanent a significance. Beyond him stands an ex-Fellow of the College, Mr. Bramley; and in the figure by the further angle of the tower, in black gown and hood, many will recognise the well-known

features of Dr. Burdon Sanderson. Standing behind this row of figures, in the shadow, is Sir John Stainer. Mr. Garland, one of the tenor singers of Magdalen choir, is seen leaning over the shoulders of one of the choristers to read the music.

In the first row of four boys the one nearest to the spectator, with light hair and bright grey eyes, who holds his music on the back of his college cap, is the young son of the painter. The boy whose hand is lifted to shade his eyes from the rising sun, and the shadow of whose hand is thrown upon his face, is a son of Sir John Stainer. In the next row to the boy whose face is in shadow, is a grandson of Lord Napier of Ettrick, and his brother is the lad with a head of "contumacious curls," who stands in the front row, with a large wreath of oak leaves over his surplice. Sharing his book stands the son of Madame Haas, the accomplished pianist. Another face which is interesting to identify is that of the lad who looks round with a certain expression of *espièglerie* to attract the notice of a companion. It presents a likeness of a grandson of Dr. Alexander, the first Bishop of Jerusalem. The little fellow furnishes a slight and very venial exception to the real feeling of reverence, or at least of earnestness, exhibited by the other singers, most of whom have their eyes fixed, as in duty bound, on Dr. Roberts, the choir-master, by whose side, at the left hand, stands the Master of Magdalen School. The boy close by Dr. Roberts is a kinsman of General Gordon.

The white surplices of the choristers are partly bathed in light, and are partly in shadow, and the folds of the draperies are most carefully studied. Pursuant to his general scheme of idealisation, Mr. Holman Hunt has adorned the young singers with flowers. One boy wears in front of his surplice a full-blown rose. Another—a singularly beautiful figure—holds in his hand the stem of a lily in full bloom, and might stand as a model for a young Angel of the Annunciation. Another wears round his neck a lovely wreath of apple-blossoms, while others are decorated with garlands of heartsease, and wild roses.

Any one who merely reads a description of the picture might imagine that it degenerated into idle unreality, and the prettification of types, and that it breathed of the somewhat exotic and effeminate sentimentalism which appears in most of the songs and pictures and stories which deal with young choristers. On the contrary, the glory of this picture is its exceeding manliness and naturalness, its resolute exclusion of all namby-pamby æstheticism.

There is not a touch of false sentiment about it. Its elements of beauty are undegraded by a single taint of morbid ecclesiasticism, and the whole effect of the picture is healthy and ennobling. No finer group of natural, innocent, manly English boys has ever been painted; and set as they are in a scene so full of elevating influences, singing

an ancient Latin hymn of eucharist, breathing the pure vernal air of dawn, and with their faces in the golden light of the newly risen sun, they form a picture of which, even more than of the many other noble works of the painter, the poet would truly say that—

“A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.”

The loving care and minute attention of Mr. Holman Hunt to the smallest details appears even in the symbolic frame which he has designed for his delightful picture. It is of copper. On the lower edge is the rising sun. On either side, the fish which gambol in the water, and the frogs leaping in the stream, indicate the glad renewal of morning life. Lilies and wild briar-roses twine about the sides of the picture, entwined on one side with convolvulus—a most suitable emblem here, both from its name of “morning glory,” and from its habit of unfolding at dawn and closing later in the day. At the top of the frame is a lark, shaking its wings for the first morning flight and morning song, before the crescent moon has set. At each corner there is a bird’s-nest, at one of which the male bird is ready to take its turn beside the eggs, while in the other the parents are feeding their callow brood.

This fine picture, so entirely peaceful and unsensational in its character, and so representative of all that is best, most beautiful, and most hopeful in English life, is exactly one of those which is too sacred and precious in its beauty and brightness for individual possession. May we venture to entertain the hope that sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—it may become the possession of the nation, and be a centre of attraction in our National Gallery side by side with the pictures of Sir Joshua Reynolds, of Turner, and of Rossetti?

F. W. FARRAR.

THE SHADOW OF THE KURD.*

II.

ALONGSIDE of the village Turks, Armenians, and Syrians, are the village Kurds, whose hamlets are both on the plains and in the mountains of the ancient province of Armenia. "The element of the Kurd is war. He is trained to it from his cradle. He depends on no country but his own for the supply of all his wants, and while the mountains form an impregnable defence against foreign invaders, their rugged sides and valleys, with little effort, produce abundantly all he desires to cultivate, and afford a never-failing supply of wood, water, and pasture."† Robbery is as much his element as war, and as his religion does not recognise the appropriation of the goods of a Christian as an unholy act, he preys upon the Syrian and Armenian peasantry with a clear conscience. To rob them by violence and "demand," month after month and year after year, till they have nearly nothing left, to kill them if they resist, to leave them for awhile to retrieve their fortunes—"to let the sheep's wool grow," as their phrase is—and then to rob them again, is the simple story of the relations between Kurd and Christian.

The settled Kurds live, like the Armenians, in semi-subterranean villages, usually dominated by the more imposing dwelling or fortress of an *Agha* or Khan. The tribal Kurds are chiefly nomads, owning no law but the right of the strongest; the non-tribal, or settled, are fairly peaceable, except in their relations with the Christians. Their strongholds are in the wild mountains of Kurdistan.

An incurable love of plunder, a singular capacity for religious

* I have to repeat that the only course open to me, consistently with pledges given on the spot, is, in most cases, to withhold the names of persons and places; but, as a guarantee of good faith, I have placed them confidentially, with an abstract of the statements made to me, in the hands of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

† Baillie Fraser's "Travels in Kurdistan."

fanaticism, a recklessness regarding the spilling of blood, rapacity and treachery—are their chief vices. The men are bold, sober, devoted to their kinsmen and tribe, and possess certain elements of nobility of character. The women are chaste, faithful, hard-working, and maternal.

They are mostly well armed with modern rifles and revolvers. I have rarely seen a Kurd with an old-fashioned weapon, and I have *never* seen a Christian peasant with a rifle; most of their old long guns have been taken from them by soldiers and *zaptiehs*, and others have been buried. The Kurds possess fine horses, and are splendid riders. The Christians are of necessity contented mostly with asses. The greatest of the advantages possessed by the Kurds is that they are of the same religion as—one cannot write their conquerors—but as the Osmanli Government. The Kurds hate the Turks, but the Moslem bond of brotherhood is stronger than hate. They despise their nominal rulers, but this bond is stronger than contempt. In their ignorance and wild fanaticism they rather represent the wild hordes who carried the Koran everywhere by the sword, than the half Europeanised Osmanli Turk.

They are remorseless robbers, stimulated by religious hate, and are devotees of a creed which scarcely hesitates to give the robbery of a *Kafir* a place among the virtues, while the sympathy of their co-religionists in official positions ensures them for the most part full immunity for their crimes. They are the most powerful portion of the population of Armenia, and in the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis may possibly outnumber the Armenians. Their shadow lies dark and heavy on Eastern Asia Minor, and is darkening.

They have some of the naturally good qualities of mountaineers, and under a firm and equitable government, asserting vigorously and persistently the supremacy of law, and the equal rights of race and creed, they would probably develop into the same excellent material as that which produces the Ghorkas and the Khyber Rifles.

The region through which I travelled from Van, in a north-westerly direction, is peopled by Kurds, Armenians, and Turks, the Turks being in a very small minority. A recent official estimate of the population of the Vilayet of Van gives the nationalities as follows:—Kurds, 175,000; Armenians, 140,000; Turks, 20,000; but another element has to be taken into consideration, namely, 80,000 Nestorians, chiefly in the *sandjak* of Hakkari. Turkish statistics must be received with great caution and even distrust, especially when they deal with races, but if these are even approximately correct, they show that the Christians of this Vilayet are entitled to consideration, as being in a majority of 25,000.

Journeying to Bitlis, through the mountain ranges on the south shore of Lake Van, and the exquisitely beautiful valleys which open upon it, in company with Dr. Reynolds, of Van, who bears upon his

head and face enduring marks of the brutal ferocity of the notorious and now banished Moussa Bey,—the aspect of things was better than among the Syrian population, though the Armenians complained of robbery with violence as being of common occurrence. It was noticeable that in each village the sheepfold into which the village sheep are driven at sunset was guarded till sunrise by from six to eight men, a heavy burden on peasants whose taxation should ensure them efficient protection. At the beautifully situated village of Ghazit shots and volleys were fired during the night, and there was a general alarm, but no actual attack.

In the city of Bitlis, where religious fanaticism runs very high, and in which the Kurdish population is estimated at 20,000, there are both Gregorian and Protestant Armenian communities in an extreme minority. There is a large garrison of well-equipped and soldierly looking men, and the new Vali, Raouf Pasha, by acting with some decision in cases of wrong, has succeeded in producing a much-increased feeling of security among the Christians in Bitlis itself and its immediate neighbourhood, but in the *sandjak* of Moush in the Vilayet of Bitlis the state of things last November was very serious indeed. The Christian villages of the Moush Plain were robbed till there was nothing left to take, and outrages worse than robbery had occurred, with considerable loss of life, following on a series of deeds of rapine committed in the summer of last year, to which reference is made in detail on consular authority in the *White Book* previously quoted. In July Her Majesty's Consul for Kurdistan wrote as follows:—

“I have the honour to inform you that the movement among the Kurdish population, reported in my despatch of the 19th July, continues.

“At this time of the year the Armenian peasantry usually suffers more or less at the hands of the Kurds, but at present numerous reliable reports of attacks and pillage reach me from all directions of the Vilayet of Erzeroum, and from the *Sandjak* of Moush in the Bitlis Vilayet, and are of a nature to indicate a state of general insecurity and lawlessness in those parts.”

In August, in accordance with instructions from Mr. Clifford Lloyd, Vice-Consul Devey proceeded to Bitlis and Van, to investigate and report upon the condition of affairs, especially in the Moush Plain. He was unable “to give any account in detail of all that has taken place, for to do so would have entailed investigation which it would have been undesirable to enter upon.” He writes:

“During this journey I ascertained there have been of late an unusual number of crimes of violence and aggression on the part of Kurds plundering Armenians, and I also heard of one or two cases in which Armenians had been offenders.

“The districts where most outrages had occurred were immediately round about Bitlis, at the group of Armenian villages situated in Moush Plain,

twenty miles east of the town and close to Moussa Bey's family residence, and in villages lying to the north and west of Moush town also; in the former case resident Kurds of Billek and Khuit were the aggressors, and in the last named, nomads, the Bodikanli and the Bekiranli, who came from Diarbekir this year despite a protest by the Mutessarif; again, there were several cases in Bulanik—one or two being on a large scale—and others in the vicinity.

"The Armenians generally seemed to be in a state of abject terror, afraid for their lives."

After stating that the Governor had acted with decision, and that a new departure had been taken, in the shooting of five Kurds who formed part of a large body caught in the act of driving off the sheep of a Christian village, he alludes to a story of an event which occurred at Vartennis, on the Moush plain, of which various versions are current. This collision between Kurds and Armenians occurred on July 13.

In the middle of November, two pastors of the Reformed Armenian Church came to see me, saying that there was a great desire on their part, as well as on that of the Christians of ——— and ———, that the version of the story which follows should be written from their dictation, and should be placed in the hands of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. They were prepared, they said, to vouch for its accuracy in all important details, and they allowed their names and addresses to be given. A European of education and high character testified to their integrity and intimate knowledge of the circumstances, and acted as interpreter, and I wrote down the narrative as it was given to me.

"A bride, married a year before, was being taken from Mooshakir to Vartennis to visit her father's house, according to custom. Five men from Vartennis were taking her thither. About half-way, while passing through a Kurdish district, a number of Kurds came upon them, asking that the bride should be given up to them. They were led by Hassan Mo, an ally of Moussa Bey in his crimes of violence. These Beys had committed crimes in Vartennis, in seducing girls, &c., and the villagers had complained of them. The men with the bride besought them to let them pass on, and some of the Kurds have admitted this. Hassan Mo replied, 'Long since have I desired to get hold of you, and do you think by beseeching you'll get free?'

"Then he seized the bridle of the bride's horse, and tried to drag it away. The bride, as is the custom, was adorned with all her coins and ornaments. The Armenians tried to hold the horse back. As they were struggling, one of the Kurds fired and killed an Armenian on the spot. When he was shot, another said, 'They're killing us, let us fire back'; so they fired, killing two Kurds, and wounding Hassan Mo in the knee. One of themselves was also wounded. In the skirmish the bride got away, and galloped her horse home. Then the Kurds left them, and the Armenians, afraid of the consequences

of having defended themselves, ran away, and hid in the hills. When the news of the affray, and that the Armenians had killed some Kurds, reached Moush, 800 soldiers, in three sections, and 4 guns, were sent against Vartennis, which numbers 150 houses.

"When the people heard that the soldiers were coming, they sent away as many of the women as they could. The first section of the soldiers came upon them at night, the two others were held as reserves on the road. The Vartennis people, to defend themselves from the Kurds, had stationed round the village guards, with their old-fashioned guns, of which, in July, they had still a few. The soldiers had for a guide an Armenian, who, fearing these guards would fire on them taking them for Kurds, cried out, 'Brothers, it's we, and these are soldiers,' on which the officer in command beat him, and said, 'Why did you give this notice?' hoping that they would be fired on, and thus have an excuse for destroying Vartennis. The soldiers then surrounded the village, so that none should escape. They bound all the adult males, despoiled the village, outraged some of the women, whom they robbed of their ornaments, and drove sixty-five bound men into Moush. As they came thither they met the other divisions of soldiers, and as they drew near the town the whole Moslem population came out to kill the prisoners, but the soldiers protected them, and lodged them safely in prison. Afterwards they sold the ornaments of which they had despoiled the women in other villages.

"When they came to trial, the sixty-five prisoners pleaded that, except the wounded man who was with them, they had had no part in the affray, the others having fled to the mountains. The Government said that the 'bride' was a man in disguise, who had been stirring up the people. In reply, the bride's father-in-law, the *reis* of Moo-shakir, said he could produce some Kurdish chiefs who were guests at his house when the bride was taken away, and they gave evidence that they were present when the woman and her escort left the house. This charge consequently broke down. After imprisoning them for some time, they let twenty-two of the poorer men go, and a few days ago [Nov. 12] they liberated twenty-six more. The remaining seventeen are imprisoned for fifteen years, the most severe sentence the Turkish law can inflict. Sixty of the best fields in Vartennis are unharvested at this day. Among the prisoners who are sentenced so severely, the wounded man is the only one who had any part in the affray.

"Vartennis was sorely harassed before this happened. Two of its men had been secretly killed by the Kurds, one while he watered his fields after the Erzeroum riot, the other was a teacher whom they were trying to rob, and he defended himself, and they wounded him, and he afterwards died of his wounds. As before God we are speaking the truth."

"Following upon this," Mr. Clifford Lloyd's report says, "there were attacks by different parties of Kurds upon various villages in the plain, cattle were plundered, and some fifteen Armenians lost their lives, though the Governor of Bitlis had no knowledge, he said, of more than three." It appears that it was owing to the representations made by Mr. Devey that many of the Vartennis men were released from prison. In his report he says, "the actual disturbances lasted only a few days, and consisted of bands of armed Kurds going about on foot and plundering Armenian villages, in a few instances killing and wounding where they met with resistance. Subsequent inquiries led me to believe that the degree of disorder was excessive, but of very short duration; probably fifteen or twenty Armenians have been killed individually, or have disappeared within the past four weeks in those districts, and once the figure was set so high as fifty."

This report was made on August 19, 1890, and there is no doubt that in consequence of some vigorous action on the part of some *zaptiehs*, and the temporary patrolling of the district, the "excessive" disorder ceased. Three months later (and it is impossible to discredit the mass of concurrent testimony on the subject) the villages of the Moush Plain were in a state of what by an established euphemism is called "disorder," and that of a chronic kind. In plain English, Christians were being "killed individually," general lawlessness prevailed, caravans were stopped and robbed, travelling was for Armenians absolutely unsafe, sheep and cattle were driven off, and outrages which it would be inexpedient to narrate were perpetrated. The villages have been reduced to extreme poverty by the carrying off of their domestic animals, the pillage, and in some cases the burning of their crops, and the demands made upon them at the sword's point for every article of any value, while at the same time they were squeezed for the taxes which they had been deprived of the means of paying. Hassan Mo and Orzogh Bey were spoken of as being among the greatest oppressors of that unhappy region.

I journeyed to Hassan Kala by an ordinary, though not much travelled route, diverging to Akhlat on Lake Van for the sake of its *turbehs* and monoliths, spending about three weeks on the road, mixing freely with the people everywhere, and halting usually in the Christian villages. The road was regarded as unsafe, caravans had lately been attacked and robbed, and in the case of an attack upon a mixed caravan, the Christians had been robbed, and the Moslems had been unmolested. A traveller had recently been treacherously murdered by his Kurdish muleteers, and a friend of mine who had the misfortune of being obliged to employ the same men just after the event, had to hear and see his dying agonies several times rehearsed, for the amusement of people on the road. The Vali of Bitlis provided

me with a *zaptieh* escort, without which travelling is dangerous, and I escaped both attack and robbery.*

In two marches from Bitlis I passed into a region in which, up to the very gates of Erzeroum, the same condition of alarm prevailed as I had witnessed among the Syrian Rayahs. The peasants of the Christian villages were in a state of *abject terror*, and not without good reason. The repressive measures which had everywhere followed the disturbances at Erzeroum, the seizure of arms, the scarcely checked ravages of the Kurds in Alashgird in one direction, and on the Moush Plain in another, the "killing individually" here and there, the threats of the Kurdish Beys, who appeared to be claiming the sanction of the Government for their outrages, the daily and nightly carrying off of the sheep and cattle, the robberies by "demand," the insecurity of the women, and an indefinite dread of yet worse to come, had reduced these peasants to a pitiable state. The air was thick with rumours magnifying both the actual and the possible, and the dread of a general massacre of the Christians was freely expressed.

On that journey hundreds of stories were told me by priests, teachers, headmen, and others, of robbery, outrage, killing, brutality in collecting the taxes, and inability to gain redress from law, and most piteous complaints were made of a reign of terror without hope. It was not possible to ascertain the accuracy of these narratives, and though many of them appeared to be established by considerable concurrent testimony, I forbear presenting any of them to my readers, especially as I saw enough to prove the main facts that a state of things nearly approaching "anarchy" prevailed in the early winter, in the Vilayet of Erzeroum, as according to Mr. Clifford Lloyd it had prevailed in the early autumn, that there was no security at all for life and property, that law was being daily violated outrageously and almost with perfect impunity, and that peaceable and industrious subjects of the Porte, taxed to an extent which should ensure them complete protection, were plundered without redress, their feeble complaints either ignored or treated as evidences of "insurrectionary tendencies," their lives at the mercy of the increased audacity and aroused fanaticism of the Kurds, and this—not in nearly inaccessible and far off mountain valleys, but on the broad plains of Armenia, with telegraph wires overhead and passable roads below, and with a Governor-General, and the Fourth Army Corps, numbering over 20,000 seasoned troops, within easy distance!

These remarks do not exaggerate the gravity of the situation. A

* As various statements purporting to be narratives of attacks made upon me in Turkey have appeared in Russian and other papers, I take this opportunity of saying that they are without a shadow of foundation. I was never robbed while in the Sultan's dominions, and met with extreme courtesy from all the Turkish officials between the Persian frontier and Erzeroum, and escorts of efficient and respectful *zaptiehs* were always readily supplied.

few weeks earlier, on October 2, when things were not so bad as at the time referred to, H. B. M.'s, Consul for Kurdistan wrote, "Whatever other reforms may be desirable they are not of the same pressing necessity as immediate measures for the protection of the lives and properties of the people. The agricultural portion of the Armenian people plead not as rebels, but as subjects of His Majesty the Sultan for this protection, but in the words of the note presented ten years ago to the Sublime Porte on this same subject, the Local Government at Erzeroum 'seems to refuse to recognise the degree of anarchy which exists in this province,' or 'the gravity of a state of things which if permitted to continue, would in all probability lead to the destruction of the Christian population of vast districts.'"

With regard to the difficulty the peasants have in obtaining any form of protection, the Consul-General wrote, "The people are afraid to lodge their complaints at the seat of Government," and with reference to the striking ignorance, real or assumed, of the higher Turkish officials as to things within their jurisdiction, even as to the movements of *zaptiehs* and troops, he wrote, "I have good reason to doubt the accuracy of the reports made to his Excellency on this and other subjects. I have brought several cases of attacks upon Armenians and of pillage to the notice of the Vali, to whom they had not been reported. Nothing has yet been done to secure order in those districts lying between Erzeroum and Bayazid and between Erzeroum and Van, where there is a large Kurdish and an unarmed Christian population."

It cannot be said that the "disorders" which I have attempted to describe are confined to small localities and are created by "peculiar local circumstances." From the Persian frontier a few miles from Urmi, along a more or less travelled route of several hundred miles, there was generally speaking no security for life, property, or traffic, and on the other side of Erzeroum, even up to the vicinity of the Russian frontier, on the Passin Plain, and in the district of Alashgird, things were, if possible worse. Shortly before my journey every Christian village in the Passin Plain was plundered, and at least 20 horses, 31 asses, 2282 sheep, and 754 head of cattle, nearly the whole pastoral wealth of the people, were carried off by the Kurds, while the Moslem villages were exempt from their attacks. In the Alashgird valley, the Kurds perpetrated similar crimes, killed at least three Christians, and burned the crops they could not carry away. Regarding the wretched district of Alashgird, which so lately as in December was enduring terrible sufferings, the Consul-General wrote :

"My information leads me to believe that the condition of the Alashgird Valley is one of extreme gravity. I had a long conversation with the Governor-General yesterday regarding these events, and his Excellency informed me that he had now troops in the locality, and that he was making every effort both to arrest the Kurds concerned and to recover the property

carried away. At the same time, he was unable to inform me that more than 'three or five' Kurds had been arrested for this extensive brigandage, or that the property plundered had been recovered and restored, though he assured me that his efforts were being directed to both ends. His Excellency, however, did not seem to me to realise the gravity of such a state of anarchy existing in his province, and as these events have been taking place during the last month within a few hours' march of Erzeroum, where there is a large garrison and every means of immediately restoring order, I cannot place confidence in whatever measures are being adopted. There is a want of foresight and earnestness displayed in all matters connected with the protection of the Christian people which is difficult to reasonably account for."

There are few more pitiable spectacles than human beings reduced to a permanent state of "abject terror," asking themselves and others continually the pitiful question: "What are we to do?" If there could be a question more embarrassing and pitiful still, it was the one asked in every village, "Will England help us?" followed by the request, "Will you speak to 'The Consul' for us?"

On the plains to the west and north-west of the Lake of Van, where the deep, almost subsoil ploughing, and carefully constructed irrigation channels testify to the skill and industry of a most industrious and thrifty population, great depredations were being committed even at the time of my visit, fully bearing out a remark in a despatch by Mr. Clifford Lloyd: "The Turks (the Kurds) are armed, and the Christian peasants unarmed and helpless; the latter sow and the former appropriate the harvest to their own wants, while to gratify their instincts they often burn and destroy what they do not appropriate;" the instinct which demands this destructive gratification being the hatred of creed and race.

The winter had begun, but though, later, the intense cold and tremendous depths of snow of the Armenian Highlands would proclaim the "truce of God," the Kurds were still on the alert. I passed thirty well-mounted Kurds, armed with rifles, driving a number of asses. These animals, the *zaptieh* told me, had been driven off from two villages which he pointed out, which turned out to be Christian. On one march I was interested in the suspicious movements of some mounted men, who were obviously hovering about my caravan. At one time they galloped up close to it, but, as on some former occasions, on seeing the Government uniforms they retired, and were apparently "loafing about" among the valleys. The *zaptiehs* said that they were notorious robbers, and would not go home without some booty. Towards evening they re-appeared not very far off, driving several bullocks and asses which they had driven off from the village of —, whose headman came to me the same evening, and asked me to report it to "the Consul," adding that this was the third time within a week that his village had been robbed of domestic animals, and that he dared not complain. Four villages at which I halted for the night had been robbed heavily of their sheep on the

preceding nights, and in one they asserted that three women had had their ornaments and richly embroidered aprons and stomachers torn off by the marauders. The headman of —, a large village, told me that "before the Erzeroum troubles," from which the people now date events, he had 320 sheep, and that he had had all driven off in successive Kurdish raids, till he had only twenty-seven left.

A small force of soldiers had been sent to a fertile and populous plain, watered by the southern branch of the Euphrates, on which I spent some days. The peasants spoke very highly of the officer in command. I did not, however, either see or hear of any patrol, and only a few miles from the village in which this detachment was quartered on November 13, a large number of sheep were driven off from the village of —, and one Christian was killed. At the large village of —, also only a few miles from this post, complaints of a very serious nature were made by the headman, and the Gregorian and Protestant priests, of sheep and cattle having been driven away within the previous days, and they furnished me with a long list of things belonging to themselves, and to three other men who were present, which had been taken by "demand" in the previous month.

Some of these men were intelligent and in some respects educated—one, indeed, was a teacher—and they had more than the usual information about the outer world, and recognised to some extent the difficulties of the political situation. Their statements regarding the terror in which they and their co-religionists lived, and the continual increase in the audacity of the Kurds, were most startling. They gave several instances of increased recklessness as to the spilling of blood, of violence used towards women, of threats of massacre addressed to them as *Christians*, and a long category of robberies, some with, and some without, violence, perpetrated since October 1, in the villages of the plain and neighbourhood. Their belief was that they were abandoned to be "wiped out." They had long hoped, they said, that England would interfere on their behalf. "What do you mean by interfering?" I asked. There was a pause, and then the Gregorian priest replied, "As she interfered when she persuaded the Sultan to give the Lebanon a Christian Pasha." He said that the uneducated masses hoped that Russia would occupy Armenia in the spring, but the few educated men would prefer England! Such are the delusive hopes discussed by these people in the winter evenings.

While I was in that special village an incident occurred, which, though not connected with the "Shadow of the Kurd," is one of many showing that the people are ground between two millstones. On that plain one of the most profitable crops grown is flax-seed. One morning, fifteen *arabas*, each loaded with seven large sacks of flax-seed, left the village. On expressing the hope that this quantity of

oil seed had been sold to advantage, the reply was a dubious one. The same evening certain priests, headmen, and other cultivators, asked to see me in the church where I was accommodated. They posted one watchman at the inner door and two at the outer. They said they had come to ask if I would convey a complaint to "The Consul" in Erzeroum—there was "no one to trust in but him." I replied that I would see any statement that they wished to make safely into his hands, provided not only that they adhered to facts, but that they would authenticate it *confidentially* with their names and addresses.

The taxes were to be collected, they said, and it is usual for the villagers to obtain some grace, either direct from a district official, or by bribing the *zaptiehs* who collect them. In this case grace was refused, and the official who was complained of, "seized the flax-seed for the debt, valuing it at half-price, he, they alleged, having previously sold it for the full price."

In a certain village of 120 houses, to which my informant, a Protestant pastor, belongs, and in which his father-in-law, a destitute old man, dependent on alms, had recently been treated with horrible brutality by an officer for inability to pay the taxes, the villagers paid last year 800 piastres to the *zaptiehs* for leave to delay their payments.

Great hardships are inflicted in the collection of the taxes, but these are inseparable to a great extent from the system on which the country is governed, and Moslems to some extent are exposed to them. *The cruel wrong inflicted upon the Christians is, that taxes are demanded from them which the Kurds have left them without the means of paying.** In many cases they are squeezed all but dry, as their nearly empty stables, granaries, and sheepfolds silently testified. Taxation from our point of view is very heavy, and the increase in the military exemption tax during the last twenty years has come to press very severely on Christian families which are blessed with many boys, but neither among Syrians nor Armenians were complaints made of the taxation except in that one particular. The invariable and reasonable complaint was that they were heavily taxed, and had *no protection from the Kurds*, and practically none from the law as administered in Kurdistan.

The complaints of the villagers north and west of Lake Van were that they were mercilessly beaten when they failed to produce money for the taxes. They alleged, with great unanimity, that it was usual for the *zaptiehs* to tie their hands behind their backs, plaster their faces with fresh cow-dung, or throw pails of cold water at their eyes,

* "The peasants get into arrear in the payment of taxes, the collection of which proceeds by arbitrary and sometimes by cruel methods on the part of subordinate officials, and redress in the one case and the other being for various reasons refused or withheld, the Christian peasants are reduced to a state of abject poverty, fear, and discontent. Any combination for the purpose of petitioning the Government for assistance and consideration is met by the application of those measures only excusable in the case of a people plotting revolution. This the Armenian people in this country are far from contemplating."—*Turkey*, p. 28.

tie them to the wooden posts of their houses, and beat them severely. In the village of — it was asserted that the *zaptiehs* had tied twenty defaulters together, and had driven them barefooted round and round over the thistles of a threshing-floor, flogging them with their heavy riding-whips.

On the other hand, several of my *zaptiehs* complained of the necessity they were under of grinding and beating the people. They said (and I think correctly) that they could never know whether a man had a secret hoard of buried money or not without beating him. They said also that they knew that half the people had nothing to pay with, but that unless they beat them to "get what they could out of them," they would be punished themselves for neglect of duty. I am the more disposed to believe the statements of both the people and the *zaptiehs*, owing to some remarks made in a despatch on this subject from Acting-Consul Wratislaw ("Turkey," No. 1, 1890-91, p. 73), from a part of Asia Minor more under the eyes of the world. He writes: "As your Excellency is aware, the Turkish tax-gatherers are not over-gentle in their methods of levying moneys due to the Government. This has of late been particularly the case with the men charged with collecting the *emlak*, or real property tax, which is always paid with reluctance, and falls continually into arrears. *Great brutality is often shown by the tax-gatherers,*" not to one class of the community in particular, but to all alike. Such acts, however, have come to form part of the system by which the country is governed." In the vilayets of Erzeroum and Bitlis the brutalities from which the Christians especially suffer arise from the fact, which cannot be reiterated too often, that they are deprived of the means of paying their taxes by the practically unchecked depredations of the Kurds.

After passing through an area of country abounding in risks to travellers, and full of terror, I reached Erzeroum, where the excitement consequent upon the "troubles" five months before had only partially subsided.† Though I was detained there for some time, reasons connected with my safety from annoyance on the long winter journey which yet lay before me prevented me from mixing with the Armenian community, but I learned from some of the European Consuls, and from other Europeans, that the state of distrust, repression, suspicion, and fear within the city had undergone little diminution, and that since the beginning of November (the date of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's last printed despatch) the "disorders" in Alashgird and elsewhere had continued, in spite of the assurance of the Vali that "order has been completely restored in this province."

* The italics are my own.

† The lucid account given of these "troubles" by H.B.M.'s Consul-General for Kurdistan, and of the subsequent inaction of the local government, in the White Book already referred to, should be carefully studied by all who are interested in the so-called "Armenian question."

Certain Kurdish Beys had been called to Erzeroum, ostensibly for purposes of remonstrance on their conduct, but had been allowed to enter the city with parties of armed followers. From Erzeroum they went to Erzingian, where, from the hands of Zeki Pacha, the commander of the Fourth Army Corps, they received commissions constituting them officers of irregulars, Bashi-Bazouks, or militia. The results of this step need to be watched with great anxiety. The Christians regard it as a menace, involving the greatest peril; the Kurds themselves appear to think that it gives them licence to maraud, for these Beys, after receiving their commissions, went through the Christian quarters of the bazaars of Erzingian, making gestures of cutting throats, and saying to the Christian merchants, "Your time has come now; hitherto we have not had the co-operation of the Government, but we have it now."* It is to be believed that the Porte, in giving these commissions, acted in good faith, under the idea of bringing the Beys and their wild followers under the conditions of military discipline, but on the spot it was regarded as a most dangerous experiment.

The air at Erzeroum was dark with rumours of robbery and outrage, many bearing the rigid investigations to which they were subjected by the foreign Consuls, others dissolving during the process, while for murders of well-known Christians no arrests were made. Trade among the Armenians was suffering, for those whose transactions were with Kurdish districts dare not, for fear of their lives, collect their debts. Arrests of Christians, on what turned out to be frivolous and worthless pretexts, were constantly made, and the Government either was, or affected to be, in constant dread of an insurrectionary rising among the Armenians. From the country districts the accounts were so very bad that one of the ablest and most enlightened of the European Consuls remarked indignantly: "It's no longer a question of politics, but of humanity," "Next to the depredations of the Kurds," wrote Mr. Clifford Lloyd some months before things became so bad as they were in the early part of last winter, "the constant searching of Armenians' houses, the arrest and imprisonment of individuals for long terms—often for life, for having books in their possession containing references to the past history of Armenia, constitute a grave abuse of power by the Turkish authorities, and a source of wide-spread suffering to the people." In another despatch he sums up the condition of things in Kurdistan thus: "In a country such as this is, lawlessness is to be expected; but unfortunately in nearly every instance armed and ungoverned Kurds are the aggressors, and unarmed and unprotected Armenian Christians the victims."

* The statement as to the words used by the Beys rests on the authority of a European of high character who was in Erzingian at the time.

The recent White Book, from which these quotations are made, contains matter of very great importance. It is needless to go further than its pages for confirmation of the facts which underlie the "exceeding bitter cry" which issues from Turkish Armenia, and the feebler wail from the Nestorian valleys. Its special value is that, while dispelling some of the inventions which have been put forward, it gives, in the sobriety of official language, facts so stern, that on any but British official authority I should have hesitated to accept them; and presents, on the whole, a darker picture of oppression and wrong, and a heavier indictment against the mal-administration of Kurdistan, than I ever heard from Armenian lips. The force of the indictment is enhanced by the fact that the late Mr. Clifford Lloyd, Mr. Devey, and our other consular officials, have been not only on courteous but often on friendly terms with the Imperial authorities, and that these heavy charges against the administration are made in the interests of truth alone, and often at a considerable sacrifice of personal feeling.

It must be borne in mind that very great difficulties beset our Consuls in their investigations. To some extent their inquiries must be made through officials who are continually untrustworthy, and who on all occasions are anxious to hush up inquiry, and to put the best aspect on the matter which has demanded it. In many cases persons who have made serious complaints back out altogether when they are pressed for evidence; in others the mere making an inquiry may involve those in peril and loss who have already suffered severely; and in all there is the necessity of shielding informants from serious consequences, of which we in the West have no conception.

Beyond expressing the belief that the creation of strong military posts, under vigorous and capable officers, in the disturbed districts would be a wise measure,* I do not attempt to offer any opinion as to what might be done in Armenia. The Minute of Her Majesty's Consul-General for Kurdistan, written late last autumn, the most important parts of which follow, contains suggestions very carefully thought out, grounded upon an intimate acquaintance with facts:—

Minute.

It is admitted by every one that a change is necessary in the system of government now being applied to the Christian population of Kurdistan—i.e., the Armenian people. Their sufferings at present proceed from three direct causes:—

1. The insecurity of their lives and properties owing to the habitual ravages of the Kurds.

* Since the former article was published I have been informed, on good authority, that the garrison of Diza, in Gawar, was reduced last summer from 200 to *six men*, reinforced about the time of my visit by over 70, and subsequently by over 100. A regiment of infantry and a squadron of cavalry might possibly overawe the Kurds of the predatory Harikis.

2. The insecurity of their persons, and the absence of all liberty of thought and action (excepting the exercise of public worship).

3. The unequal status held by the Christian as compared with the Mussulman in the eyes of the Government.

As regards No. 1, putting aside isolated instances of depredation, there has been pillage on the most extensive scale, with much slaughter, by Kurds in various parts of Armenia during the past few months, as will be observed from my despatches dated the 21st August and the 1st October, 1890. This year the record is an exceptionally large one, but the position of the defenceless Armenian peasantry with reference to the Kurds, who are all armed, varies only in degree, and, looked at from any point of view, is one calling for immediate relief.

There are two courses open to the Turkish Government in its desire to protect its Armenian subjects: one to actually and completely subjugate the Kurds by force of arms; and the other to adequately protect the Armenian peasants from Kurdish aggression.

The former would entail a large expenditure of money, and in all probability bring about a general massacre of those for whose benefit it was undertaken. Many reasons exist for not suggesting this course, not the least of which is that, under any circumstances, the Turkish Government could not be induced to adopt it.

It is, however, the first duty of every Government to protect its subjects, and in this instance duty and self-interest both demand it. The Armenian peasantry are unable at present to pay their taxes owing to the ravages of the Kurds, and from the same cause are reduced to such a state of discontent that they are willing even to forsake their homes, and it is said also their religion, if relief could thus be obtained.

A better organised force of police than exists, supported by judiciously placed detachments of troops, would afford all the desired protection, provided the officers responsible were satisfied of the intentions of the Government. Much would depend upon the personal characters of the Governors-General, who, while being held responsible for the adequate protection of the inhabitants of their provinces, should be given full executive liberty of action in providing it, which at present they do not possess. A Governor-General has no power to move troops without orders from Constantinople, but the duty devolving upon him renders it necessary to give to him this power, with whatever restrictions it may be thought necessary to impose from a military point of view. I am of opinion that this question of protecting the Armenian peasantry from the attacks of the Kurds is of much greater importance than any other, and that, if the Christians were shielded from the ever-existing apprehension of being pillaged and killed, they would become a comparatively contented and prosperous people. Though all sections of the Armenian people are ever desirous of bringing their grievances to the knowledge of her Majesty's Consul, yet during the past year I have had no serious complaints, excepting in connection with the disturbances in Erzeroum, which were not directly due to Kurdish aggression. In the Valley of Alashgird, for instance, where there was much distress this spring, and whence an attempt to emigrate to Persia was made on a large scale, the Turkish officials discerned a revolutionary movement, and their consequent acts gave legitimate cause for much discontent. But the Christians, having been reduced to a state of poverty by the action of the neighbouring Kurds in plundering and burning their harvest with impunity, were unable to pay their taxes or to provide for the following season's agricultural requirements, and no attempt being made by the Government to punish the Kurds, or to afford protection against them in the future, some hundreds of persons started for Persia, where they had

made arrangements to be received, but were arrested on the frontier by Turkish officials and brought back to their homes. All the Christians asked for was protection, but this was the one thing the Turkish Government failed to provide. Time was offered for the payment of taxes due, and loans of money for the purchase of seed, but notwithstanding my advice given on the subject repeatedly, no protection was afforded, the answer always being that authority for the movement of troops had not been received from Constantinople. The result is that this summer the valley has been again overrun by the Kurds, who here, as in other parts of Kurdistan, openly declare that their action meets with the approval of the Turkish Government. I am fully justified in recording my opinion that during the past year, had the Armenian peasantry been given security to life and property, their grievances in the provinces would not have been of that serious nature which now attracts to them the attention of Europe.

As to the second ground of complaint above mentioned, I need not go into any detail to show that the Turkish Government gives no liberty of person to the Armenians, and denies them any freedom of thought or action. In my despatch dated the 28th June 1890, I fully explained the policy being locally adopted in this respect. I believe that the idea of revolution is not entertained by any class of the Armenian people in these provinces, whatever may be the aims of those outside them. An armed revolution is, besides, impossible. Discontent or any description of protest is, however, regarded by the Turkish Local Government as seditious, and a policy such as I described in my despatch alluded to is pursued, depriving the Armenian subject of every liberty to his person, and for which no justification exists. This materially aggravates the existing discontent, and produces a feeling of animosity between Mussulman and Christian which would otherwise die out, or which would at least lie dormant. A policy, on the other hand, of trust and conciliation would bring forth, in my opinion, results highly conducive to the interests of the Ottoman Empire, for among its subjects there are none more capable of contributing to its financial resources than the Armenian people.

The third cause is the inequality of justice and consideration shown to the Christian inhabitants of this country, both by the executive Government and by the law officers. This is well known to every one conversant with the condition of Kurdistan, but as an instance I may mention the fact that in all crimes of violence of which the Christians have been the victims during the past year in the province of Erzeroum no one has been punished, nor, with very few exceptions, has any effort been even made to bring the offenders to justice. . . .

I see no reason to doubt that if the equitable policy I so strongly recommend be approved of by her Majesty's Ambassador and the Marquis of Salisbury, and adopted by the Porte, the influence of the British Government will be adequate to its proper local application.

(Signed) CLIFFORD LLOYD.

ERZEROUH, October 2, 1890.

The question as to the duty of England in the way of bringing pressure to bear upon a friendly Power as to the fulfilment of her treaty obligations to her Christian subjects naturally arises; but on this I will not touch. I had the honour of laying some of the foregoing statements, as well as my impressions of the state of Kurdistan, before the Grand Vizier, and from what I heard on the best authority, as well as from that interview, I think that there is reason to believe

that both he and his Majesty the Sultan are anxious to place the Christian subjects of Turkey in a better position. As a mere matter of policy, a change is essential, for the outrages to which the Christian peasantry are being subjected gives the so-called "Armenian agitation" * its most forcible *raison d'être* in the eyes of Europe, and is producing stagnation in trade and a dwindling of the Imperial resources in one of the fairest portions of the empire.

The question presses, however, and anxiety is not action. It must be remembered that the fires of Islam, though they may smoulder, are never quenched, and that any move made by the Sultan and his ministers in the direction of giving protection and justice to the Christians of Kurdistan must inevitably be confronted, not only by the aroused religious fanaticism of the Kurds, but by that of the *sheikhs* and *mollahs* who surround the throne. A friendly but firm and united pressure on the part of the Signatory Powers seems the only way of aiding the Sultan's Government (supposing it to be in earnest) to overcome this opposition, and to enable it to repress the Kurds, protect the Christians, and fulfil its treaty obligations.

We, who retire to rest in our police-protected homes, in a land in which government exists but for the good of the governed, and law, with its sublime impartiality, is a terror only to evil-doers—in which the poor are free from taxation, and all alike enjoy the fruits of their industry, and the protection of their rights and liberties—can form no conception of such a reign of terror as exists in Armenia, and of what is meant to thousands of our fellow-Christians by THE SHADOW OF THE KURD.

ISABELLA L. BISHOP.

* Was there ever a people of any stamina or calibre that would not "agitate" under similar circumstances? Though a few of the younger spirits may be dazzled by a dream of autonomy, the sober Armenians of the Turkish cities aim only at "administrative reform." Can we, whose rights and liberties are won, condemn the upward struggles of one of the most capable and inextinguishable races on earth?

THE NEW SCHEME FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

“ I HAVE no confidence,”—so wrote Matthew Arnold, not very long before he left us,—“ I have no confidence in those who at the Universities regulate studies, degrees, and honours. To regulate these matters great experience of the world, steadiness, simplicity, breadth of view are desirable. I do not see how those who actually regulate them can well have these qualifications. I am sure that in what they have done during the last forty years they have not shown them.” The justice of these remarks will be admitted nowhere more unreservedly than at the Universities themselves; not, indeed, by that majority which, predominating in their councils, forms the governing body, and constitutes their legislature, but by that party, unhappily at present an all but impotent minority, which sees clearly the sort of reforms which are needed and as clearly by what means and in what way they may best be effected. The purpose of the following paper is to show what has been the effect of entrusting, we will not say to the Universities, for the minority to which we have alluded have been unwearied in their opposition, but to a majority in University Councils, the organisation and control of our higher education and the disposal of its endowments.

We will begin by comparing a scheme of higher education drawn up by men who possessed the qualities desiderated by Arnold, “ great experience of the world, steadiness, simplicity, breadth of view,” with certain schemes in which the notions of academic legislators have recently found embodiment in one University and are striving to find embodiment in the other. In 1854, Lord Macaulay, at the head of a Committee appointed to take into consideration the subject of the examination of candidates for the Civil Service of India, drew up his famous Report. The problem to be solved was the definition of what constituted “ the best, the most liberal, the most finished

education" possible for youths, whatever might be their future calling, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four. Macaulay's solution of the problem was the formulation of a scheme as large, wise, and noble as it was simple and practicable, a scheme which, accepted by the East India Company first and by Government afterwards, constituted, and notoriously constituted, the very best curriculum of education which has ever existed in this country. It is not necessary to discuss Macaulay's scheme in detail; it will be sufficient for the purposes of this paper to deal only with what he prescribes in relation to the study of ancient and modern languages, literature, and history. To the study of English literature he attaches the very greatest importance. It should hold, he says, the foremost place in the department to which it belongs—the department of literature. Contemplating it purely as a subject for liberal study, he says nothing to encourage an acquaintance with its barbarous or semi-barbarous experiments. The papers to be set in it were not to test a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, and the like, which, so far from being prescribed, are not even mentioned, but "a knowledge of our poets, wits, and philosophers." To the study of English literature is to be added the study of English history, general history, and constitutional history, and that not on peddling, antiquarian lines, but on the lines indicated in the questions proposed as models by Sir James Stephen. Then come the Greek and Roman classics, which are to be studied in the same large and liberal spirit. No prescribed books are to be got up with grotesque and sickening minuteness, to be got up as a textual scholar who was preparing, for philological purposes, a critical edition of them would be required to get them up. The translations required are to be translations at sight. At least three passages selected from the Latin poets and prose-writers, and six selected from those of Greece, are to be set. "One passage," the Report observes, "should be taken from the Homeric poems, one from some historian of the best age, one from some philosopher of the best age, one from some Attic orator, and at least one from the Attic drama." With these papers of translations, in addition, of course, to Greek and Latin composition in prose and verse, papers should be set "to enable students to show their knowledge of ancient history, both political and literary." Of the modern languages of the Continent, the Report goes on to say, the French, the Italian, and the German ought to be among the subjects of examination. "Several passages in every one of these languages should be set, to be turned into English; passages taken from English writers should be set to be translated into French, Italian, and German; and papers of questions should be framed which would enable a student to show his knowledge of the civil and literary history of France, Italy, and Germany."

Such was Macaulay's scheme, such his conception of what might

be held to constitute "the best, the most liberal, the most finished education possible for an English youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four." If we turn to the questions proposed by the examiners to test the knowledge required by the regulations framed in accordance with Macaulay's Report, it will easily be seen how invaluable, both generally as a means of discipline and particularly in relation to the knowledge positively attained, must have been the course of preparatory study. Let us see in what way a youth, who selected his subjects from the literary and historical side of the curriculum, would, during the most impressionable years of his life, have been compelled to occupy his hours of severe application, and encouraged to occupy his leisure. He would in the first place have been engaged in acquiring an exact and extensive knowledge of the two leading and master languages of the world, not in their relation to philology, but in relation to their expression in literature. He would have enabled himself, or, at all events, would have exerted every effort to enable himself, to read them with fluency and accuracy—for without such an accomplishment he could hardly expect to succeed in an examination where all the passages set for translation would be designed to test his powers of translating, and of translating rapidly at sight. He would have paid close and especial attention to the leading poets, historians, orators, critics, and philosophers, while not neglecting—as all such knowledge would be of practical use to him—the minor and less known writers. He would, moreover, have been encouraged to pursue these studies in the most liberal spirit; secure that in the questions proposed he would not be interrogated about the platitudes and paradoxes of rival commentators, about the barren trivialities of textual critics, or about the discoveries and speculations of those whose delight is, in the taunt of Cowper,

"to chase
A panting syllable through time and space.
Start it at home and hunt it in the dark,
Through Gaul, through Greece, and into Noah's ark."

But knowing, on the contrary, that he would be much more likely to be asked to compare Thucydides with Machiavelli or Sophocles with Shakespeare, he would have learnt to apply classical learning to its true use. Unlike the youths who too often quit our Universities with their heads loaded with mere lumber, with no sense or knowledge of the beauty and value of the works they have been studying, and with no conception of the connection of the classics with the literature of the modern world, he would have found in his study of them a means of culture in the true and proper sense of the term; would have found his mind enlarged, his taste refined, and the foundation of a life-long and affectionate intercourse with Homer and Sophocles, with Horace and Virgil laid. And to this acquaintance with the languages

and literatures of Greece and Rome, he would have added or been encouraged to add, a wide and intimate knowledge of our own. The time which is now wasted in the barren drudgery of cramming up the antiquities of our language, Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, and the jargon of early provincial dialects, he would have spent in studying the development of our prose and poetry, in tracing the influence exercised by the masterpieces of Greece and Rome and of Modern Europe on the works of the English classics, and in the critical study of our leading poets and prose writers, from Chaucer and Maundeville to Wordsworth and Landor. Knowing the importance which his examiners had been instructed to attach to such an accomplishment, he would, in whatever language it might be necessary to express himself, have spared no pains to acquire excellence in style and composition. Every inducement having been held out to him to study the three chief languages and literatures of the Continent, he would in all probability have made himself master of two at least out of the three, and have acquired a knowledge more or less intimate of their literary history and of their principal writers. Nor is this all. As he would have learnt to regard literature as the expression of national life under various conditions, and under various aspects and modifications, he would have turned naturally to history. He would have been obliged to turn to history, even though it was not among the subjects prescribed in his examination; for the key to literature, for a commentary, without which Homer and Virgil, Dante and Tasso, Shakespeare and Milton, would, from the point of view of the serious student, be almost unintelligible. But he would have found that the same wise and liberal provisions which had been made for his encouragement and guidance in the study of the literatures of the ancient and modern worlds had been made also for his encouragement and guidance in the study of their history. He would have found that he had as little to fear from the pedantry of mere antiquarianism in the tests which would be applied to his knowledge of the one as he had to fear from the pedantry of the mere monger in words in the tests to be applied to his knowledge of the other.

It would, in truth, be difficult to conceive a scheme of advanced education more perfectly satisfactory than this, more noble, more practicable, more calculated to attain the ends at which liberal culture and discipline should aim, to open, to invigorate, to enrich the mind. Well might Macaulay congratulate himself that he had succeeded in his purpose, that the regulations for this examination had been so framed that, in the case of candidates who were successful, the public service would have secured men "who had received the best, the most liberal, the most finished education which England could afford," while on the other hand "no candidate who might fail should, to whatever calling he might betake himself, have any reason to regret the time and labour

which he spent in preparing himself to be examined." But what was the fate of this scheme? It might have been expected, as Macaulay himself expected, that the Universities would have been able and willing to train those who wish to compete for the examination. Nay, it might have been expected that the attainment of high honours in the curricula of the Universities would in itself have formed the best of all trainings for such a competition. But it very soon became evident that what constituted, in the opinion of Macaulay, "the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that England could afford" was something very different from the sort of education which Oxford and Cambridge were competent to provide. The deficiencies in their system of instruction soon became deplorably apparent. For the study of English literature they had no provision at all; for the systematic study of the modern European literatures they had no provision. For the study of English and foreign history one of them had no provision, and in the other the teaching ran on lines so different from the lines indicated in Macaulay's regulations that it was practically useless.

Both Universities could certainly produce adepts in Greek and Latin composition. In neither University was any attention paid to composition in English. No experience has been commoner among tutors for the Indian Civil Service than to find University men whose composition in Latin would have been no discredit to Bembo and Politian, but whose composition in English would, in point of style, disgrace a Board School. Nor was it in these respects only that the Universities were found wanting. In Macaulay's regulations it had, as we have seen, been provided that the test of classical attainments should not consist merely in skill in composition, still less in a merely philological knowledge of the two languages, but in the power of being able to read the great Greek and Roman authors with facility and accuracy at sight; in the power of reading poetry, oratory, philosophy, history, with intelligence and sympathy; and in a knowledge also of the history of the two literatures. The result of this was, that if the examiners in framing their questions followed the instructions of Macaulay's Committee, there was every probability that a man who had taken high classical honours at Cambridge would, in this, his strongest subject, perhaps only partially succeed; and that a man who had taken a first or second in Classical Moderations at Oxford would break down. Both would probably obtain high marks in mere composition. The Cambridge man would probably obtain high marks in the unseen translations. The Oxford man, whose classical discipline had, on this side, consisted in getting up with ludicrous minuteness, and purely philologically, certain portions of particular authors, would find himself at immense disadvantage when confronted with passages altogether new to him. Neither would have received any instruction from his teachers about the history of the

Greek and Roman literatures, or have been taught to regard them, on the side at least of poetry and oratory, in any other light than the light in which they are regarded by philologists.

As the governing bodies of the Universities, true to their character and their traditions, declined to make such alterations in their curricula as would meet the requirements of Macaulay's regulations, it was plain that one of three things must happen. Either the regulations as to the liberal study of ancient and modern literature and history must be ignored by University candidates not offering these subjects for examination, but confining themselves to such subjects—mathematics, natural science, moral and political philosophy, pure "classics," and the like—as the Universities could teach, or the regulations themselves must be modified to suit the schools and Triposes of Oxford and Cambridge; or, finally, the candidates must seek tuition and teaching elsewhere. The Commissioners very properly declined to depart from the accepted instructions of Macaulay's committee, and all candidates, therefore, who wished to make high marks in ancient and modern literature and history had to provide for themselves. Private enterprise undertook and accomplished what the Universities declined to do. And now commenced one of the most scandalous chapters in the records of education. A class of men whose energy and ability supplied all the deficiencies of our academic systems of teaching came into the field. In a very short time their lecture-rooms, thronged with University men, had become the rivals of the lecture-rooms of Oxford and Cambridge. In a very short time men who had obtained distinguished places in the schools and Triposes of Oxford and Cambridge were simply nowhere in competition with the pupils of these tutors. Preparation for an ordeal designed by the Commissioners to test the possession of "the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that England affords" became their monopoly. They taught classics as Macaulay contended that they should be taught, namely, on the principle that the criterion of a knowledge of Greek and Latin should not be the possession of a minute philological knowledge of certain prescribed texts, but the power of reading the two languages with accuracy and facility at sight; and men who had obtained firsts in Moderations at Oxford found it necessary to resort for discipline of this kind to the new teachers. They supplied what was wanting in the provisions of the classical Tripos. Men who had taken high honours in that Tripos sought from them that literary and historical instruction which the regulations of Macaulay required in addition to pure scholarship. They provided instruction in English literature, both generally with regard to the history of its development and its peculiarities, and particularly in respect to the study of individual authors, of a kind which has elicited from succeeding examiners, and such

examiners as the present Bishop of London, the late Dean of St. Paul's, and Matthew Arnold, testimonies of cordial and complete approval. They provided also for the study of the languages and literatures of Italy, France, and Germany, and that in a manner which has since provided models for the curricula of some of our provincial Universities, and of two of the Universities in America. Thus, youths who had at an immense expense been educated at Oxford and Cambridge were, if they wished to have any prospect of success, obliged to incur the additional expense of securing the services of these teachers. But the Universities had their revenge. Contemptuously denominating the teaching of these men as "cramming," and the men themselves as "crammers," they coined a nickname which has certainly succeeded in effecting its object. A term more felicitous was probably never devised, for it blends in the happiest and subtlest combination the *suppressio veri*, the *suggestio falsi*, and the *simplex mendacium*. It implied, on the one hand, that the teaching of these men differed essentially from the teaching of the Universities, and differed for the worse, differed with the difference of the counterfeit, the rococo, the inferior from the genuine, the solid, the truly and simply excellent. It implied, or, rather, very soon began to imply, on the other hand, that any curricula of studies, the preparation for which necessitated the services of such teachers, and the assistance of such methods of teaching, deserved to be discountenanced by all who have the true interests of education at heart. By dint of mere repetition this wretched cant grew at last to become an article of faith. Such subjects in the examination as the Universities could teach, and teach according to the methods prescribed by them, represented "solid knowledge," and the means of "sound discipline." Such subjects as were either not taught by them at all, or not taught according to their methods, constituted "cram," and the means of "cramming." Now, if "cram" and "cramming" signify anything, the first signifies such knowledge as can be obtained by the mechanical and unreflective exercise of mere memory, and the second the art of temporarily impressing such knowledge on the memory in the easiest and most expeditious way. The very existence of these so-called crammers depended on the success of their pupils in the examination. Immense pains had, as we have seen, been taken by Macaulay to make it imperative on examiners that the questions set by them should be so framed as to render it impossible for a candidate to obtain "any credit at all for taking up a subject in which he was a smatterer." A mere glance at the papers on literature and history—the monopoly of the crammers—set by succeeding examiners, by men like Sir James Stephen, Mr. Froude, Dean Church, Matthew Arnold, will show how studiously they have been designed to baffle and render superficial instruction nugatory. But the Universities triumphed. The name

stuck. Other minor Government examinations were instituted. Educational regulations wretchedly organised called into being a correspondingly wretched system of instruction. Cramming, in the true sense of the term, became a profession. No one stopped to distinguish. Men who "prepared" for the Army, and men who "prepared" for the examination of which we have been speaking, were classed together, and confounded under the common name of crammers. The Universities having thus succeeded in casting discredit on the teachers, had not much difficulty in extending that discredit to the subjects taught by them, and to the method of their teaching. "There is something to be said for the study of the English language, but the serious study of English literature is impossible; if you want instruction in that you must go to a 'crammer.' There can be no solidity either in the study of the Greek and Latin classics, or in that of the classics of modern Europe, unless it be purely philological; if the regulations of the Commissioners require anything further, you had better go to a 'crammer.'" So spoke many a tutor and many a Head at Oxford and Cambridge. The result of this was the gradual dissolution of Macaulay's curriculum on the side of its regulations as to the study of ancient and modern literature, and the conversion of the Civil Service Commissioners to the notion that his theory of what constituted "the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that England could afford" was, so far as it related to the *artes humaniores*, absolutely untenable. From 1878 to the present time, in consequence partly of the lowering of the age of the candidates, the whole character of the examination underwent a change. But it was a change not occasioned simply by the necessity of adapting the standard to comparatively junior candidates, but by a determination on the part of the Commissioners to substitute the theory of the Universities for the theory of Macaulay. The study of English literature, instead of filling the important place assigned to it by Macaulay's Commission, was positively discouraged, the maximum of marks awarded to it being lower than the maximum awarded to Chemistry. The papers which were set, loaded with the philological lumber of Early and Middle English, completely lost their old character. The classical portion of the curriculum underwent a corresponding degradation. The whole curriculum was, in truth, reduced almost to the level of the Army Examination, scarcely a feature of the noble scheme of Macaulay being recognisable in its constitution. Such was the fate of the one attempt which has been made in this country to organise a liberal course of study on a comprehensive scale.

That attempt is about to be revived. The Civil Service Commissioners have, in a new Report and Syllabus completely remodelled the regulations for this important examination. They

have re-established the scheme of Macaulay. They have not only recited, and recited in words borrowed from him, that the object of the examination shall be to secure for the Indian Civil Service officers who have received "the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that England affords," while at the same time "no candidate who may fail shall, to whatever calling he may betake himself, have reason to regret the time and labour spent in preparing himself to be examined"; but, what is more important, they have, as the provisions of the syllabus show, taken precisely the same view of what ought to constitute such an education. Once more then—thanks to the wisdom and courage of the Commissioners, the only liberal course of study in *artibus humanioribus* which has ever existed in this country has been restored. The Commissioners have proceeded with great moderation and caution. Desiring "to avoid all disturbance of the general course of University studies, and to render it possible, with due regard to the principle of open competition, for those who have graduated with honours at the Universities to attend the examination for the Indian Civil Service with good prospects of success," they have been firm against any compromise with the deficiencies at present existing in the curricula of University studies.

To turn to the regulations themselves. With one singular and unfortunate exception, to which we shall presently recur, they differ in scarcely any respect from those of Macaulay's Committee. Very high marks (1150) are, as in the former scheme, assigned respectively to the language, literature, and history of ancient Greece, and to the language, literature, and history of ancient Rome. The passages set for translation from these languages into English will be unprepared. Greek and Latin composition, both in prose and verse, will be expected, though composition in verse will be optional; a paper of critical questions on the style of the Latin orators and poets, based on Cicero, "De Oratore," and Quintilian, "Institutiones Oratoriæ," Lib. x., being a substitute in the case of Latin, and a paper of critical questions on the style of the Greek orators and poets based on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (Book iii.) and *Poetic* being a substitute in the case of Greek. But these papers, and very properly, will not be substitutes for the general paper of critical questions which all candidates will be expected to answer. Papers on Greek and Roman history will be set, requiring—and this is an improvement on the former curriculum—a knowledge of the original authorities. It has always seemed to us a great mistake that in the organisation of advanced historical courses so little attention should be paid to the intrinsic value, to the literary and philosophical value, of the works prescribed for special study. The history of Europe between the fall of the Roman Empire and the coronation of Charlemagne, and, again, between the coronation of

Charlemagne and the definition of modern civilisation, may be of more interest and moment than the history of the Peloponnesian War, and of the fortunes of Rome during the first seven decades of the first century. But the fact that the one period was studied under the guidance of Thucydides and the other under the guidance of Tacitus will, from an educational point of view, be of infinitely greater gain than a similar acquaintance with the writings of such historians as have, either as original authorities or as modern compilers, told the story of the infancy of Europe, even though the great work of Gibbon, the only work of genius treating comprehensively at least with these particular epochs, be thrown into the scale. The Commissioners have therefore done well to encourage the study of the classics of ancient history. It is to be regretted that they should not have extended the same encouragement, as by a judicious selection of periods they might easily have done, to an acquaintance with the classical historians of modern Europe. English history and general modern history fill an important place in their scheme. Why should they not have prescribed such works, or portions of such works, as those of Philip De Comines, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Davila, Clarendon, for special study? In a curriculum designed primarily for the discipline of men who will be called upon to fulfil, in various capacities, the duties of rulers and administrators, it is surely of the utmost importance that they should be taught to approach history, not, as in our Universities it is too generally approached, from the merely antiquarian point of view, but from the point of view of statesmen and political philosophers. A minute knowledge of the constitution of the Saxon Witenagemot, or of the Castilian Cortes, and of the points in dispute between Dunstan and Beornhelm, or even between William Rufus and Anselm, assuredly ought not to be accepted as an equivalent to a knowledge of such subjects as Machiavelli's analysis and criticism of the policy of the Borgias, or Clarendon's review of the causes leading to the great revolution of the seventeenth century, or, coming to more modern times, the masterly disquisitions in the great works of Napier and Kinglake. Every encouragement, too, ought to be given to an acquaintance with such important contributions to history as have been made by men who have themselves been eminent as administrators and politicians, to such works as the *Memoirs of Sully and de Retz*, of Clarendon, of Temple; to the political treatises of Bacon, of Bolingbroke, of Burke; to the despatches and correspondence of Marlborough, Wellington, and Cornwallis. In the periods, therefore, proposed as subjects for special study it seems a great pity that those periods should not have been selected with a view to considerations of this kind. In a curriculum designed to serve the ends which this curriculum is designed to serve, it is surely a mistake to allow a candidate to obtain the highest marks attainable

in general modern history, whose knowledge of that history goes no further than a minute and particular acquaintance with the period lying between the accession of Charlemagne and the third Crusade. We submit, too, that the Commissioners would do well to insist that all who offer history as a subject for examination should be compelled to offer also one or more works on political science. The *Politics* of Aristotle, or at least judiciously selected portions, and the sixth book of Polybius might with advantage be made obligatory on all who take up ancient history; and such works, or some of such works, as Hobbes' "*Leviathan*" (say from chap. xiii. to chap. xxx.), Locke's "*Treatise on Civil Government*," Bluntschli's "*Theory of the State*," Maine's "*Ancient Law*," on all who, taking up modern history, do not offer classics. At a time when the Universities are falling more and more under the dominion of specialists, and history as a subject of study is in danger, not merely of being entirely disassociated from what Livy tells us is its chief function in education,* but of becoming as completely the monopoly of the mere antiquarian, as literature has long been that of the mere philologist, it is surely incumbent on the Commissioners to encourage by definite enactments the same liberal study of history as by definite enactments they have done in the case of literature. Without such enactments one of these things must occur: either the examination in history will go exactly on the lines of the corresponding examinations at the Universities, and a sort of knowledge very different from the sort of knowledge required of candidates by Lord Macaulay's regulations will be encouraged, or men who have, at the Universities, taken a degree in history will, as in the old days, be put to the trouble and expense of obtaining the necessary supplementary instruction at the hands of so-called crammers.

But whatever exception may be taken to the new regulations as they bear on the study of history, nothing can be more satisfactory than their provisions for the study of literature. We have already seen how admirably they are adapted to encourage a liberal and intelligent knowledge of the languages and literatures of ancient Greece and Rome. For a similar knowledge of our own they offer equal encouragement. To English composition, and to the English language and literature are assigned respectively 500 marks, the number assigned by Macaulay's Commission. A syllabus recently issued explains in detail the curriculum prescribed. The examination will be in two parts. In the one the candidate will be expected to show a general acquaintance with the course of English literature between the reign of Edward III. and the accession of Queen Victoria, as represented mainly by Chaucer, Langland, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton,

* Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuæque rei publicæ quod imitere capias; inde fœdum inceptu fœdum exitu quod vites.—Pref.

Dryden, Pope, Gray, Collins, Johnson, Goldsmith, Crabbe, Cowper, Campbell, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, in verse; and by Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Milton, Swift, Defoe, Addison, Johnson, Burke, Scott, Southey, in prose. It may be remarked in passing that the prose writers specified in this list are scarcely selected with the judgment displayed in the selection of the poets. Some prose writer of the Chaucerian age ought surely to have had a place; either Chaucer himself, Sir John Maundeville, or Wycliffe, for example. Nor should the long period between the death of Chaucer and the Elizabethan age have been left unrepresented when it might so easily have been supplied by prose writers so interesting as Peacock, Fortescue, Malory, and Caxton for the earlier and latter part of the fifteenth century, and by prose writers so eminent as More, Cranmer, Latimer, Lyly, Sydney, Hooker, for the period preceding the literary activity of Bacon. We think too that Bunyan, and one at least of the great theologians of the seventeenth century, should have been included; that a prominent place should have been found for Dryden as a prose writer, and for Hobbes. It is somewhat surprising, too, that such importance should be assigned to Southey, while neither Coleridge nor Landor is represented. But we have no doubt the Commissioners have good reasons for their selection. Nothing is so easy as to raise objections, and very plausible objections, to arrangements of this kind, and nothing more difficult than to obviate them.

The second part of the examination will require a minute and particular knowledge of the literature produced during a specified period, which will vary every year till it necessarily repeats itself. Thus in 1892 the period specified is from 1340 to 1600, in 1893 from 1600 to 1700, in 1894 from 1700 to 1800, in 1895 from 1800 to 1832. In this part of the examination candidates will be expected to show "a more minute acquaintance with the history of the English language and literature as illustrated in the chief works produced in each period, and will be based to a considerable extent, but by no means exclusively, on certain books specified each year by the Commissioners."

At last, then, the study of our national literature, rescued from its degrading thralldom to philology, has again been placed on a proper basis. And it is indeed a matter for congratulation that the Commissioners have had the wisdom and the courage to follow, not the precedent of our Universities and established curricula, but the precedent of Macaulay's scheme. Very properly recognising that English literature begins with Chaucer, they have relegated Anglo-Saxon, Early English, and the like to its appropriate sphere, the sphere of philology; and very properly recognising that philology, as a science, is not entitled to a place in a curriculum of liberal study, they have excluded it from the examination, admitting it only so far as a literary curriculum ought to admit it, so far, that is to say, as it serves to throw

light on the interpretation of the vocabulary and syntax of classical works.

In one respect only do the new regulations deviate from those of Macaulay's Commission, and this deviation is in truth so extraordinary and so unaccountable as to be almost incredible. We allude to what has recently, in the columns of the *Times*, drawn forth remonstrances from Cardinal Manning, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Frederic Harrison, and others, and what has elicited protests in the form of memorials from almost every University in Great Britain—the elimination of the Italian language and literature from the subjects open to candidates in this examination. It is difficult to see on what ground the action of the Commissioners can be defended. If its only justification be the reason alleged by them in their Report—viz., that the language being so comparatively easy, candidates “too often look it up for the mere purpose of making marks,” the remedy is too obvious to be named. If it be defended on the ground that no adequate provision has as yet been made for teaching it at the Universities, and that its retention in the examination will therefore be against the interests of University candidates, the answer is simple. The Commissioners have no right to frame the examination purely in the interests of University candidates. The competition is an open one for posts paid out of the public money, and every qualified British citizen, whether a University man or not, is entitled to have an opportunity of showing whether he has received the “most liberal education which his native country affords.” To exclude Italian from the subjects entitled to a place in “liberal education,” is simply monstrous, and derogatory to our intelligence as a nation. If the Universities have no provision for instruction in the language of Dante and Machiavelli, it is a serious deficiency in their system, a deficiency which the Commissioners, so far from conniving at, ought to do all in their power to correct.

But this is not the only consideration. We have already seen that the course of study prescribed for this examination by Macaulay's Committee was designed not merely in the interests of the comparatively few candidates who would compete successfully, but of the many who must necessarily fail. In other words, it supplied a great want in our system of national education. It furnished the one curriculum in which literature and history, ancient and modern alike, could be studied in a liberal spirit. It enabled and encouraged young men to read Machiavelli and Clarendon side by side with Thucydides and Tacitus, and the polite literature of modern Europe side by side with that of the ancients. It afforded the best of trainings—such a training as no other curriculum in England afforded, not indeed for specialists and technical scholars, but for those men who are in various capacities, both in the world of letters and in the world

of education, interested in the maintenance and dissemination of liberal culture, as distinguished from the pedantry of philology on the one side, and the pedantry of antiquarianism on the other. The Commissioners have not only—and very properly—retained German and French, but they have assigned higher marks to them than the marks assigned by Macaulay.

In eliminating Italian they have greatly impaired the value of their curriculum on its historical side, and on its literary side impaired its value still more. To what man of any pretension to literary culture would it not be a great loss, would it not be somewhat derogatory, to be ignorant of the language and writings of Dante, of Petrarch, of Ariosto, of Machiavelli? What student of the poetry and prose of ancient Italy is not a gainer, an immense gainer, by familiarity with the poetry and prose of modern Italy; and who has acknowledged this more unreservedly than Conington? How is it possible, moreover, to understand the development of our own literature, or the characteristics, nay, even the existence of many of its masterpieces, without constant reference to those poets, those novelists, those historians, who were to our forefathers almost what the classics of Greece were to the classics of Rome? But this defect, the only important defect in a scheme of higher education otherwise so liberal and so noble, can be, as surely before long it must be, easily remedied.

It now remains to be considered whether the revival of Macaulay's scheme will find the Universities as incompetent and unwilling to provide the sort of instruction required by it as they were a few years ago. In other words, whether the so-called crammers will again be called upon to undertake the duties which ought to be undertaken by Oxford and Cambridge and the provincial colleges. The Commissioners have made no secret of the disfavour with which they regard "the crammers," while doing full justice to the thoroughness and efficiency of the work done by them.* Nor is this surprising. The existence of such teachers is a satire on our educational system. It is hard alike on parents and guardians, and on the candidates themselves, to be required to supplement—and that at considerable expense both of time and money—the instruction which ought to have been included in the instruction already heavily purchased at the Universities. This system, moreover, admirable as it is in many respects, is seriously deficient in others. If the object of education were merely to impart knowledge, it would probably be of more advantage for a youth to enter his name at a crammer's than to matriculate at Oxford or Cambridge. But the Universities afford what the system of these teachers cannot, and what is in truth of even more importance than the acquisition of knowledge—social culture in the widest and deepest sense of the term. Few, therefore,

* Thirty-third Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, p. xxxii.

will question the wisdom of the Commissioners in striving with the utmost anxiety to adapt their regulations as far as possible to the curricula of study prescribed at the Universities, and so obviating the necessity for University candidates entering on another and separate course of instruction.* And there can be no doubt that in most subjects the Universities—unlike the Universities of twelve years ago—will be fully competent to provide what the regulations of the Commissioners require. Oxford and Cambridge appear at last to be awaking to the fact—but not until Greek as an element in modern education has been almost extinguished—that the ancient classics have some other end to serve than that of affording pabulum to philologists, and being the cachet and shibboleth of a ring of pedants. Thanks no doubt partly to the precedent set by Macaulay's regulations, which, though producing no effect at the time, were not without effect ultimately, partly to the threatened extinction of a "classical" system which every person of common sense felt to be a mere anomaly in modern education, and partly owing to the works of men like the late Professor Sellar, Professor Jowett, Professors Jebb and Campbell, a great revolution is being effected in our systems of classical instruction. The cultivation of the power of being able to translate passages at sight with facility and accuracy, and a liberal as distinguished from a merely philological acquaintance with the ancient masterpieces are being more and more encouraged. The study of history has made enormous advances, and though too much attention is still paid to what can be imparted and acquired by mere cram-work, and too little to what constitutes the real value of history as an instrument of culture, no one could doubt that such questions as Macaulay and Hallam would be likely to propose would in all probability be treated adequately by University candidates. But in one important branch of study Oxford and Cambridge remain where they were. To the disgrace of both of them, the literature of England and of modern Europe are practically unrepresented in their curricula. In neither of them is the instruction required by Macaulay's regulations with respect to modern literature provided. For instruction in this subject candidates must either trust to their own efforts or resort to their old instructors, the crammers. In spite of their desire to bring the course of subjects presented to them into harmony with the curricula of the Universities, the Commissioners have done well to be firm in insisting on a liberal acquaintance with modern literature, and especially of our own. Had they gone further—had they encouraged the comparative study of ancient and modern

* If, as one of the most eminent of these teachers has objected, it be the design of the Commissioners, by assigning no less than 4100 marks to classics and mathematics, practically to confine the competition to Oxford and Cambridge First Class men, while ostensibly encouraging proficiency in all branches of liberal education, they are undoubtedly taking a step the wisdom of which is surely very questionable.

literature, had they required a knowledge of the principles of criticism, had they encouraged a study of literature in close connection with a study of history, by including papers on each of these subjects in their examination, they would have done a great service to education. They would have furnished a complete curriculum in *literæ humaniores*, a curriculum which ought long ago to have formed the distinguishing feature of our academic system, but a curriculum which, as the whole history of our Universities shows, will never have place within their walls until irresistible pressure from without is brought to bear on them.

J. CHURTON COLLINS.

BAD AIR AND BAD HEALTH.

THE purpose of this paper* is to utter a warning against the careless way in which the great mass of people, poor and rich, ignorant and learned, allow the air of their living-rooms to be in an impure condition, and to point out the great sacrifice of energy and health which results from this carelessness. We shall try to show that there is strong ground for believing that not only a large part of the ever-increasing trouble of bronchial and lung affections, but also a very large part of that vague and subtle ill-health which troubles our modern lives in varying forms, is to be placed to the account of the impure air which we so habitually breathe.

As we wish to make the paper plain to every one, we shall occasionally go back to the A B C of certain matters involved. The air which we breathe is made up of two gases, one active, one indifferent. The active gas, oxygen, on which life depends, is in the proportion of about one-fifth (21 per cent.) of the whole; the indifferent gas, nitrogen, which tempers and dilutes its active partner, is in the proportion of four-fifths (79 per cent.), and with these two gases is found a small quantity—varying according to the purity of the air—of carbonic acid, about three to four parts in 10,000 parts, or .04 per cent., and in addition a minute quantity of a peculiarly active form of oxygen, called ozone, which is rarely found in the air of towns. Of this gas-mixture (which we call air) we breathe enormous quantities. Of it we breathe in the twenty-four hours, according to Professor M. Foster, over 2600 gallons, that is about 425 cubic feet; and as it returns from our lungs the proportions of the mixture are changed, the oxygen being reduced, and the carbonic acid increased.† But in

* At the end of the article is a list of the books referred to.

† It must be remembered that the act of breathing consists in bringing the blood of the system in contact with air, through a delicate membrane in the lungs. Here an exchange takes place—oxygen being yielded up from the air to the blood, and carbonic acid from the blood to the air.

all ordinary cases the quantity of oxygen in a room in which people are meeting is only slightly decreased, whilst the increase of the carbonic acid is not sufficient to cause bad effects. How, then, arises the mischief?

The truth is that in taking air into the lungs and breathing it out again, we breathe out with it certain organic poisons. About the existence and presence of these poisons there can be no doubt, though very little is known about their nature. Of them Dr. Foster writes (p. 552) that they may be formed in the lungs, or may be products of putrefactive decomposition allied to a class of poisons known as ptomaines, which are found in the system. Dr. A. Ransome ("Health Lectures," 1875-76, p. 160) says:

"The aqueous vapour arising from the breath, and from the general surface of the body, contains a minute proportion of animal refuse matter, which has been proved, by actual experiment, to be a deadly poison. . . . It is this substance that gives the peculiar, close, unpleasant smell which is perceived on leaving the fresh air and entering a confined space occupied by human beings or other animals, . . . and air thus charged has been fully proved to be the great cause of scrofulous or tubercular diseases, and it is the home and nourisher of those subtle microscopic forms of life that have lately become so well known under the title of germs of disease, or microzoms. It is probably the source of a large part of that increase of mortality that seems inevitably to follow the crowding together of the inhabitants of towns."

Galton says ("Our Homes," p. 497): "This organic matter (given off from the lungs), on an average, may be estimated at thirty or forty grains a day for each adult;"* and both Dr. Carpenter and Sir Douglas Galton notice that if breath be passed through water (and then kept in a closed vessel at a high temperature), putrefaction is set up, and a very offensive smell is given off.†

Now let us take the case of a person who sits in a closely shut up room, ten feet high, ten feet broad, and fifteen feet long, for five hours.‡ At the end of that time he is breathing air which contains 1·2 per cent. less oxygen than it ought to contain, but, what is far more serious, he is breathing some air which has already passed through his lungs, and which is charged with this special poison. Here is the great secret of the fatal mischief. Nature has got rid of the poison, thrown it out of the system, but the perverse occupant of the

* We do not know on what exact grounds this calculation rests.

† Foster (p. 552) states that "when the expired air is condensed . . . the aqueous product is found to contain organic matter, which, from the presence of micro-organisms . . . is very apt rapidly to putrefy." L. P. writes: "If a globe be filled with ice and taken into a close, badly ventilated room, the dew which forms outside is found to be contaminated with these organic impurities." L. T. writes: "It is more than likely that it is this animal poison which is the direct cause of typhus fever, as that follows overcrowding with mathematical precision."

‡ A considerable quantity of air, however, is always entering through window frames, under doors, even through brick walls. On the other hand, we have made no allowance either for space occupied by furniture or for the (probably) tainted condition of the room.

room insists on thwarting Nature, and, by means of his closed doors and windows, breathes in again, it may be a second time or a third time, the poison that has once been safely got rid of. Say that in twenty-four hours 500 cubic feet have passed once through the lungs, then in six hours our friend will have vitiated one quarter of that quantity, or 125 cubic feet—*i.e.*, one-twelfth of the whole air in the room (1500 cubic feet). If he still goes on sitting in his study, at the end of nine hours he will have vitiated 187.5 cubic feet, or one-eighth of the whole; or if he has been unfortunate enough to have had a friend sitting with him, then in six hours they will have tainted one-sixth of the air; and of every mouthful of air they breathe after that time, one-sixth of it must be supposed to be charged with poisons that have been already once got rid of, but are now being retaken into the system. Of course this proportion of one-sixth will not remain constant. Each breath expired will make the matter worse.

A few words seem necessary here for those who have never followed the changes going on in the body. We know that we are constantly building up new tissue of different kinds, and that this building up makes it necessary that the old tissue should be got rid of. The larger part of our food measures this change which is going on. If we take our daily food, liquid and solid, for twenty-four hours, as weighing about 5 lb. 8 oz. (Hermann, p. 233)—a large proportion being water—we may look upon about 5 lb. 3 oz. of this quantity as used for the making of new tissue, the other 5 oz. forming what is spoken of as exhausted ferments, and which, passing along the alimentary canal, is eventually rejected. Now, all the suitable part of the food, after undergoing various changes, which are necessary to prepare it for its passage from dead food into living tissue, finds its way into the blood; and when by means of the larger blood-vessels it reaches the very minute blood-vessels, called capillaries, it pours a part of itself out through the permeable walls of these minute vessels, bathing and feeding the whole surrounding tissue. Thus, as somebody has said, the whole of the new and living body is in solution in this wonderful food-stream of the blood, which, by a very subtle mechanism of nerves, distributes its good gifts in proportion to the needs of each separate part. But the blood is not simply a food-stream, it is also a sewage stream, and it is as such that we are specially interested in it. Where no growth or storing of flesh material of any kind is taking place in the system, it is evident that that part of the daily food which is turned into tissue measures not only the daily construction that is taking place within us, but also the daily destruction or waste. In fact we—if we may so speak of the particles of which we are composed—are for ever living and dying within ourselves—making a new self, and getting

rid of an old self; and just as the new living body is in solution in the blood, so also is the old dead body, that has done its work and has to be got rid of. Now, of this dead body a large part has to escape through our lungs and through our skin.

About this process of waste very little is known. We know, whilst certain temporary forms of waste are found in muscle, such as kreatin (Gr. kreas, flesh) which, whether again made use of or not (M. Foster, p. 154), is supposed to be eventually changed in some complex manner into urea in the liver (M. Foster, p. 755), and an acid called sarcolactic (Gr. sarx, flesh; gala, milk) which is also supposed to be decomposed in the liver into carbonic acid and water (M. Foster, p. 826), that all our dead tissue is—with a certain slight but most important exception—got rid of safely at last, as urea, carbonic acid, and water.* These are the final forms which the waste that passes from the tissue into the blood takes—the urea being separated from the blood and got rid of by the kidneys, the carbonic acid both by the skin and the lungs, and the water by all three channels of separation.†

But we said that urea, carbonic acid, and water did not account for quite all the waste tissue; and amongst the part not so accounted for are the very hurtful poisons which escape from lungs and skin. What are these poisons? Have they a connection with, or a resemblance to, the poisons which, as we know, exist at all times within the system on a large scale. Dead or waste tissue probably passes through many forms before it reaches the safe final forms of carbonic acid and water, and we must conclude that some of these forms are highly poisonous. We see this by what happens to a man when he is drowned. A drowned man is in reality a poisoned man. The waste which is going on everywhere and at every moment in his tissues is producing a poison of so deadly a character that when it cannot be oxidised by receiving oxygen from the blood (as it does under ordinary circumstances by means of the two gallons (nearly) of air he breathes in a minute) death ensues in a few minutes. In this case, the poison produced all over the system has been no longer rendered harmless by oxygen, and goes as poison to the brain. Now, this poisoning does not appear to be primarily or necessarily due to an excess of carbonic acid, which also accumulates in the blood when a man is drowned. As Dr. Foster shows, even where carbonic acid is got rid of, and no oxygen available, the same result follows. Thus we have a pretty clear indication that the poisoning which results is the non-oxidisation of certain active poisons. Other indications point to the same con-

* We are not taking into account certain other substances discharged from the skin in small quantities.

† "The natural waste of the body appears in two simple forms of carbonic acid—the gaseous form having the chemical formula CO_2 , while that which is got rid of in solution is urea, that is, $\text{CO}_2(\text{NH}_2)_2$ in which the second atom of oxygen in the carbonic acid is replaced by a nitrogenous body termed amidogen." (L. P.)

clusion. When a man faints from loss of blood, he probably faints because the diminished stream of blood does not carry a sufficient quantity of oxygen with it to neutralise the poisons which reach the brain.* It is also noticeable that in both these cases convulsions occur; that is, oxygen being denied, the poisons (which retain all their virulence, from being non-oxidised) act as a very powerful stimulant on a part of the nervous centre, which, in turn acting through the nerves, throws one set of muscles after another (connected with the respiratory system) into action, in order to obtain the oxygen that is absent; ending at last in that general violent movement which is called convulsions. After a short time the poisons overpower the nerve centres and death ensues.†

Both fevers and violent exercise seem also to illustrate the same thing. In fever, the tissue rapidly wastes, and great quantities of waste-poison are poured into the blood. These poisons affect the nerves, and are the cause of quickened respiration, and often of quickened circulation,‡ which are necessary in order to get the excess of poison oxidised; when therefore unconsciousness supervenes, we may say pretty confidently that the rapid circulation and the rapid breathing have not been sufficient to oxidise and neutralise the mass of poison which is being carried to the brain.§ So again, in pneumonia, the quickened breathing shows both the effort of Nature to make up for

* One of the writers was informed by a friend in Africa, that he was present when a man cut himself badly with a bill-hook, and was carried into a cabin. Each time the door was closed the man fainted; each time the door was thrown open he came back to his senses, indicating pretty clearly that the supply of oxygen, which was unduly diminished by the loss of blood, was increased when the door was open, and was just sufficient to neutralise the effect of the waste-poisons, and prevent unconsciousness.

† It is interesting to remark here that this reaction of the nerve centre under the effect of the poison, seems to be of that "protective character" which occurs so often, and to which Professor Foster more than once has referred; that is to say, that it produces a violent movement of the muscles in the effort to obtain air, which can alone neutralise the mischief.

‡ In certain cases, however, the heart and circulation are slowed, not quickened. This is the case, Dr. Foster says, in drowning, after a slight quickening has taken place. May this not be explained by the supposition that, where oxygen is altogether denied, an increase in the rapidity of the circulation would carry the poison quicker to the brain, and therefore hasten the end? A different effect seems to occur in the case of vitiated air. In this case Müller asserts (as quoted by Mr. Angell, Manchester Health Lectures, p. 33, 1879-80), that the circulation is slowed. Is this—if correctly stated—a consequence of the depressing action of these peculiar poisons, which escape with the breath, and are rebreathed in vitiated air? The case of flies, which died in foul air with unexhausted tissue—alluded to later on—and some other evidence, seem to point in this direction. In exercise, on the other hand, the effect is as one would expect, different: both respiration and circulation are quickened in order to increase the supply of oxygen required to meet the large increase of waste; thus it would appear as if the ordinary waste-poisons stimulated, whilst the special poisons of vitiated air depressed. The whole subject calls for very careful consideration. A friend remarks; Dr. Burdon Sanderson, of Oxford, has long been and is working out these questions.

§ This indicates very clearly that the purest and freshest air should flow through the room of a person suffering from fever. It would be almost as necessary to him as to the person suffering from loss of blood. Such treatment is confirmed by experience, see case of Austrian army, further on.

the loss of that part of the lung which is ineffective, and also the stimulus, which the increased waste-poison in the blood (increased owing to diminished lung capacity, and therefore diminished oxygen) exerts upon the respiratory machinery. So again, when less blood is carried to the lungs, owing to the artery which leads from the heart to the lungs being partially blocked with a clot, the same effect is produced. Probably a somewhat similar condition arises after hard work, either in old age or in a feeble state of health. The tissue, not being in the firm condition of the tissue of a vigorous person accustomed to daily work, breaks down in large quantities, whilst at the same time the circulatory and respiratory machineries are no longer at their best, and therefore the oxidation is imperfect. On the next day the infirm man is poisoned by the unusual quantity of waste in the system, and feels discomfort in many parts of his body or limbs. So also the discomfort acutely felt by some persons during east winds probably arises from the poison that ought to have been got rid of by the skin, but, owing to the closing of the pores, has been thrown back into the system. So also with ordinary violent exercise. When we take violent exercise an unusual quantity of waste is thrown into the blood, requiring an unusual quantity of oxidation. Here also the waste stimulates the nerve centres, increasing action of heart, and of respiratory muscles, so that the blood charged with waste and the air may come into quicker contact. The successful athlete is therefore, first, the good oxidiser (see M. Foster, p. 628), the person who has good lung capacity, and especially a powerful heart to drive the blood swiftly; and, secondly, the person who trains well, whose tissue is healthy and firm and does not break down rapidly into waste—waste in his case not outstripping the powers of oxidation, and thus causing distress. On the other hand, the untrained man, who breaks down in the race with every symptom of distress, is the poisoned man—the man who formed waste quicker than he could oxidise it.*

* In such a case, it may be asked, why are not the waste-poisons passing into the blood from the tissues safely got rid of in the form of carbonic acid and water when the blood reaches the lungs? It seems difficult to escape from the conclusion (see Foster, p. 603) that these unoxidised waste products may, on occasion, pass the lungs without being got rid of. In the case of violent exercise, it would seem that the quickened heart and quickened breathing must come from the action of waste-poisons, which, passing the lungs, reach the medulla and stimulate the nerve centres, there not having been time, owing to the excessive quantity of waste produced, to reduce all the waste to the safe final products of water and carbonic acid, and therefore some part of the waste in an unoxidised state being carried past the lungs on to the nerve centres. As regards the poisons we rebreath from the air, it is, of course, rather a surprising thing, if they entered the circulation, that they should not be oxidised in the blood, when we think of how they must be surrounded by the oxygen that the blood has received from the air. But active as oxygen is—in its “nascent” state, just released from hæmoglobin—in the tissues after leaving the blood, there are reasons for thinking that this activity does not exist in the blood itself. Thus we are told that pyrogalllic acid, which is an easily oxidisable substance, may pass through the blood without undergoing any change; and fresh blood, as we are told, has little oxidising effect. This strange powerlessness of the oxygen in the blood increases the danger of these waste-poisons. If they were oxidised in the blood we should be able probably to get rid of them quite

Reviewing, then, what we have said, we seem to see three things : first, that so long as we have a sufficiency of oxygen, we get rid of a large amount of daily waste in safe and harmless forms ; secondly, that when oxygen is withheld from us there are poisons in every part of our tissue of so deadly a character (either abnormally formed because oxygen is absent, or under ordinary circumstances neutralised by the supplies of oxygen present) as to take life in a few minutes ; thirdly, that even when all is well, and our system is functioning under healthy conditions, we are still always breathing out from ourselves, through lung and through skin, certain dangerous poisons, which poisons, when we are living in bad air, we perpetually reabsorb into ourselves, to our own great hurt.

Nothing, however, that we have said satisfactorily explains the presence of these poisons which escape from the lungs and the skin. It seems hard to explain why, when Nature so successfully breaks down the great mass of waste into harmless products, there should be this comparatively slight residue left over—reminding one of a lawless fraction of people in an orderly State—which cannot be got rid of on the same easy terms. As we have seen, we have about 5 lb. 3 oz. of daily waste that is safely got rid of as urea, carbonic acid, and water, by means of kidneys, skin, and lungs ; but accompanying this safe discharge we have a few grains of poison—a sort of surplus of evil—which in some way or other seems to resist the oxidation to to which all the other mass of waste has been subject. What, then, is this poison ? How far is it the same, how far does it differ from, the normal poisons of the tissues, which, as we see, in a few minutes destroy life when oxygen is withheld ? Where and how is it formed ? Are we to look upon it as a putrefactive poison formed at the surface of the lungs and the skin, when waste of some kind is escaping through these channels ? Dr. Klein tells us (pp. 61 and 241) that septic bacteria* (the authors of putrefactive change) are to be found in those parts of the body into which air penetrates, as the mouth, the air-passages, the whole alimentary tract ; but it seems difficult not to believe, whatever changes take place as these poisons reach the air, that they must at all events have existed as chemical poisons when still in the tissues. Are we, then, to look upon these poisons as derived from putrefactive decompositions taking place in certain parts of the body ; or as poisons derived from the tissues ; or as in turn possessing both characters ? At present, both within and without the body, their nature is surrounded with mystery, and many are the interesting questions that remain to be solved about them. When they have passed outside the body, are

harmlessly, as they would not be in the condition of poisons when they escaped from lungs and skin ; but we may feel sure that there is some good reason why this cannot take place. When they are once carried to the tissues, except in the case of persons taking plenty of exercise and leading a healthy life, there may be no superabundance of oxygen, but rather a deficiency, for all the work to be done.

* For a different view, see De Bary on "Bacteria," p. 44.

they the food of any of the bacteria which are found so plentifully in foul air?*. If so, are the ordinary bacteria (excluding the case of certain bacteria producing disease) our friends or our enemies; do they render the poison itself harmless; or do they themselves produce an excretion which is of a poisonous character; or should they be looked on as neutral, destroying one poison and producing another; are the poisons themselves simply removed by currents of air, or are they oxidised in the air; if so, are they oxidised only when ozone is present (see "Our Homes," p. 11); and if in the air, why not in the blood, after we have rebreathed them and surrounded them with oxygen, in loose combination with hæmoglobin?†

Another light is thrown upon the waste-poisons of the tissues by the statement that they exhaust the power of muscle to contract. Muscle taken from a freshly killed animal, if fed with arterial blood, or blood supplied with oxygen, may retain for some time its power of contraction. But if venous blood (blood that has lost its oxygen and is charged with waste-poisons) be injected into it, the power of contraction is lost quicker than if no blood be supplied to it. In the same way the power of the muscle is soon exhausted if a solution containing substances which can be extracted from muscle (such as kreatin, lactic acid, &c.) be injected into it (M. Foster, p. 150). These facts help us to see the local mischief which must often arise from these poisons, as well as their effects on the nerve centres. Many an ache and pain are probably due to local effects of the waste-poisons, whether they are the normal waste-poisons of the system, which under unhealthy conditions of life we are not properly getting rid of, or the special waste-poisons of skin and lungs that we have rebreathed in to the system.‡

* *Bacteria* (Gr. *bakterium*, a staff) are the smallest living organisms known, and generally included in the vegetable kingdom. They possess a very simple structure, are capable of free movement, and multiply very rapidly. Some kinds are the causes of putrefaction and of certain diseases. It is calculated that we inhale 300,000 germs of these organisms in the day.

† Mr. Wager adds the following note: "The bacteria on the surface are constantly at work excreting. At every breath we give off a small quantity of poison, whether we are breathing in pure or bad air. The quantity given off is extremely (extraordinarily) small—so small that it can only be approximately measured by the amount of carbonic acid in the air. These bacteria are present whether we live in foul air or pure air. Their existence there means that they can thrive, and if they thrive, they must feed, and if they feed, they must excrete, or something analogous to it. Personally, I am inclined to think they (these special lung and skin poisons) come from the blood, because ptomaines can be formed by the action of various chemical agents (such as acids) upon protoplasmic or albuminous material, and as blood (serum) is albuminous, and as it contains various substances derived from tissue waste—*e.g.*, lactic acid, uric acid probably, &c.—it may be that the two react upon one another, producing these ptomaine-like poisons. I think, however, that it is just possible that they may be formed on the surface."

‡ Where Nature does not get fair-play, where, for example, the blood is vitiated by our constantly rebreathing poisons that have been already got rid of, other dangers probably exist. In the delicate chemical translations which take place, when tissue is being changed into harmless waste, it may happen that the process goes wrong, and an abnormal poison is formed. Thus, under certain circumstances, instead of urea, uric acid is formed; thus in uræmia, or retention of urea in the system,

We now pass to other evidence affecting the poison that escapes from lungs and skin. We all know that a room is offensive when many people are crowded into it; we know the unpleasantness of a bedroom before the air has freely entered it; we know how disagreeable the breath and the clothes can be; we know that animals die when submitted to air that has been breathed, even when the carbonic acid has been removed; * we know how necessary is the continuous flood of pure air in hospitals—we have heard it stated that this much freer admission of air is rendering unnecessary the antiseptic treatment of wounds; how by treating men in the open air and in tents recoveries have been made quicker and better than in hospital; † and how in the case of the Austrian army "the most severe maladies ran their course much more mildly" in the free air, while the recovery was quicker and more perfect (Ransome, "Health Lectures," 1875-78, p. 151). So also Dr. Parkes says (p. 181) in cases of blood poisoning, the best treatment is complete exposure to open air; so also in

various secondary compounds are formed (Carpenter, p. 448), which act on brain or spinal cord as narcotic poisons; thus, in acute yellow atrophy, where liver cells lose a part of their activity, a substance called leucin is manufactured to a considerable extent instead of urea (M. Foster, p. 755); thus gall-stones are formed instead of gall, and certain changes take place in the bile, by which some of its constituents cease to be dissolved in it (M. Foster, p. 431); thus the ptomaines—a class of mysterious poisons—are formed in the system (Quain, "Ptomaine," 1816, after various illnesses. [In connection with these ptomaines a dispute arose during an Italian trial as to whether a poison detected in a body was strychnine, or this naturally formed ptomaine.] Thus, too, Blythe ("Poisons," A. W. Blythe, pp. 468-470) describes cases in which narcotic poisons have been formed by synthesis of substances in the tissue or in the blood. So also we might quote the interesting speculation of Dr. Carpenter (p. 368), that a cancer is an excretory organ, formed to get rid of poisons in the system, illustrating once more "the protective nature" even of that which brings pain and death; and the case of certain pathogenic organisms, which, as Dr. Klein suggests (p. 248), may not affect healthy living tissues, but only diseased tissues—the disease implying alteration of the tissue. All these cases are cases, doubtless, of an extreme kind; they imply the abnormal formation of poisons to a serious extent, sufficient to constitute illness; but it may well be that there are many less serious formations of abnormal poisons, which, though not sufficient to produce illness, yet cause much discomfort, and which are the consequence of the vitiated state of the blood, arising from the habitual breathing of impure air.

* If we remember rightly, both Parkes and D. Galton ("Our Homes") refer to these experiments—a mouse dying in forty-five minutes when submitted to air treated in this manner. Dr. Richardson also refers in one of his works to experiments, which were conducted by himself, and which are more fully described in a report to the British Association. Dr. Richardson had formerly a theory of "devitalised oxygen," but we suppose he would probably consider now that it was a truer statement to say that this special poison had not been removed from the air which the creatures breathed. Experiments of the same kind have also been made on rabbits in Paris. One of our number (A. H.) adds the following remark: "Though I think probably it would be quite misleading to speak of the experiments upon the mouse, and the experiments conducted by Dr. Richardson as in any sense cruel, yet, speaking my own personal opinion, I remain opposed to all such experiments. Whilst I admit the neat and convenient evidence often supplied by them, and also admit that difficulties of method would at first exist, were they renounced, yet I think the wealth of materials that exist on all sides of us for pushing forward knowledge is so vast, that however convenient these experiments may be, they are not really necessary, whilst perhaps a keener perceptive sense in tracing out the meaning of the things of common life, which are of such vital importance, would be developed, as investigators renounced this particular method. In writing this, however, I am governed by the moral side of the question, which is the one that, apart from all other considerations, determines my view."

† The case of the hospital is, of course, a complicated case, and it might be disputed how far its evidence can be used for our purpose.

typhus; and in a less degree in enteric fever, small-pox and plague. "This complete exposure," he adds, "of patients to air is the most important mode of treatment, before even diet and medicines."* In the same way, the deaths of the Black Hole of Calcutta add their evidence, though it is an evidence of an extreme kind. Whilst out of the 146 persons shut up, 123 died, of the remaining number (Carpenter, p. 357) many afterwards died of putrid fever—that is, were poisoned, owing to an insufficiency of oxygen to neutralise the poisons breathed out on all sides of them, and rebreathed by themselves. A much simpler piece of evidence is presented to us daily by our own eyes. Who is not struck by the pasty, anæmic look of our city children, and of the large number of those who follow sedentary occupations, as contrasted with the looks of those who live in the country, and are much in the open air? What is that pasty, anæmic look? It is the absence of red corpuscles from the blood, indicating that where oxygen is deficient† the red corpuscles are not produced in their proper quantity. So also the effects of living in rooms in which sewer gas has penetrated illustrate in their own stronger degree the effects of living in unventilated rooms. The one is the lesser form, the other the more serious form of the same evil. In both, bacteria thrive and multiply, and in both, meat and milk rapidly taint. They are both full of organic matter, and the symptoms of headache and feverishness are common to both, though, of course, the case of sewer gas is much the more acute case.‡ Again, we all know the wonderfully restoring effect that hill air with its ozone has upon us after town life; showing how the poison has depressed all our functions, and how the pure air restores their energy. We see the same effect in the lives of workpeople. Sir D. Galton, as we have seen, tells us of better work done, more energy, more appetite, when air is introduced into unhealthy workrooms. Dr. Parkes tells the same story. Dr. A. Ransome, speaking in 1875, quotes the case of the Guards, picked men, highly cared for, yet who died quite as fast as the civil population. Why? he asks. Mainly from defective ventilation of the barracks ("Health Lectures," 1875-78, p. 150).§ Again, we find

* "When our Health Commissioners were sent out to the Crimea to examine the heavy mortality among soldiers in the hospitals, their first act was to use their sticks to break some hundreds of glass panes in the windows, so as to admit air freely. After that the wounded recovered rapidly." (L. P.) In the same way Dr. Clifford Allbutt reduced the mortality in a heavy epidemic of typhus fever in Leeds by fastening the windows in the fever hospital with screws, so that they could not be shut. He remarks that in Ireland those attacked with typhus, who were put out to die, would often recover.

† But why is oxygen deficient in these cases? Is it, once more, because so much organic poison is breathed in with the air of the shut-up rooms, that the functions are depressed and imperfectly performed; that, for example, the act of respiration is impaired? Or does the poison directly affect the formation of the red corpuscles?

‡ It has, however, been shown recently that the air in a well-ventilated sewer is, so far as organic matter and micro-organisms are concerned, purer than the air in a small, badly ventilated room.

§ "Sir Lyon Playfair, one of the Commissioners for inquiring into the state of

disease attacking country districts for the first time, where houses had been improved, and the ventilation, which used to take place through porous walls and less well-fitting windows, has been done away with.* So also it is stated by Mr. Angell ("Health Lectures," 1879-80, p. 31) that in the old crowded lodging-houses people sleeping on the floor would escape fever, whilst those sleeping on the bedsteads would be struck by it. Those on the floor got ventilation from the door and fireplace; those on the bedsteads were above the line of it—the colder and purer air being heavier than the heated impure air, and therefore nearer the line of the floor.

Animals furnish the same evidence. Cows and horses both suffer grievously from want of ventilation in their stables; and cattle, though they require warmth for fattening, still put on flesh better in a colder but well-ventilated place than in a warmer place which is unventilated (Parkes, p. 180). So also Parkes tells us about the French cavalry. Before 1836 the mortality among the horses varied from barracks, passed a couple of nights with the soldiers in their crowded sleeping-rooms, and found the air saturated with organic effluvia which discoloured permanganate of potash. The mortality among soldiers is now greatly reduced by the better ventilation enforced by the Commission." (L. P.)

* A case of this kind is reported to us by Mr. Alexander Campbell, of Auchindarroch, Lochgilphead; and we believe that the same thing was observed in a Westmoreland district. In an interesting letter Mr. Campbell writes: "Some years back I was asked by a medical officer of large experience in the Highlands regarding a phenomenon which had puzzled him. He had exerted himself much and with great success, to have improved cottages built, but in proportion as the cottages grew better did the health of the people grow worse. I gave him my opinion that in the old, uncomfortable-looking cottages, built maybe of dry stone, and open to the roof, the people were kept healthy in spite of themselves by the wind blowing through them, whilst the new cottages, tightly built, and with well-fitting doors and windows, excluded the air, and the windows being seldom or never opened, the inhabitants were poisoned. He said he fully agreed in this, and would ask for no more new cottages until the people had learned how to live in them. I have found a considerable amount of ill-health amongst the paupers in the Island of Tiree, which, from its situation, exposed as it is to the free action of breezes from the Atlantic, should be one of the healthiest islands of the Hebrides. I attribute this to the mode in which the houses are built, with two walls two or three feet apart, the interval being closely packed with sand. The air is thus hermetically excluded, and unless the windows are made to open, and are freely opened, the inhabitants are constantly, when within their dwellings, breathing vitiated air." It is also worth while quoting from a review of Major Fisher's book (which book we have not read) in *Spectator*, May 2, 1891, "Through the Stable and Saddle Room":—"Everybody knows something of the importance of ventilation, both for man and horse; but it is not so widely known as it ought to be, that while horses seldom or never take cold through being exposed to cold, they are often made ill by being too warm. [It is not the warmth; it is the impure air.] It is the inside, not the outside, air that gives them coughs, sore-throats, congestion of the lungs, and sundry other ills to which horseflesh is heir. For this reason, old ramshackle stables, full of cracks and crevices, are healthier than brand-new buildings with tight doors and windows, and impervious roofs. Our author, who never generalises rashly, and supports his theories with copious instances, mentions one or two curious 'cases in point.' Remounts for cavalry regiments, which are mostly of Irish extraction, have often to travel in severe weather part of the way in cattle-trucks, with no other protection from the cold than their own coats. Nevertheless, the remounts nearly always arrive at their destination in perfect health; yet they are no sooner placed in stables, however well ventilated, than they begin to suffer from coughs and colds, which generally end in strangles. During the autumn manœuvres of 1875, Major Fisher's regiment was encamped near Aldershot, and though it rained almost incessantly, and the horses were picketed in the open, without so much as a blanket to cover them, colds and coughs were unheard of, and the favourite charger of one of his brother officers, which at the time she left the barrack-stable suffered from a severe cold, was made whole by a few days' exposure to the elemental strife." The book should contain some valuable facts.

180 to 197 per 1000 per annum. With the enlargement of the stables and increased quantity of air, the loss was reduced to 68 per 1000, and finally to $28\frac{1}{2}$ per 1000, and of officers' horses to 20.

Then we have the evidence of the ordinary tests for ascertaining the purity of the air. Air fouled by respiration discolours permanganate of potash and robs it of a portion of its oxygen; the amount of organic matter is then measured by the number of volumes of oxygen required to re-oxidise the permanganate and restore it to its former condition. Another test is the presence of certain bacteria, which are found in large numbers in foul air, increasing out of proportion to the moulds or fungi found in the air, which appear to be much less affected by impurities. It is stated that these forms of life all originally come from the open air—that reservoir of all things—though they are supposed to multiply in congenial quarters when once they have found an entrance. The significant fact, however, is their number, which might seem to show that they prosper just because they have discovered their proper food—the organic poison which is poured out into the air from our lungs and skin. On this point, Dr. A. Ransome makes an interesting speculation, which we quote from memory—a wrong thing to do. Impressed with the belief that consumption is communicable in foul air, and non-communicable in good air, he believes that the bacillus (a form of bacteria) which conveys the disease, retains its virulence more in foul air than in pure air, and is thus better able to make a lodgment in the human system.*

* This speculation of Dr. A. Ransome's suggests another speculation. Dr. Klein (pp. 238-248) believes that in the interior of healthy human tissue no bacteria, which cause putrefaction, are found. They are found abundantly in those parts of the system to which air penetrates, as, for instance, in the mouth, or in the alimentary canal; and from the alimentary canal they pass easily, as the food itself does, into the diminutive blood-vessels or the diminutive lymphatics (locally called lacteals) that line the walls of this canal. But if the blood is in healthy order they seem to perish, dying for want of food. Dr. Klein goes on to state, that if at some point they are carried to tissue that is in an unhealthy condition, there they may obtain a footing and begin to multiply. He does not actually state, as we understand, that the unhealthy condition of the blood keeps them alive, but he implies it; and it would seem probable that the unhealthy state of the blood—for example, blood charged with poisons which have escaped from the skin and lungs, and been rebreathed into the system—would have the same favouring effect upon them as the unhealthy tissue. Both are likely to present them with the food they require. If this is so, then just as the bacteria that cause disease are favoured by the external poisons they find in vitiated air, so also they may be internally favoured by the unhealthy state of the bronchial and lung tissues of those persons who habitually breathe the poisons of shut-up rooms. Thus, these organic poisons, both within and without a man, would tend to make him a prey to those illnesses in which the success of the germ depended upon its proper—might we say—food being supplied to it; and it would seem probable that by constant attention to the purity of the air which we breathe, we might do much towards securing individual exemption from the danger of infectious diseases. An instructive passage in Dr. Carpenter (p. 365) which bears on this point should be read. It is also worth quoting Professor Nussbaum (see an interesting article by Mrs. Priestley, *May, Nineteenth Century*, p. 825): "It is known with certainty that the cholera bacillus is dangerous only to those persons whose stomach is not in a healthy state, and jeopardises life only when it passes into the intestines. A healthy stomach will digest the bacillus, and therefore it does not reach the intestines in a living state." It is, perhaps, right to refer here to a theory that in the blood and connective and lymphatic tissues (Klein, p. 243) there exists a clan of protective cells (phagocytes), whose office it is to overpower invading bacteria of a dangerous character; and, according to

Exercise, as well as pure air, helps us in our constant struggle against the poisons that we manufacture within ourselves. It does this by driving the blood charged with oxygen, by means of the pressure of the muscles called into play, more thoroughly through the tissue (Foster, p. 219); and thus it would quicken the breaking down of dead tissue into its safe and final waste products (water, carbonic acid, and urea), and shorten the period during which the dead tissue was passing through various dangerous forms which it temporarily assumes. From this fact we may infer that the man of sedentary life, above all others, requires pure air.

In truth, pure air and exercise are equal forces acting in the same direction. They both get rid of waste, and with it of the poisons in the system which are depressing various organs. We need not therefore be surprised when we are told by Sir D. Galton, that after barracks were better ventilated the rations of the men had to be increased; or by "the pathetic story" of certain seamstresses whose workroom was ventilated, and who then begged that the old state of things might be restored, as their appetites had increased beyond their earnings. Sir D. Galton gives another experience, illustrating the depressive effect of these poisons upon the functions of life. A New York medical man rather cruelly shut up some flies without food, some in foul air, others in pure air; the pure air being constantly changed. To his surprise, the flies in the pure air died first, these dying from simple starvation; whilst the flies in the foul air died from poison, and with the tissue of their bodies unexhausted, indicating how the functions of life were carried on to the last where oxygen was available, but had been slowed and depressed by the presence of the poison, so that life was actually maintained longer in the foul than in the pure air. To take one more example. Parkes tells us (p. 159) that it was found in the case of miners that they required 6000 cubits of air introduced per man per hour (this included the air necessary for horses and lights) to be able to work at their best. When this quantity was reduced to one-third or one-half, there was a great reduction in their working energy. In other words, the poison within their system being imperfectly oxidised, impaired their faculties.*

Metschaikoff ("Ann. de l'Institut Pasteur") these can, in case of need, emigrate to any part of the body which is invaded by parasites.

* We may also take the case of races living in hot and cold climates. In hot climates we breathe a smaller quantity of oxygen (owing to the expansion of gases) than in cold climates. Thus, taking two climates, one of 32° F. and the other of 80° F., we should inhale about 2164 grains of oxygen per hour in the one climate (the cold), and only 1971 in the other climate (the warm), or a difference of about 9 per cent. (Galton, "Our Homes," p. 498). This would in part account for the difference of energy that exists in the races of hot and cold climates; just as our own energy varies considerably on hot days and keen frosty days, though we think some allowance ought to be made for the more open-air life that would be led in the warm climate. The bearing of these facts upon crowded rooms should be perceived. As the room gets hotter, not only are we breathing more poison, but less oxygen, which is the only remedy for the poison. We are therefore doubling the causes of evil.

We could wish that it were possible to write the whole of the noble story of oxygen from a physiological point of view. It is a double service that it performs for us. It not only, as we have seen, neutralises the deadly poisons resulting from waste, but it provides the heat and energy, by the oxidising or burning up of this waste. All through animal life the consumption of oxygen, serving this double purpose, is the measure of activity. Just as reptiles and cold-blooded creatures consume small amounts of oxygen and develop little activity, so birds and insects consume immense quantities of oxygen and develop immense activity. Each animal has, as Professor Foster believes (p. 812), its own peculiar quantity, its co-efficient, so to speak, of oxygen, which it consumes—an amount which, judging from the few instances he gives, seems to vary with intelligence; thus the dog consumes more than the rabbit per lb. of its weight, and a man more than a dog. In the same way, a waking man consumes more oxygen than a sleeping man, a man at work than a sedentary man, a young man than an old man, a young child more than the young man. The restless activity of children marks both their great consumption of oxygen and their pressing need for it by being allowed to breathe abundance of pure air. Rapid and extensive waste is going on in every child's body. Tissue of every kind, including bone, is being constantly broken down in order that it may be built up anew on a larger scale, and it is therefore the greatest cruelty in their case not to provide them in fullest measure with the purest air. Unhappily, very little thought is given to this matter; and with quite young children—whose need is the greatest of all—our nurseries are only too often mere slaughter-houses. Mothers of all classes should try to see the meaning of the fact* that out of four deaths of infants one takes place from lung collapse, a state that often follows bronchial inflammation (see R. D. Powell, "Lungs;" Quain, p. 861), and probably often indicates the source of the mischief. Dr. Douglas Powell significantly says: "All causes that interfere with respiratory efficiency favour the occurrence of the condition named."

It is now right for us to look at the subject of these waste-poisons in special reference to the skin. Without referring here to the different calculations made on this subject, it is enough to say that much less carbonic acid escapes from the skin than from the lungs; more water (if we are to follow Prof. Foster—who differs from other authorities, who again differ amongst themselves—we may say roughly, 1.5 lb. from lungs, and 2.5 lb. from skin per day), and a larger amount of solid matter. The solid matter is put at 1 or 2 per cent. of the

* So it has been stated. It is also interesting to quote the statement from the Registrar-General's Report for 1889, that there were in that year 71,056 deaths of male infants (not over twelve months) in England, and out of this number, 13,805 (roughly speaking, about 1 in 5) died from diseases connected with the respiratory system. It is right to add that lung collapse may follow many different kinds of illness.

whole 2·5 lb. and two-thirds of this 1 or 2 per cent. is organic matter containing the poisons in question.* We can see the importance of the skin, as an organ of excretion, in various ways. In the first place, the provision of an enormous number of sweat glands under the skin, supposed by Krause (Baker's Kirk, p. 427) to be between 2 and 3 millions in number—in the parts where they are least abundant they are over 400 to the square inch—offers evidence of a physiological character on the point, even if, as is stated, some small part of skin perspiration takes place independently of these glands. Then we have the evidence of the disagreeable odour from the skin and clothes where cleanliness is not observed; again, we have the curious facts of death having both actually and nearly occurred in cases where the body has been covered (the mouth having been left free) with gold-leaf or plaster of Paris. Various explanations have been given, but Prof. Foster seems to think (p. 697) that the retention of poisonous matters—"constituents of sweat, or the products of some abnormal metabolism" (change)—which would have been discharged through the sweat glands, is largely concerned in the matter. We venture to believe—quite independently of certain experiments—that this conclusion cannot be avoided.

We have also a most remarkable case recorded by Sir D. Galton. Some men in the Horse Artillery had left their bedding rolled up for two months, without its being opened to the air. When first used again, man after man who had slept on this bedding came into hospital with "a suspicious fever." It would be difficult to find a case that more vividly illustrates both the poisonous character of the emanations of the body and the necessity of free ventilation in order to render them harmless. Again, when serious consequences result from a chill—owing to the constriction of the blood-vessels of the skin and interference with the sweat glands—such as a dangerous affection of the kidneys (Richardson, p. 283), or a congestion of the spleen (Richardson, p. 307), or the inflammation of bone and periosteum (Richardson, p. 323), it seems probable that the cause of mischief in all these cases is either the retention of normal poisons that ought to have escaped through the skin, or the formation of abnormal poisons during the inaction of the skin. [We think it is Dr. Richardson who makes this suggestion.] Again, the foetid exhalations from lungs and skin in starvation seem to show that the breaking down of tissue, which is very rapid in these cases, is resulting in a larger discharge than usual, through skin and lungs, of putrescent matter.

From what has been already said, we ought not to feel surprised that those who live in foul air are not only lowering their health, but are carefully preparing themselves both for lung and bronchial affections,

* Thus we should have from 118·3 to 236·6 grains of organic matter excreted by the skin in twenty-four hours.

and for such diseases as scarlet fever, typhoid, small-pox, diphtheria, dysentery, cholera, &c. As regards cholera, we extract the following interesting account given by Dr. Carpenter. He states (p. 360) that in the fatal autumn of 1849 there was at Taunton an exceedingly badly ventilated workhouse. In the schoolrooms there were only 68 cubic feet or less per head. The fatality of the cholera attack—thus carefully prepared for—was awful. Within forty-eight hours after the first attack, nineteen deaths and forty-two seizures had taken place. In the course of a week sixty, or 22 per cent. of the whole number, died, almost all the others suffering badly. Fewer boys died as compared with girls, because, as it was stated, having even less air than the girls, they used to break the windows. In the gaol of the same town, where each prisoner had over 800, and, in some cases, over 900 cubic feet, and where a system of ventilation kept renewing the air, there was not “the slightest indication of the epidemic influence.” In August 1849, the cholera raged severely in London, the mortality having increased from nearly 1 per 1000 in June and July to $4\frac{1}{2}$ in August and September. It happened that at this moment a large number of male prisoners were transferred from Millbank Prison—which was in one of the bad districts—to another part of the country, the numbers being thus reduced from over 1000 to close upon 400; whilst at the same time the female prisoners were slightly increased in number in Millbank Prison, from 120 to 131. The consequences were remarkable. The mortality of the female prisoners went up from a little over 8, to a little over 54 per cent. (which was considerably above the rate of increase in the outside districts), whilst the mortality of the men fell from slightly over 23 per 1000 to nearly 10 (the June and July rate of mortality). Carpenter gives other interesting examples, and also remarks upon the fact that the special centres of cholera existed before the invasion of that disease as fever nests; and that cholera followed the footsteps of other diseases, not only in the same district, but in the same streets and houses, and even rooms.*

As with cholera, so with other causes of death. At Secunderabad, in India, in old days, the barrack accommodation for the line was unusually deficient, and the average annual mortality of the men was nearly double the average of the presidency. At the same station, both the officers, who were well quartered, and the detachment of artillery, who had roomier barracks “at no great distance,” did not share

* Of course it would be unfair to put all these cases simply and exclusively down to the effects of vitiated air, as we might, perhaps, in the case of the prison quoted above; since overcrowding in towns occurs amongst the poorest part of the people, living on the worst food, badly clothed, and therefore for these reasons exposed to attacks of disease; but with all such deductions the evidence is of a striking character. Dr. Richardson writes to the same effect. Speaking of relapsing fever, he says: “The disease (1847) followed where the habitation was most crowded” (“Our Homes,” p. 7); and, again, “Certain it is that homes which are charged with impure atmosphere are the places in which septic diseases are most likely to be intensified and most likely to spread” (“Our Homes,” p. 21).

in the heightened mortality (Carpenter, p. 363). Barrackpore furnished an even worse example as regards troops; but the worst of all was to be found in the Indian gaols, where, in some instances, 70 cubic feet only of air was the average allowed; in no cases did it exceed 300 cubic feet. The mortality was, as might be expected, 1 in 4. It was a humble imitation of the Black Hole of Calcutta. So at the end of the last century, in the Dublin Lying-in Hospital, the mortality from trismus of the children was 1 in every six born; by better conditions of ventilation, it was reduced to 1 in 19½ (Carpenter, p. 985); and this number of deaths was again reduced. So in the London workhouses of last century, 23 out of 24 children died in their first year. By reforms, especially by improved ventilation, the number of deaths was reduced from between 2000 and 3000 to between 400 and 500 (Carpenter, p. 365). So with our soldiers. When barracks improved, especially in the matter of ventilation, deaths from zymotic diseases fell from 4·1 per 1000 to 0·96 per 1000 (Galton). So in the case of our sailors on board the *Rattlesnake*, a case which came under the notice of Professor Huxley. The crew (Carpenter, p. 256) had acquired by confinement (this seems to have been the special cause, though not the only cause) a predisposition to disease. No malady appeared, however, until one of them slightly wounded his hand: then typhoid resulted, and ran through the whole ship's company. They had carefully prepared themselves for disease with the poisons of impure air.

We suspect that no class of human beings suffers so much from the poison of foul air as infants. Older children and grown up persons are seldom so much shut up, and the diseases by which so many infants die, infantile diarrhoea, convulsions and infantile pneumonia,* strongly suggest the irritation likely to be produced by breathing these waste-poisons; though improper food must also bear a large share of the blame. Of all the evil consequences, however, of foul air none can be traced more surely than phthisis or pulmonary consumption. Wherever men are crowded together without care and proper means to supply them with fresh air, there pulmonary disease shows itself. Parkes, Dr. A. Ransome, Sir D. Galton and others have collected many interesting examples, bearing on this matter.† Sir D. Galton tells us (p. 502) that after our barracks were improved—ventilation being one of the leading improvements—chest and tubercular disease, which had been fatal to 10·1 per 1000 soldiers, was only fatal to 4·2, and in the same way that with proper ventilation (and other improvements) of the stables of the horses, coughs and catarrhs

* These make up a very large proportion. See lectures by Sutton. "Health Lectures," 1879-80, p. 130.

† "Experiments have recently been made in Berlin, in a room closely shut up after the death of a consumptive patient. Six weeks after the death living microbes of phthisis were found on the mirror, walls, and picture-frames, and these introduced into the body of a guinea-pig produced the disease" (L. P.).

disappeared. He also quotes Dr. Leeds of New York to show that the supposed cure of sending a consumptive patient to a cow-stable was in reality the cure of sending him into somewhat purer air than that of his own room (p. 502). Dr. Richardson quotes a case where no less than nine members of a family following the occupation of Cheap Jack, were in succession the victims of consumption from sleeping in a travelling van, their life in the open air during the day being insufficient to counteract the poison breathed in the night ("Our Homes," p. 11). Parkes also tells us (p. 152) that in the Royal Navy and in the Mercantile Navy, bad ventilation and phthisis, occasionally amounting to a veritable epidemic, have accompanied each other; and he quotes many authorities insisting upon the close relation between foul air and pulmonary consumption. On the same point—the slaughter produced by unventilated barracks—Dr. Richardson tells us the mortality in the army before Sebastopol was during twenty-two weeks ending May 31, 1856, at the rate of 12·5 per 1000 as against 20·4 of the Guards *quartered in England* ("Our Homes," p. 13). Dr. A. Ransome reports ("Health Lectures," 1875-76, p. 149) a case as late as 1861, where fearful lung disease broke out in some of the ships of the Royal Navy. The arrangements were actually such that only 14 inches space was allowed to each hammock, and the air above the hammock was 8° to 10° hotter than below.*

The same evidence comes from the sedentary trades, some of which "afford experimental conditions for the development of disease"; from the cases of phthisis, or destructive lung disease, amongst cows in unventilated sheds (Parkes, p. 162); from the higher rate of consumption in town as against village, and city as against town (Hirsch, p. 213)—in each case the dearer lodging implying more overcrowding; from the outdoor treatments now recommended for consumptive patients; and from other sources.†

When we come to pneumonia, it is still the same poisons, we believe, which indirectly are at work. As in pulmonary consumption the bacillus finds its food prepared for it in the unhealthy state of the blood and tissues—altered by the poisons that have been rebreathed from foul air—so also must it be in pneumonia; if we are to accept the statements made about the bacterium of pneumonia ("Crookshank," p. 273). Secondary pneumonia, which is a lung attack resulting from the poison in the system from such a fever as typhoid, throws some light upon this matter, and seems exactly to explain the origin of ordinary pneu-

* The violence of so-called Russian influenza, in America, is probably to some extent the result of the breathing of highly impure air, which is so common in that country. We suspect that this disease is just one of the many forms of trouble which appear where people live in constant disregard of the purity of the air of their living-rooms. The subject demands attention from this point of view.

† There are many interesting points—such as the discussion as regards the effect of dampness of soil, and Hirsch's theory as regards the high Mexican plateaus—which have to be considered, but they do not seem to shake the main fact that impure air is the great ally of pulmonary consumption.

monia. In ordinary pneumonia we believe that it would be found that the person attacked had been living in rooms where the air was tainted, had breathed consequently, again and again, the exhaled poisons, until these poisons had so altered the tissue as to allow the bacterium to form its lodgment; in other words, that he was as much "poisoned" as the person suffering from secondary pneumonia. Of course a slight chill, by arresting the action of the skin and thus increasing the poison in the system, is likely enough to be the immediate precursor of the attack by rendering the conditions still more favourable for the germ. Again, latent pneumonia in quite young children is sometimes masked (Quain, p. 880) by the signs of the nervous disorder which precedes it. This nervous disorder tells the story. It is caused by the poisons which are acting on the system, and which at last produce the attack of pneumonia.*

It might, however, be urged that a person leading a healthy outdoor life might, after severe exposure, be attacked by pneumonia. Certainly, and in his case the attack would mean poisoning (that is, predisposing for the germ by poisoning) through the skin; just as in the case of the man living in bad air, it would mean poisoning through the air taken into the lungs.

Now, granting that this is a true explanation, that pneumonia, or even common cold, is a case of poisoning, and only a case of cold in a secondary sense, it is worth noticing that the effect of these poisons must be felt in the throat and bronchial passages and lungs much more than in other organs. These poisons would cling to the sides of the throat and bronchial (and nasal) passages, and would often enter the lungs. In the case of persons living in foul air, these organs, being more exposed and in intimate contact with the poison, would probably be saturated with it, and therefore would be always prepared for disease. We can then understand at once why the leading symptoms of a cold are violent flow from the nose, sneezing, coughing, with the accumulation of phlegm, and painful soreness in the throat.† These symptoms become intelligible at once from the point of view of local poisoning, and we see in all the circumstances of

* If on the other hand it is believed that pneumonia can arise without the intervention of the bacterium, we must regard it as a case of direct instead of indirect poisoning. That there is such direct poisoning we know from those attacks of the liver and kidneys which follow a severe chill, and throw back the poisons, which should have been excreted by the skin, on to those organs. Parkes (p. 164) strongly believed that bronchitic affections are often produced from the breathing of foul air. He does not, however, as far as we are aware, enter into explanations.

† The fact that the air that we breathe is delayed for some little time in the bronchial passages before reaching the lungs, probably increases the local poisoning, and therefore the predisposition for attack by the germ of the parts when we breathe bad air. In this way perhaps the lungs are protected at the expense of the bronchial passages; and a cold is the violent occasional expurgation of those parts which are specially exposed to the poison.

a cold the "protective efforts" which nature makes to eject the poison—of whatever kind it may be—from the parts which are specially attacked, just as we often see in diarrhoea the effort to get rid of an irritant, or in fever, with its rapid disintegration of tissue, of the poison that has attacked the system. Of course, as in pneumonia, some slight chill often immediately precedes the attack of cold—the chill, by its arrest of skin action, throwing more poison into the blood, which is sufficient to determine the attack, in the pre-disposed part.

We believe, therefore, that few healthy persons would be subject to cold, unless they lived in impure air. With an old person, or a person in lowered health, it is different. A defective machinery for the circulation of the blood or for respiration might readily result in the waste-poisons being imperfectly separated from the blood, and thus such persons would live in the same state of blood-poisoning and preparation for attack as a young and healthy person does, who constantly breathes bad air. Where we have cases of liver or kidney attack following upon a severe chill, we may suppose either that the poisons retained (or formed) near the surface of the body pass into the blood, and then act through the nervous centres upon those organs which happen to be specially susceptible; or that the poisons, imperfectly breathed out at the lungs, are carried directly to those organs.

We wish that it were possible to follow the subject further, but we have already overstepped the limits which the kindness of the Editor has allowed. We can only say, in conclusion, that we are convinced that very grave issues are dependent upon the question of pure air in our houses. We suspect that not only liability to cold, but gout, rheumatism, lumbago, neuralgia, some forms of headache, and many forms of nervous irritation are to be conquered by constantly giving lungs and skin a fair chance of getting rid of these poisons; we feel sure that the irritable temper that so often accompanies severe literary work, and at last ends in the "break-down," must largely be put to the account of the impure air breathed through long hours; and we suspect that much of the intemperate drinking in towns results from the depressed feeling which follows work done under similar conditions. We think a great society should be formed to arouse the interest of all classes in this subject, and that inquiries should be made—the answers being published—as to the provision for fresh air existing in hotels, concert-rooms, theatres, schools, churches, &c. We are, both of us, opposed to action being taken through State-inspectors. The present evil will never be really overcome until individual interest is aroused; and the State-inspector does not develop individual interest. We shall be glad to communicate with any persons anxious to take steps in the matter, and shall

hope to draw up a short paper containing a few practical suggestions of a simple nature. Meanwhile, without discussing systems of artificial ventilation, we say to everybody: "Live as much as you can with open windows, wearing whatever extra clothes are necessary. In this way you will turn the hours of your work to physical profit instead of to physical loss. If you cannot bear an open window, even with an extra coat, and a rug over your knees, when you are sitting in a room, do the next best thing, which is, to throw the windows wide open—not a poor six inches—whenever you leave it, and thus get rid of the taint of the many dead bodies that we have breathed out from ourselves, and that hang like ghosts about our rooms. Smuts, as we confess, may be bad, but they are white as snow compared with impure air. Pay special attention to the constant exposure to pure air, both of clothes and of bedding. Avoid chill, that is one form of poisoning. Avoid impure air, that is another and much more insidious form of poisoning."

Our present addresses are:—Harold Wager, Yorkshire College, Leeds; and Auberon Herbert, Larichban, Cladich, Argyllshire.

HAROLD WAGER,
AUBERON HERBERT.

Several gentlemen have been kind enough to read the foregoing paper, and to express the following opinions upon it. Sir Lyon Playfair writes:

"I return your proof with only a few suggestions. The paper is a good exposition of air in its relations to public health, and is likely to be very useful. You ought to follow it up with another paper on water, and conclude with one on cleanliness. Pure air, pure water, and cleanliness, personal and objective, are the three great factors of public health, provided that people are adequately fed. Napoleon, reciting his long, personal experiences at St Helena, made a wise remark:—'Life is a fortress which neither you nor I know anything about. Why throw obstacles in the way of its defence? Water, air, and cleanliness are the chief articles in my pharmacopœia.' You and Mr. Wager have made an excellent beginning with air. Follow it up with essays on water and cleanliness, and then, as a veteran sanitary reformer, I will begin to think that my time for preaching is ended. I write this, withholding my judgment on certain special theories you have advanced."

Professor Huxley writes:

"When you insist upon the importance of fresh air—especially in combination with exercise—I go heartily with you. I have long been convinced (and to a great extent by personal experience) that what people are pleased to call 'overwork,' in a large proportion of cases means under-oxygenation and consequent accumulation of waste-matter, which operates as a poison. The 'depression' of overworked nervous organisation, is very commonly the 'oppression' of some physiological candle-snuff not properly burnt.

"Furthermore, it is highly probable that the decaying organic matter given off from the whole free surface of animal bodies, taken in conjunction

with its microbial contents, is a source of danger, but whether directly or indirectly is a point about which I should not like to speak confidently.

"The fact is, while the virtues of fresh air and the wisdom of physical purity as a prophylactic may be very confidently justified by experience, the theory of the subject is full of difficulties, and the present views of physiologists must be regarded as merely tentative hypotheses. I should not feel justified in putting the theoretical points you advance as safely established truths before the public. I began to mark some paragraphs I thought specially open to objection; but I cannot go into the matter, as I am myself struggling out of the influenza poison, which afflicts one's brain with mere muddiness."

Dr. Clifford Allbutt writes:—

"Whether there be room for question in parts of your argument or not, it is in the main true, and your practical conclusions are as solidly true as they are impressive.

"If any one doubt, let him try the marvellous recreation of a few nights camped out *sub dio*, and be converted.

"Moreover, the marvellous effects of an open-air life in the cure of such maladies as consumption are known of all men. But is it kind to tell us these dreadful things when we are helpless to amend them?

"Your home solution of the problem is known to your friends, and is excellent in your circumstances, but is impossible in towns, where every inch of window means an inch of grime on walls, ceilings, and furniture. Not only so, but our big common dwelling-halls are gone, our high-backed chairs and settles are gone, our tapestry is gone, and air supplied in modern fashion *by slits or pipes* means 'draughts.'

"Now, 'draughts' will kill some of us as quickly as ptomaines and far more painfully.

"Please write another paper to tell us what is to be done!"

Dr. W. B. Cheadle writes:

"I am sure that you are doing a valuable sanitary service in calling attention to the chronic poisoning by foul air which goes on so constantly without being realised, in the homes of both rich and poor, and in business offices, and in workshops.

"The poor suffer from the small, ill-ventilated cubic space available for either sitting-rooms or bedrooms, and the crowding of workrooms; the better classes partly from the close offices in which some of them work, but chiefly from defective bedroom space and ventilation. Few people, I imagine, realise the fact that *about one-third of their whole lives is spent in their bedrooms*, and that they pass this third part of their existence in an atmosphere so poisoned by organic matter that it would not be tolerated in a sitting-room for a moment. The amount of space allowed in bedrooms and dormitories is frequently altogether insufficient. Doors and windows are tightly closed, and there is practically little ventilation going on for six or eight hours of sleeping time, whereas in sitting-rooms the admission of air is promoted by persons passing in and out.

"This steady nightly poisoning goes on in many public institutions, I am afraid, in the 'houses' of some public schools, and the dormitories of charitable institutions. They are well ventilated during the day, closed at night, and the allowance of cubic space is quite insufficient to supply fresh air enough with the very small influx which can take place.

"Night nurseries again, especially in large towns, are liable to be grossly overcrowded. I have seen a small, low room in the attics of a London

mansion used as a sleeping apartment for five or six children and a nurse, which had not space or ventilation enough for two persons.

"Without endorsing the whole of the pathology suggested in your excellent paper, I am sure you are right in attributing a large proportion of ill-health, contagious disease, and especially the increased virulence of this, to air fouled by organic matter."

Professor W. H. Flower writes :

"I am not sufficiently acquainted with modern physiology to know whether all the scientific details of the paper are correct, but I quite agree with you in the very great importance of the subject being pressed home upon all classes. How, for instance, could people travel in a railway carriage with perhaps six or more companions, shut up together for several hours, and insisting on *keeping all the windows closed*, as they often do, if they were made to realise that the air which they are breathing must necessarily be passing in and out of the lungs, not only of themselves, but of all their fellow-travellers as well, over and over again in the course of the journey, and each time becoming more and more contaminated ?

"I have always thought, though I have not medical experience enough to prove it, that the greater prevalence of tuberculosis and other lung disease in cold over warm climates is owing, not so much to difference of temperature, as to the fact that in the former there is a greater tendency to breathe impure air for the purpose of warmth. My theories on the subject are, however, rather staggered by the thought of rabbits, sand-martins, &c., passing a considerable part of their lives at the bottom of burrows, where anything like ventilation seems absolutely impossible, and yet remaining perfectly healthy."

Mr. Lawson Tait writes :

"What can I add to an article, so lucidly written, save that I agree generally with it, and hope that it may be productive of great good, as it well may."

Books referred to :

Foster's "Text-book of Physiology." "Our Homes." Carpenter's "Principles of Human Physiology." "Health Lectures," Manchester. Hermann's "Human Physiology." Blythe's "Poisons." Quain's "Dictionary of Medicine." Klein's "Micro-organisms and Disease." Kirkes' "Handbook of Physiology." Richardson's "Field of Disease." Crookshank's "Manual of Bacteriology." Parkes' "Practical Hygiene." Hirsch's "Handbook of Geographical and Historical Pathology."

ANCIENT LAY ENDOWMENTS.

IN the February number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW I said something about Ancient Church Endowments, about the grants which our ancient kings, with the consent of their Witan, made to various ecclesiastical corporations out of the *folkland*, the common property of the nation. I wrote in answer to an argument which seemed to my mind a very strange one. This was that these ancient acts, by which the nation as a whole parted with some of its property in favour of certain of its members, were the fullest proof that the property so granted remained to this day the property of the grantor. I pointed out that grants of this kind, very common in the case of ecclesiastical grantees, were no less common in the case of lay grantees, that the form of the grant and the nature of the tenure were exactly the same in both cases. I therefore wished to know whether it was held that, in the case of lay grantees also, the fact that the grantor, the nation, had parted with his property proved that he had kept it. That is, as land granted by a king and his Witan to a bishop or abbot in the tenth or eleventh century was held by that fact to be now "national property," I wished to know whether it was held that land granted in exactly the same sort to an ealdorman or a thegn was also held to be "national property" now. But my main argument was that it was of no practical use to make the inquiry in either case. For there was, I argued, no such thing as "national property" now in the strict sense, in that sense in which the old *folkland* was national property, and I added that the way in which the words "national property" are popularly used was likely to lead to confusion and misconception. And above all things I argued that, whether we choose to call a particular kind of property "national property" or not, the supreme

power of the State cannot have more or less authority over that kind of property than over any other; for, in England at least, the authority of the supreme power of the State is in its own nature boundless over all persons and things alike.

It is at this last stage that I wish to take up the argument again. I said in my former article that I believe that a good deal of the unwillingness to admit that the State has exactly the same power, neither more nor less, over the property of ecclesiastical corporations that it has over all property arises from undervaluing the power of the State over property in general. The popular view in no way exaggerates the power of the State over ecclesiastical property, though it commonly asserts it on a wrong ground. What it really does is to fail to take in that the power which it rightly attributes to the State over the property of ecclesiastical corporations belongs equally to the State over all property whatever. This unwillingness, often unconscious, is due to several causes, of which I shall speak presently. I will first state what I conceive to be the true doctrine, of which the absolute power of the State over ecclesiastical endowments is one part.

In asserting the absolute power of the State, we are asserting something which is perfectly obvious, which no one, when strictly examined, ventures to deny. Yet most men shrink from the consequences of the doctrine, and from any strong and clear setting forth of the doctrine itself. This is again one of the many cases in which men in a certain sense know facts, but practically do not know them, in which in a certain sense they believe doctrines, but practically disbelieve them. If one wanted to be philosophical, one might say that the very essence of living in society is that each man submits his personal will to the collective will of the whole society. He does so as knowing that he thereby secures the freest possible exercise of his personal will. The collective will of the community is likely to interfere with his personal will to a much smaller extent than it is sure to be interfered with in a state of things in which there is no collective community, but in which every man does that which is right in his own eyes. To the collective will of the community he submits his property; he acknowledges the right of the community to take it from him by taxation and otherwise. By so doing he makes his property a great deal safer than if it were liable to be taken from him by every man physically stronger than himself. So with personal freedom. He submits to the power of the community to put him in prison on occasion. So with life itself. That too he submits to the will of the community. The community may on occasion put him to death. But by such submission his life is made a great deal safer than it would be if it were liable to be taken by every man stronger than himself who had a spite against him.

All this is perfectly obvious ; it needs no argument to prove it. It is from the necessary consequences that men shrink. They sometimes forget that the surrender of personal will to the collective will of the community which is the very essence of political society must be unconditional. A single member cannot make terms with the whole body. He cannot say, I will submit my will to that of the community so far as it suits my purposes and no further. The community engages to protect his life, his freedom, his property, the exercise of his personal will, against all others who might interfere with any of them. But it can engage to do so only on condition of absolute submission of all these things to its own collective will.

The community here spoken of is of course assumed to be a political body, a nation, a city, or any other, organized under some regular form of government, and independent in the administration of its internal affairs. I make this last qualification, because all that I say might equally apply to a community which, in its external affairs, was debarred from perfect independence by some feudal or federal tie. The power which holds the supreme authority in such a community—that is, in the Kingdom of England or of Great Britain, King, Lords, and Commons assembled in Parliament—can, in the nature of things, do whatever it pleases. It does not follow that there is in every kingdom or commonwealth a supreme power so visible to all men, and able to act so swiftly and directly, as the Parliament of England always has been. In countries which have written constitutions, specially in those which have federal constitutions, the highest legislative body has simply such powers as the constitution gives it, and those powers may be much less ample than those which have always been possessed by the English Parliament. In the United States both the Congress of the Union and the Legislatures of the several States are expressly forbidden to do many things, to pass a bill of attainder for one, which the Parliament of England has always done freely. The powers of either legislature might be enlarged by a constitutional amendment ; and we must suppose that the supreme power in political communities of this kind is vested in the body which has authority to pass a constitutional amendment. But cases of this kind, where the community has thought good to shackle the expression of its own will in an artificial way, prove nothing against the general principle of a boundless power somewhere. Above all, they prove nothing against the boundless power which has ever belonged to the King of England and the Estates of his kingdom acting together in Parliament. We may further hold that the supreme power is best placed in a mixed body like this, in which every measure can be discussed more than once by different sets of people. But the power, and the right to exercise it, is exactly the same if it be vested either in an absolute king acting by his personal edict or in a popular

assembly deciding everything by a single vote.* The supreme authority can do anything; its power has no bounds but those of physical possibility; of the justice and necessity of its actions it is itself the judge. It deals as it thinks good with the personal freedom, the property, the life, of every member of the community. For the very reason that it is called into being to preserve all these things, it has boundless power over them. It makes general laws under which, for the greater general safety of freedom, property, and life, the freedom, property, or life, of any particular man may be taken away. And it may on occasion make, not only a general but a special law, a law directly against the freedom, property, or life, of a particular man. It may pass a bill of pains and penalties; it may pass a bill of attainder.

It will most likely be answered that it has the power to do all these things, but not the right. Those words, power and right, are sometimes hard to define, and sometimes hard to use with perfect consistency. The power of the State implies physical power, power to carry out its decrees. But the power of the State is more than mere physical force; indeed the very object for which states exist is to escape from the power of mere physical force. It has not only the power to do what it thinks good, it has the right. It has the right to do what it thinks good, because, there being no higher power, it is the judge of the rightfulness of its own actions. It does not follow that it always judges rightly, that is, according to the highest moral law. A, B, or C may strongly condemn the action of the State. That is, they may hold that every member who voted for a certain Act and the king who gave his assent to it were all guilty of a great sin. They themselves will of course, if in Parliament, vote against such an Act; if not in Parliament, they will petition against it; by so doing, they will save their own personal consciences. But the Act takes effect and becomes part of the law all the same. It may be a personal crime in those who pass it; but it is full justification for all who act ministerially under it. Take the strongest case of all. It is the business of the sheriff to put to death those who are lawfully sentenced to death. If a sheriff put a man to death under a mere personal order from the king, he would be as guilty as if he did it of his own mere motion. If he does it in obedience to an Act of Attainder, be the person attainted never so innocent, the sheriff is clearly not blameworthy.

* This of course assumes the possible lawfulness of despotism, which might be disputed. No doubt in many cases despotism is unlawful; it has arisen through the overthrow of earlier liberties. But the despotism which existed in Denmark from 1660 to 1848 was certainly established by the will of the nation. And many Eastern nations have never known anything else. In reading Eastern history or fiction, from the Old Testament onwards, we always take the despotic power of the sovereign for granted. We never blame a Caliph or Sultan simply for cutting off heads without the sentence of a judge and jury; we blame him only when he cuts off the wrong heads.

In short the State has a right to do anything; it does not always act rightly in exercising that right. Those who are offended at any act of the State are apt to call it "murder," "robbery," anything else. Such words are out of place. Murder is unlawful killing; robbery is unlawful taking. The act of the State may be, in the way already defined, unjust, but it cannot be unlawful. To use again an illustration which I used in my little book on "Disestablishment and Disendowment," an act of the State which we think unjust does not answer to the act of the burglar or the highwayman, but to the act of a father who makes a will which his children think unjust. Such a father may be acting very far from rightly in making the will; but he has a perfect right to make it. His act, though unjust in itself, must be accepted; the children have no right to attempt to escape from its effects by any act of fraud or violence. So it is with all the acts of the State. Of course, I am not speaking against the abstract right of resistance to oppression. I am speaking of action under the law. Resistance to oppression (if the oppression be done under legal forms) is action outside the law. It is an appeal from law to unlaw. It is as much as to say that, in some particular case, unlaw is a less evil than law. It is as much as to say that the community has not carried out the object for the sake of which men submitted their will to its will. In such a case men fall back on the state of things that was before the community existed, or rather they set up a new community instead of or against the old one. Their act may be just or unjust; but it must be judged according to other principles than those of law.*

One or two common confusions must be here noticed. There is a strong and a very natural feeling against what are called *ex post facto* laws, especially against special laws inflicting hardship on particular persons. Such are bills of attainder, bills of pains and penalties, and the like. It is sometimes said that the State may lay down certain rules beforehand, and may attach penalties to disobedience. It may warn a man that, if he does so and so, he will lose his freedom, his property, or his life; but it may not take away his freedom, his property, or his life, except under the terms of a warning so given, that is, under the terms of a general law. We will have no *privilegia*, no ostracism. This is a very good rule for ordinary practice in legislation; but it cannot be admitted as anything more. The power of passing a bill of attainder or a bill of pains and penalties is an extreme and a dangerous power; it is a power not to be resorted to except in the extremest cases of danger to the commonwealth. It is a power so dangerous that, as we have seen, some states which have written constitutions have refused it to their highest legislative bodies. But it certainly exists in any legislative body that is really supreme, in every legislative body where there is no

* If the nobles or commons of Aragon really claimed a legal right of insurrection against the King, that simply meant that they, and not the King, were the supreme power.

written constitution. For the surrender of the will of each member to the will of the community is not perfect if there is anything in which the will of the community may not be exercised. The power which can say beforehand that life and property may be forfeited under certain conditions can, in the nature of things (unless specially fettered), say that life or property shall be taken, even if the circumstances are not those which are laid down under the general law. *Salus populi suprema lex*; and the supreme power must judge for itself when the time for exceptional legislation has come. For many years past no British legislature has deemed that the time for such legislation has come; but the power so to legislate has assuredly not been taken away, and it would be rash to say that no circumstances can ever arise under which it might be expedient to use it again.

In truth a power which at least comes very near to this exceptional power is constantly exercised among us, but on so small a scale and in so mild a way that it is hardly noticed. I referred briefly in my former article, and more fully in my little book on "Disestablishment and Disendowment," to the fact that the State almost daily takes away men's property without their consent, whenever it is needed for a railway or any other work of public usefulness. The nature of the act is veiled in this case by the fact that compensation is always given. But this in no way affects the character of the act itself. A man's property is taken from him against his will, an act which is lawful in the supreme power, but which would be sheer robbery in any inferior power. That some other property is granted to him instead may console him for the loss; but it in no way affects the fact of the loss. He may think the compensation utterly inadequate; he may, like Naboth, wish to cleave to his own and not to exchange it for anything else. The supreme power overrides all these considerations, because it is the supreme power. As such, it takes away a man's property; it may give him something else instead or not. No inferior power may take it even with compensation; the supreme power may take it, with or without compensation, as it may think right.

There is one more source of confusion which must be mentioned. The notion that the State has some special power over the property of ecclesiastical corporations which it has not over other kinds of property partly arises from the historical confusions of which I spoke in my former article; but it also partly arises from another cause. The State has exactly the same power, a boundless power, over individual and over corporate property; but the cases in which it is right and expedient to exercise that power come much oftener in the case of corporate property than in the case of individual property. Whether they come oftener in the case of ecclesiastical corporations than in the case of other corporations, I will not presume to judge. The right of the State to deal with the property of a particular man

is a power to be exercised with a degree of caution and forbearance only second to that which, in all ordinary cases, makes the exercise of its power of taking his life practically impossible. Each owner has submitted himself and his goods to the boundless power of the State; but he has submitted them only on the tacit condition that the State shall take more effectual care of them than he can take himself. As a matter of fact, however bad an use a man may make of his property, it is commonly better, so long as he keeps within the letter of the law, to let him go on rather than to control him by an arbitrary exercise of the State's boundless powers. Those powers lie ready for use in some extreme case; but it needs a very extreme case, according to the ideas which have prevailed for several generations, to justify their exercise. Any arbitrary dealing with private property is held to lessen that security for all property which is one of the main objects for which political societies exist. Take for instance the story of the first Duncombe, the "fraudulent scrivener," as told by Lord Macaulay. Duncombe richly deserved punishment; but it was, on the whole, better to leave him unpunished than to punish him in the arbitrary form of an Act of Parliament confiscating his ill-gotten wealth. In fact there is even a stronger feeling against arbitrary dealing with property than against arbitrary dealing with life and freedom. It might be needful for the safety of the State to behead Strafford or to banish Atterbury; the State was hardly endangered by Duncombe's wealth, and, if endangered, it could hardly have been saved by bringing him back to his original poverty. In the class of cases which I have referred to as showing that the State still exercises its boundless power, the exercise of it, though extra-legal, is not arbitrary; the confiscation acts according to a certain rule; such property, and such only, is taken as may be needed for the proposed public improvement. And, though the compensation paid makes no difference as to the real nature of the act of the State, it gives it a very different look in the eyes of most men. There is nothing to which the minds of most men are more feelingly alive than to the supposed wickedness of meddling in any case with private property by the action of an *ex post facto* law.

Now this feeling, a healthy feeling in itself, though one that may be carried too far, does not apply to the property of the artificial personalities called corporations. The general feeling seems to be that the State may rightly deal as it thinks good with corporate property, provided it does no harm to the particular persons of whom the corporations are made up. This is the doctrine of vested interests. A measure tending to the suppression of corporations or to the confiscation of their property, say the general suppression of ecclesiastical corporations in Ireland in 1869, is always likely to be denounced as wicked by those whose interests or feelings are bound up with those of the corporations, and it may, as in that case, be opposed by all the strength

of a powerful political party. But, taking one case with another, the general belief seems to be much as I have just now said. The expediency, the justice, of the suppression or confiscation may be arraigned on other grounds; but the public mind holds that no wrong is done in matter of property if the members of the suppressed corporation keep for life in some shape or other an income equal to that which they lose by the suppression. This doctrine is as old as Henry the Eighth, when he gave pensions and preferments to the monks of the suppressed monasteries. It is as old as Henry the Second, when he suppressed the college of Waltham to found his house of Austin canons, and let the retiring dean take two of the college manors as his private estate. Nay, as the occasional suppression of ecclesiastical corporations is a very old thing, I believe I could show cases to the same effect in Domesday itself, and perhaps earlier. The general mind does not look on the corporation itself as a thing capable of suffering wrong; but care must be taken to avoid doing any wrong to its individual members. This is not the doctrine of zealous reformers in any age. It is always possible to argue somewhat in this way. "This institution is now very corrupt and does little or no good. But it did good once; that it does no good now is the fault of the unworthy men who form the corporation. Turn them out; put better men in; and the institution may again do good as it did in times past." That is surely an argument which has something to be said for it; it has a better ring of public spirit than the usual argument now-a-days. That runs thus. "This institution is corrupt; it does no good. We will therefore suppress it. We will not give it the chance of reforming itself by putting better men into it. But we will carefully respect the vested interests of the men who have made it corrupt; they shall be kept on for the rest of their days in as good a position as they have now." And there is so much of justice in this argument that no institution becomes hopelessly corrupt in one generation; it would hardly be justice to punish the men of one generation for the faults which they most likely share with a long line of predecessors. The feeling for vested interests is a just and wholesome one in itself; but it may easily be carried so far that the public interest may be sacrificed to it.

In this way then the feeling with regard to the dealings of the State with corporations—be they ecclesiastical or any other in no way matters—is naturally much less tender than the feeling with regard to its dealings with individuals. And the feeling is a natural and a just one. A man, his freedom, his property, are ideas older than the idea of government; it is for their sake that government exists. A corporation, that is a body of men or a succession of men, clothed with the attributes of a person, is a very artificial creation of the law. The State does not exist for the protection of corporations, but corporations exist to fulfil some purpose of the State. This fact does

not give to the State greater power over corporations and their property than it has over individuals and their property—for that which is boundless cannot be increased. But it undoubtedly makes the cases in which it is just and expedient for the State to meddle in the shape of special or *ex post facto* laws come much oftener in the case of corporations than in the case of individuals. Coming oftener, they are more easily understood; they are more likely to be approved and acquiesced in. A stretch of power in the case of a corporation may give no offence while a like stretch in the case of an individual might offend every one. And thus a belief gradually arises that a power which is so constantly and freely exercised is in itself of a different kind from a power whose exercise is—or seems to be—so exceptional. But if we once admit that the supreme power of the State is boundless, it cannot be greater in one case than in the other. It is simply that its exercise is familiar in the one case and is unfamiliar in the other.

I have got on a good way; but all that I have as yet said is in a manner preliminary. It may sometimes happen that the porch is greater than the house. For I have wished to set forth in the fullest and clearest way what I understand to be the true doctrine as to the universal power of the State in each community—allowing of course for cases where that power may be shackled by a written constitution—in order to clear the road for what is really the main subject of the present article. I said in my February article that the confusion on the general subject arose, not from overvaluing the power of the State over corporations, ecclesiastical or otherwise, but from undervaluing its power over individuals. This tendency takes two shapes. One is general, that of which I have just spoken, the feeling which arises out of the infrequency of the exercise of the State's boundless power in the case of individuals and its frequency in the case of corporations. The other is special; it arises from a failure to understand how closely a large part of what we are used to look on as private property approached in its origin to the nature of corporate property. I hinted at this in my former article. I put a question bearing on it. I asked, if land granted out of the *folkland* to a bishop or abbot by an ancient king was therefore national property still, whether it did not follow that land granted at the same time, in the same terms, on the same tenure, to an ealdorman or thegn must not be national property still as much as the other. The question in that shape is of course a mere *argumentum ad hominem*. But in itself it is something more. I am sure that those who draw this very wide distinction between individual and corporate body do not know—at least, according to the distinction which I have already drawn, they may in a sense know, but they do not practically act on their knowledge—how little the possession of the clerk and that of

the layman originally differed from one another. If the estate of the clerk was held on conditions and charged with duties, the estate of the layman was equally so. If one was a State endowment, the other was a State endowment no less. In each case the land was given to a man or body of men or succession of men who were expected to do something on the strength of holding it. And I suspect that, if we searched very minutely into the history of the lands which were spoken of in the January and February numbers of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, we might haply find cases of clerical grants in which something has ever since been done by the holder on the strength of his holding, and of lay grants in which the like obligation to do something has been forgotten for a good many generations.

My meaning may become clearer if I refer to a notable transaction in English history which happened at a time about midway between the days of Æthelstan and our own. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, a scheme of "Disendowment," of confiscation of the property of ecclesiastical corporations, was proposed which would, if carried out, have outdone anything that was done in that way by Henry the Eighth himself. The House of Commons sought for something little short of the general Disendowment of the Church of England. The king was petitioned to take possession of the whole or the greater part of all ecclesiastical revenues. But it was not mere disendowment that the Commons of England sought for; it was disendowment as a step towards endowment. Monks and clerks were to be disendowed, and laymen were to be endowed instead. If the king took the lands of the bishops, abbots, and others, he would be able to maintain so many earls, so many barons, so many knights, and so forth. The earls and the rest were to be endowed, as the bishops and abbots had been; they were to be endowed out of national funds—if the property of the ecclesiastical corporations are national funds; at any rate they were to be endowed out of funds which the Commons wished to make national, by taking possession of them. And the new holders were in the strictest sense to be endowed; they were, like their ecclesiastical predecessors, to hold the lands and to do something for the holding of them. The earls, barons, and the rest, were to be endowed for the defence of the realm. So late then as the beginning of the fifteenth century, the idea still lingered that the property of the layman was not, any more than that of the clerk, his very own, to do exactly what he pleased with it. The lands of earls and barons were looked on as the endowments of an office involving the discharge of official duties, just as much as the lands of bishops and abbots. The official duties were to be of another kind; that was all. If the endowments of ecclesiastical bodies are held to be national property, the endowments of such lay holders as these would have been national property as much, or rather more; for the object of the endowment was more distinctly national.

This grand scheme of general disendowment followed by general endowment was never carried out. But the mere thought of it shows how strongly the doctrine that property has its duties as well as its rights was held by a House of Commons of a time when the feudal tenures were losing their older meaning, and when the more ancient notions of property which the feudal tenures supplanted must have been altogether forgotten. It needs no proof that every feudal holding implied service to be rendered for the property held. And the analogy of the feudal holding to the ecclesiastical endowment is shown by the fact that both were known by the same name, *benefice*, a name which, significantly enough, has dropped out of use in the case of lay holdings but which lives on in the case of those of clerks. The feudal holdings, to be sure, gradually changed from a system of reasonable service into a system of oppressive burthens; still it was hardly fair when those who were relieved from the burthens threw the compensation which was due to the Crown upon the shoulders of the whole nation. But the principle goes much deeper than this. It might be very hard to determine the origin of property; philosophers may settle that. But one might roughly say that personal property is older, at least in idea, while landed property is certainly later, than the institution of government. The oldest notion of landed property is assuredly that of *folkland*, the common holding of the community, *gens*, tribe, or nation. Of that *folkland* pieces are *booked*, first to this or that man, in a later stage to the artificial persons called corporations. The land thus *booked* may be held of the community or its head by some personal tenure, military or otherwise; it may be burthened with nothing more than such duties as the law of the community requires of its members. In any case, even in that of an ancient *ædel*,* it is a grant from the community in the first instance.

It is only by familiarity with another state of things that we are led to forget this close analogy between private and corporate holdings. There is really no difference in principle between an entail and a foundation in mortmain. Each is an artificial creation of the law. A man has no more natural right to entail an estate on his heirs male for ever than he has to found a college or monastery with perpetual succession. One process is as purely artificial as the other. The right to do either is an artificial right bestowed by law, which it is for the law of every country to allow, restrain, or forbid, as it may from time to time hold to be for the good of the community. The holder of an entailed estate is very like a corporation sole; the only difference is that in one case the succession goes by natural generation, while in the other it goes by some form of election or nomination. Now it is this difference which makes all the difference in the sentiment of the thing; but it makes no difference whatever as to the origin of the holding. And

* This name, or its Scandinavian cognate, utterly forgotten in England, is not forgotten in Orkney, where "*Udal* rights" and "*feudal wrongs*" can still be opposed.

the likeness of the two is shown in the older use of the words *hæres*, *hæreditas*, and the like. Till a man gets thoroughly familiar with the language of ancient charters, he is apt to be puzzled at the use of the common phrase *jure hæreditario*. King Eadward grants land at Waltham to Earl Harold to hold *jure hæreditario*. That means that the grant is not to end with Harold himself, but is to go on to some successor after him. But exactly the same language is used of bishops and abbots. They too hold land *jure hæreditario*; that is, in the same sort, the grant does not end with the existing bishop or abbot; it is to go on to some successor after him. To be sure, in the case of the earl or thegn, the successor is to be fixed by natural generation, or possibly by will; in the case of the bishop or abbot the successor is to be fixed by election or nomination; in either case there is to be a successor, and in either case that successor is *hæres* in the language of our ancient law. And assuredly men in past times felt themselves more closely drawn than they do now to their official heirs and to those to whom they are themselves official heirs. As the natural heir was more like an official heir, the official heir was more like a natural heir. Marriage and celibacy have doubtless something to do with the difference; but it certainly was more common then than it is now for a bishop or other official holder to bequeath something of value to his successor in office.

In short, a very little thought will show how very artificial, how strictly analogous to the notion of corporate succession, is the whole notion of hereditary succession in the later sense of those words. It is perfectly natural that a man should wish his children to succeed him in whatever he has; it does not therefore follow that the law should always carry out his wishes. The older *heriot*, the later *relief*, are witnesses to a strong conviction that the succession even of a man's son to his estate is by no means a matter of course or of natural right, but a thing which it is for the law to regulate as may be best for the whole community. And the making of a will, if we only come to think about it, will soon be seen to be more artificial still. Even if we hold that a man has himself a natural right to whatever he may get lawful possession of in his lifetime, it does not at all follow that he need have the right of decreeing how those possessions shall pass when he can himself keep them no longer. The making of a will is in truth a very artificial thing, and belongs to a rather advanced stage of society. The power of bequest had no place in our oldest Teutonic system; it came in as part of the Roman and Christian lore which we learned from Augustine and his fellows. And in the law of Rome it was of comparatively late growth. The will of the Roman citizen needed the formal confirmation of the *curiæ*; that is to say, each will was of the nature of an English king's grant of *folklund*; it needed the consent of the Witan. That consent had long become purely formal; but a formal consent is a survival of a real consent which may be

refused. There clearly was a time when the will was not a matter of right, but a privilege granted or refused in each particular case. And even now in most countries the law interferes with freedom of bequest in a way in which it does not interfere with a man's power of dealing as he chooses with his goods while he still lives. Against the power of entail many declaim; the power of bequest is by most people taken for granted. But in truth both alike are artificial rights created by the law, which the law may allow, forbid, or restrain, exactly like the equally artificial right of bestowing lands in mortmain.

In all these ways then we see that the wide gap sometimes supposed to exist between private and corporate property does not date from those early times out of the records of which this controversy began. An ancient king, with the consent of his Witan, by one act endowed a bishop or an abbot; by another he endowed an earl or a thegn. The grants were the same in form, the same in tenure; both called down the same awful curses on the man who should disturb the lawful possession of either the lay or the clerical grantee. In each case the grant perhaps called into being, perhaps simply endowed with fresh gifts, a kind of corporation, a man or body of men with succession *jure hereditario*. Whatever happened in the one case happened in the other; if the grant has at this day any abiding effect in the one case, it must have it equally in the other. If the lands granted to Ælfric the abbot are to this day "national property" because they were so granted, the lands granted to Ælfric the thegn must also be to this day "national property" for the same reason.

And now it may be asked, What practical inference comes of all this? I am not ashamed to answer, None. Questions as to the exact meaning and effect of charters of the ninth or tenth century can have no direct practical bearing on controversies of the present day. They may have the most important indirect bearing. We are always more likely to legislate wisely for the present if we thoroughly understand the past history of the thing about which we are legislating. But they have no direct bearing. In a debate on the disendowment of ecclesiastical corporations, no wise man would allow his vote to be guided one way or another by any considerations drawn from the documents which were piled together in the January number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. It matters not how either Ælfric the abbot or Ælfric the thegn came by their lands. However that was, and in whatever hands they may be now, King, Lords, and Commons can deal with them as they think good. That is enough. The question whether any proposed way of dealing with those lands is just and expedient must be debated according to the needs of the nineteenth or twentieth century, not according to the form of grants in the ninth or tenth. I only say that, both in the ninth century and in the nineteenth, the supreme power is supreme alike over the holdings of clerks

and of laymen, over the holdings of individuals and of corporations. I stepped into the question, not to prove this or that one way or another, but to try to get rid of a confusion which makes the argument less clear and straightforward on both sides. I want to get rid of the phrase "national property" as it is commonly used in the discussion, because it tends to mislead as to facts both past and present. It suggests the idea that "Church property" is something quite different from other property, more under the control of the State than other property, something perhaps over which Parliament has the same kind of immediate control that it has over money raised by taxation. At any rate, it suggests the idea that the State has some special power over Church property which it has not over all property.

I suspect that many people, when they say that "Church property is national property," simply mean, as regards Church property, that the State has, as it assuredly has, a full right to deal with it at pleasure, but that they also mean, perhaps unconsciously, that the State has not the same power over all other property. It is against this last doctrine that I have to fight. I have heard it said that Church property, if not national property, is in some sort trust property, that the State is in the position of what the lawyers call *cestui qui trust*. King Æthelstan did not speak French, though King Eadward did; but I do not object to the statement in a general way, if only I may carry it a little further, and say that the State is *cestui qui trust* to all property. If we only had a formula answering to *cestui qui trust* in the English of the tenth century, I feel sure that King Æthelstan would have held it to apply to his dealings with Ælfric the abbot; but then he would also have held it to apply to his dealings with Ælfric the thegn. In each case the *folkland* became *bookland*; the State ceased to be landlord; but assuredly in neither case did the State give up its right to see that the grantee of the State did something for the service of the State. As far as I can see, the present holders of ecclesiastical grants are picked out for attack mainly because they have less completely forgotten this fact than their lay fellows.

What then have we done in this argument? If I have succeeded in what I have tried to do, I have done two things.

First, I have shown that, in order to assert the absolute right of the State to deal as it thinks good with Church property, it is by no means needful to bring in the confused and misleading statement that "Church property is national property."

Secondly, I have shown that a piece of land is not proved to be "national property" now by quoting the charter which shows that it was "national property" in the ninth or tenth century, but that it then ceased to be such.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

A BASIS OF POSITIVE MORALITY.

II.

IDEALS of morality are interesting as evidence of the heights to which popular imagination may ascend, and it is never safe to criticise them, because they are sure to be vigorously and even indignantly defended; but their practical interest is small until practice itself has approached within measurable distance, and this is very rarely the case. The true utility of professed ideals is that if there is a practical decline in morality, the preservation of the ideal simply as a mental conception affords a chance of recovery where such recovery might be impossible without its help. It is like losing one's way on a mountain, when to have an ideal path in the mind may help in the recovery of the real one. There can be no doubt that the continued theoretical maintenance of Christian morality at times when it was almost entirely abandoned in practice was a most convenient help for subsequent periods of recovery. That morality was always ready, at least in theory; there it was, still in the keeping of the Church, ready to be applied to common life whenever the world felt the need of applying it. No one who has an ideal ought ever to abandon it in despair. He may sorrowfully admit that it is not applicable now, that it may not be applicable within any future time that one can accurately foresee, yet it is always possible that a time may come when his ideal or some part of it may be within the range of improvements that begin to be practically attainable. In morals, as in politics, there are hopes and dreams of which nobody has yet seen the realisation, and if ever the time were to come when men ceased to hope and to dream, that time would see the end of human advancement. The way to mend is first to long for what ought to be, then to confess that, as a whole, it is unattainable, finally to get some part of it and be satisfied for the present, whilst preserving the hope of a fuller satisfaction in the future.

Ideals of morality are still for the most part, though not exclusively, guarded by different priesthoods. It would be wrong to undervalue their services even when their morality is not exactly ours. It is true that they are sometimes obliged to speak with much deference of very early conditions of morality which have now become repugnant to us and inadmissible as examples for our practice, but the more we study the subject the more we gain a spirit of tolerance for all primitive moral effort. The beginnings of human morality do at least manifest the presence of the moral sense, even when its action is but little educated and constantly liable to error. It is not so much a perfect morality that is needed as a morality of some kind, suitable to the social state, and enough at least to show that the moral sense exists, and that it is active. However, as a fact, it does unfortunately happen that priesthoods are somewhat burdened with ancient moralities that a cultivated moral sense has in our time left behind it, and this is one reason why many people are looking elsewhere. Another reason is that ecclesiastical teaching of morals is not rigorously and everywhere the same. Sometimes one virtue is insisted upon, sometimes another; and when any particular vice is ingrained in local custom, it is hard to fight against it with sustained energy; so that, by mere persistency, it wins for itself a sort of tolerance. There is less hope than ever that at some future day any one religion now known to us will be able to impose its morality as a practical rule of life on all the various populations of the world. Even in theory the agreement is never complete, and as for practice, we all know that it differs widely, not only between different localities, but between different classes and trades. As a matter of fact, each profession cultivates its own virtues, encouraging them by respect and esteem, whilst it allows itself a certain liberty and latitude with regard to some, at least, amongst the vices. In this way special professional moralities are established which seem perfect within the pale of the professions, but which it is extremely difficult for outsiders to appreciate at their proper value. Knowledge of the world does not consist in knowing what is theoretically accepted, but what virtues are really esteemed, and what laxities are tolerated.

I have not space to enter into detail with regard to these special moralities, and, indeed, do not profess to understand them, but they have always this quality, that they establish a common rule by permitting some things and forbidding others, so that a man who follows them is no longer an isolated individual, but acts as a member of some social order or community. It is in this, I believe, that we find the basis of such morality as there is. Man alone, acting by private impulses, is not moral, but he becomes so by his deference to the corporate will of some association of which he forms a part. According to this view, morality is strictly a social virtue, and this

may help to explain why hypocrisy is so often regarded as a moral virtue; for, in fact, hypocrisy is a form of deference to the will of a majority, though it may be practised for private ends. In religion some stigma always attaches to those who express the opinions of a minority, and the smaller the minority the deeper the stigma becomes, so that the members of very small minorities are condemned as immoral men. Their offence consists in shutting themselves off from the main current of national life, which is supposed to carry the national morality along with it.

In our own time there is a new source of anxiety. The national morality of England is connected with the belief in miracle, indirectly, through the national religion. But the belief in miracle is declining; in many minds, and those not the least cultivated, it is entirely extinct, whilst the number of those who no longer believe in miracle increases from day to day. For some time it was possible to refuse to see this change; but now it is no longer possible, and everybody recognises it. The consequence is a profound anxiety for the preservation of the moderate degree of morality which has been already attained. Men say: "We can give up miracle and the supernatural; we may even resign ourselves to giving up the hope of a future state; but we cannot do without morality in this life, even if it is to end in annihilation." For those who speak of the matter in this tone, and they are neither the least intelligent nor the least respectable members of the community, there is an irresistible temptation to look for some scientific morality, founded on what is permanent and unquestionable, that is, on what are called the laws of Nature. Morality would then become a positive science. There is, however, already a positive science of morality which is entirely different from this. It states what the various moralities have been in the past, and what the surviving moralities are in the present; but it supplies no rule for a fixed morality in the future. It says simply that at such a time, in such a country, certain actions were approved as right and others considered wrong. It studies and describes the difference between the notion of patriotism in the time of the great Condé, and the notion of patriotism in the time of Thiers and Gambetta. It observes that the notion of honour for gentlemen and officers was quite different when "*Manon Lescaut*" was written from the same notion when Octave Feuillet composed his novels, and, again, that Feuillet's notion of an artist's honour differed widely from any English conception of the same. This is the scientific study of morality; but when you appeal to Science for any permanent and universal rule that is to settle all moral questions whatever, her only answer can be that Nature does not supply the rule, and that morality belongs to human experience. This is the weak point of Natural Religion, which might otherwise have had a considerable success, especially in the present day when

the study of Nature has become general. The Universe is, no doubt, of inexhaustible interest as a study in mechanics, in chemistry, and in biology; but if we want to study morality we find it only in the imperfect experiments of Man. It may exist elsewhere, beyond our world, amongst superior races of whom nothing is known to us. The disappointment caused by the absence of morality in Nature has led some writers, especially M. Renan, to speak of her "transcendent immorality." To me it seems that the word "immorality" conveys also an erroneous impression in its application to Nature. The action of the natural forces is neither moral nor immoral; it is perfectly neutral in this respect. When the sea dashes a vessel on the rocks it does not commit murder; the wind raises the waves, the rocks are strong enough to resist the shock, the vessel is crushed between rock and wave, the men are drowned, the causes and effects are all physical, there is really no moral aspect of the matter. It would be easy to hold up Nature as an example of everything that human beings ought to avoid. It has been said that she sets an example of incalculable waste joined to what, in human beings, would be criminal neglect. Millions of animals and thousands of poor or delicate people perish every year from cold, whilst at the same time there is a prodigious dissipation of solar heat, lost in infinite space, a very minute fraction of which would suffice to keep all shivering creatures in comfort. Some philosophers have written prettily about the beautiful economy of Nature, the anxious care with which everything is utilised, the merciful provision for all creatures, and other such poetical imaginings. The only rational course is simply to abstain from attributing either virtue or vice to the processes of the natural universe, as they have no connection with either. We, being human, ought not to follow Nature as a model. She has her own work to do as we have ours. We may at least admire her great forces and her regularity; but we are not called upon to imitate her indifference. It is only too much imitated already by the indifference of the conqueror, the trapper, and the vivisector. When Napoleon said to Metternich, "What do I care for the lives of a million of men?" he was going further in the imitation of Nature than any human being has a right to go. Nature never disputes the right of the cleverest and the strongest to torture and oppress the weak; but it is not a moral right. Slave-hunting in Africa is a convenient because persistent example. I need not describe the horrors of it, and indeed know them only by the reports of others; but if these reports are even partially true, slave-hunting must be a diabolical combination of many cruelties, and it has been going on from time immemorial. During all that time what has Nature done, what part has she had in the matter? The answer could be little more than an account of physical processes. After the infliction of wounds the natural processes have in some cases been

followed by death, and in others by tedious sufferings and partial or complete recovery. When the slaves were put into ships some were asphyxiated by want of oxygen in the hold, others were drowned after being flung into the sea. As for the slave-hunters they underwent fatigue; they bore hot and toilsome marches, and consequently they perspired.

These bare physical facts constitute Nature's share in the matter. An idealist anxious to prove some theory of retribution would tell us that the slave-hunters were punished by becoming coarse and brutalised as a consequence of their way of life; but men never feel it to be an inferiority in themselves to be coarse and brutal; on the contrary, they pride themselves on it as evidence of manliness, and they look down with unfeigned contempt on the gentle, the tender, and the merciful.*

The absence of a moral sanction in what we call "Nature" may be a reason for the frequently narrow and partial acknowledgment of moral obligation by mankind. It is, I believe, authoritatively taught by the Church of Rome that we have no moral obligation towards the lower animals; this is, at least, a doctrine generally accepted by Roman Catholic populations both in France and Italy, and it leads to horrible cruelty, especially in Sicily. When remonstrated with for his barbarity, the Sicilian settles the question in his own opinion by the answer, "The beast has not been baptised, it is not a Christian." If the Church does not teach him consideration for animals (and she does not) there is nothing in Nature to remind him of any duty towards "the inferior kinds." They suffer, perish, and are replaced; these are the simple facts, and Nature has never inculcated anything beyond them.†

* An accident that happened to an acquaintance of one of my friends presents the subject of natural and human action in a concentrated form. This gentleman was crossing a railway at a place where there were points. His boot slipped into the angle of the rails, so that it was held by the sole, and he could not extricate it on the instant. A train was approaching, and before coming to a standstill the engine knocked the unfortunate gentleman down and killed him. The incident was witnessed with extreme horror by many spectators on the platform. A rational account of it is simply that a heavy body, set in motion by the expansion of steam, had acquired too much momentum for an instantaneous stoppage, and that it passed over a living obstacle too weak to offer an effectual resistance. This is a sufficient explanation, without having recourse to an imaginary justice, according to which the victim would have rightly incurred capital punishment as a suitable penalty for his carelessness in letting his boot slip between the rails. The incident was neither just nor unjust, but simply natural; nor was there any supernatural intervention to save the victim from his fate. There was ample time for a miracle, but it did not occur. We have no evidence of either cruelty or pity, except that the human spectators were shocked; the human beings behaved in their own emotional way, and the natural forces with their exact regularity and their absolute indifference.

† I once knew a French veterinary surgeon who described to me the education given at Alfort which had been his own. Considered as training only, it is excellent. The pupils perform all sorts of terrible operations on living animals, the same horse undergoing as many operations as it can recover from, till at last it dies. I protested against this on behalf of the poor brutes, but my acquaintance answered, "You are quite mistaken, there is no reason for regret whatever, the animals are of very little value—fifty or sixty francs, perhaps." And I found it absolutely impossible to make

If it is objected that this view of Nature as morally a neutral power is degrading and discouraging, it may be answered, firstly, that it corresponds with all the facts that come within the range of observation, and, secondly, that so far as human life is concerned it is not more discouraging than the ideas about Nature that have been prevalent in the past. Ever since men have been able to perceive that natural operations are wanting in moral perfection, they have attributed many of them to maleficent powers, dangerous not only to the body but to the soul of man, and the world has seemed to them like a bewildering forest set with traps and pitfalls by the agency of evil spirits. Since man began to be intelligent and to develop his own moral sense, he has never really and heartily approved of Nature, and the small respect he has paid her is shown by his constant disregard of what seem to be her plainest intentions, as, for example, by his mutilation of animals in every civilised country. It may seem ridiculous to mention shaving, but if the intentions of Nature were regarded as sacred, people would no more venture to set up their own judgment against hers, even in minor matters, than they would alter the syllables of scriptures held to be inspired. It would be a sin to destroy the germs of life; no truly pious person would venture to boil an egg.

It does not appear, therefore, that modern opinions about Nature mark any novel opposition between what is natural and what is human; on the contrary, it might be argued that the modern acceptance of Nature's moral indifference, combined with her absolute regularity in her own order, is more favourable to a certain respect for Nature than all previous human ideas about her. The ways of the universe are not our ways, but they can be absolutely relied upon. The new element in our beliefs is not the non-human character of Nature, but the perfect trust that can be placed in her infallible regularity. If she is neither tender, nor merciful, nor just, she is never capricious.

Again, our most recent ideas about human morality are not so new as they appear. The severance of it from non-human nature is as ancient as the notion of controlling a natural instinct or denying it a satisfaction, and if we are trying now to form a morality, the main difference between us and our ancestors is that some of us are fully conscious of the process, and they were unconscious. They did, in reality, form and modify the moralities that were practically their rules of life. Religious and philosophical teachers provided them with

him understand that my protest had no reference to money. Compassion for animals was a sentiment of which he had no knowledge or experience, yet he was accurately acquainted with the physical processes of Nature which it was his business to observe, and he found nothing in these processes to suggest compassion for the brute. My own feelings of pity would have seemed childish or womanish if he could have understood them at all, but they were completely unintelligible to him. Now, I cannot conceal from myself that he was much nearer to Nature than I was. He took no pleasure in the torture of animals, but he had no objection to it, and in both he resembled Nature.

ideal precepts, for which they professed admiration, but they themselves made and modified, from age to age, their binding codes of duty and honour. If it seems to us that those codes were imperfect, we are as free to improve upon them as they were to ameliorate those of their forefathers. And if it is asked what sanction we have to enforce our decisions, the answer is that the old sanction exists still, and that there has never been any other. The only efficacious sanction is public opinion; even the most powerful of all Churches could only punish heresy when public opinion looked upon the heretic as a criminal. After public opinion decided that the heretic ought not to be burnt or tortured, he was burnt and tortured no longer. Then came a tedious interval, during which public opinion refused to apply physical torture to heretics, whilst it approved of moral inflictions in the shape of social and political disabilities; heretics were relieved from all apprehension of the rack and the stake, but they were subjected to a kind of social paralysis. They were not allowed to occupy any position of importance in the State; it was practically difficult for them even to marry and to exercise paternal authority. In our time religious disabilities are rapidly disappearing in England, whilst they have entirely disappeared in France, except as a matter of caste. The change has been brought about by a more enlightened public opinion, which does not approve of forcing people into falsehood. It may possibly go a step beyond that, and decide that nobody ought even to be tempted, though force is no longer exercised. It is immoral to make a will by which a large sum of money is bequeathed to some one on condition that he professes certain religious opinions. The English law of succession is immoral, because in possible cases it offers a temptation to untruth, which hardly any human being would have strength to resist. An heir to the throne has access, by his education, to books in several languages; as a private reader he may be familiar with the most advanced philosophical speculations, or the bent of his nature may lead him away from these to the poetry of a ceremonial religion. Mentally he might agree with Renan or with Cardinal Newman, but to reveal his opinions, in either case, would be to forfeit the crown of England. In other words the law, as it at present stands, would in certain cases convert the crown of England into a reward for persistent dissimulation. Men pray not to be led into temptation, yet they tempt others into certain forms of dishonesty. They would think it wrong to tempt a servant to steal, but they spread snares of temptation against the private honour and the moral dignity of the poor. So with children, if we want to educate them into habits of truthfulness, we ought not to tempt them into falsehood, merely because the truth would be unpleasant to their elders. The experiment of allowing young people to say what they really think has sometimes been tried, and it is found to offer certain advantages, particularly this one, that

as the parents do not wish to be deceived, they are not deceived, their children are really known to them. Why force upon them what Mr. James Payn calls "sham admiration in literature"? A boy dislikes the Latin poets, but enjoys Shakespeare. If we know his taste, we perceive that he does not yet appreciate the laboured finish of classical workmanship, but enjoys exuberance of invention, and where is the harm of knowing so much about the boy?

The history of public opinion is briefly this. In simple conditions of society it is unconscious, and takes the form of obedience to a military chief and a sacerdotal authority. In a later stage public opinion is that of a majority powerful enough to reduce minorities to silence. In the England of Prince Albert's time public opinion was that of the partially educated middle class. It was then held to be the duty of cultivated thinkers to accept the decisions of that class on all questions of politics, theology, and morals. The complete emancipation of culture from the incubus of middle-class opinion belongs to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The consequence is that public opinion has gained by having an element of intelligence in addition to its ancient elements of experience and common-sense. So strengthened, will it be able to form a perfect morality? That is not probable; indeed, there are good reasons for believing that a perfect morality is useful only as an ideal, that its reduction to practice can never become possible, and would never be entirely desirable; but it is likely that public opinion, with the help of outspoken and honest intellectual leaders, will improve popular morality. There are two faults in the present condition of society for which it is not unreasonable to expect a continuous amendment. People may become more truthful when there are no longer any social or legal penalties against honesty, and they may live more austere when they find that simplicity of life is not attended by any loss of consideration. Many and very various moral benefits would result from these two improvements alone. The habit of truthfulness will be found, on considering its wide-reaching effects on conduct, to ensure much, though not all, of sexual morality also, for cases of seduction are almost invariably accompanied by false promises, and there is no accompaniment of adultery more constant, and, as it seems, more inevitable, than persistent acting and lying. If, then, it were possible to make men honest, we should, with very rare exceptions, get rid of these two forms of sexual error. As to simplicity of life, there would be good hopes for this virtue if the penalties against it were removed. The desire for luxury is not by any means universal, perhaps it is not even very common, though it certainly seems to be common. That which men do universally desire is human consideration, at least enough of it to avoid contempt, and a multitude of people are living in far more comfort and luxury than they really care about in order not to be despised. Now, it is entirely

within the power of public opinion to relieve the world from the weariness of this burden. It has actually been done to a great extent with regard to the costliness of funerals, a matter in which public opinion has always been very authoritative. If it will now permit a man to be buried simply when he is dead, why cannot it allow him to exist simply whilst he is alive? Much progress has, in fact, already been made in this direction. A gentleman in the eighteenth century was obliged to dress in a showy and expensive manner, and to drink wine; now he may dress with extreme simplicity, and drink water if reasons of health and economy make him prefer it. Present social exigencies do not weigh heavily on a gentleman so long as he is a bachelor; they fall upon him after marriage. In England people incur ridicule and contempt if they marry upon such an income as young professional men can usually earn; even the newspapers sneer at them in articles by writers who themselves exist precariously by journalism. There is perhaps more absolute liberty to live rationally in Paris than anywhere else, but unfortunately the place itself has become expensive. The temper of public opinion that would be desirable is that of the old French aristocracy towards the poorer members of the same caste, who were allowed to live with extreme frugality without being punished for it by contempt. This, it is true, was a caste feeling, yet it is conceivable that it might be extended so as to include all men and women who are truly civilised, and whose conduct is above reproach. There ought to be liberty to spend, and also liberty not to spend. The frugality that the vulgar sneer at may be dictated by the noblest motives. A lady may keep few servants that she may reserve a margin for her charities; a man may travel in the third-class to help a poor relation. For an artist or a writer the liberty to live simply may mean leisure to do good work; for a tradesman, it is the liberty to be honest; for a workwoman, it is permission to be chaste.

My belief is that the moralities of past ages, which were really accepted and acted upon (not those which were professed) were the changing products of a public opinion unconscious of its own force, and that we ourselves are living in a time when public opinion is passing from the unconscious state to one of lucid consciousness through the influence of its intellectual leaders. We are beginning to know that we can make our own morality, for which, of course, we shall have to take the natural consequences, whatever they may be. There are conflicts, as when the House of Commons says that a man ought to be allowed to marry his deceased wife's sister, and the House of Lords refuses him that liberty, or in France between the secular and religious spirits when one party accepts civil marriage as moral whilst the other describes it as concubinage, but in spite of these conflicts, or perhaps even with the help of the discussions to which they give rise, we are all working together to form the morality of

the coming age. For those of us whose term of life is not likely to extend beyond the opening years of the next century, the most interesting of all subjects of observation is the germ of that morality which will govern Europe towards its close. For example, we see already a desire amongst a few of the best minds for honesty and integrity in dealings between nations, as in Mr. Frederic Harrison's proposal to send the Elgin marbles back to Greece, a proposal to do what would be plainly and indisputably right. The return of these treasures by a strong nation to a weak one and by an intelligent nation, fully aware of the inestimable value of what she was surrendering, would be an action as beautiful in morals as the works themselves are beautiful in art, and morally it would be as precious to the world as the marbles themselves are artistically precious. Whilst we are still dreaming we may imagine a time when nations will value a reputation for honesty in all their transactions as much as they now value the soundness of their credit in money matters, a time when they will no more wish to steal things or to receive stolen goods, than they now desire to withhold the interest of their borrowings. A complete international morality would also fulfil all national promises and engagements.

This is dreaming, and as the dream is pleasant we may go on with it and imagine what the world would be if men who equally believe that honesty is right could work together as heartily as those who agree about some religious dogma, such as that of transubstantiation. There are already some faint signs of concord on moral grounds in the future. On these grounds all honest and pure-minded men could meet. We have sometimes, even now, the delicate pleasure of seeing the representatives of different religions forgetting the acrimony of ancient controversies and working together for a common moral end. There are even signs and symptoms of a truce between the clergy and the philosophers. The situation is briefly this. The clergy have an influence over many men, and over a multitude of women and children, whom the philosophers cannot reach; but the philosophers have an influence over many men and a small yet increasing number of women who never hear a sermon and also over many who listen to sermons like the rest. I know that the ultimate purpose of the two classes of teachers is not the same, but the immediate purpose is very nearly identical. The clergy promise and prepare for another life, the philosophers speak exclusively of this. Nevertheless, both clergymen and philosophers do, in fact, at present live in the world together, and equally desire that present human society should be governed by righteous principles. The two are like Americans and Frenchmen travelling together from Paris to Havre, the Americans intending to go to a distant hemisphere, the Frenchmen intending to stop at the sea-side. Their ultimate hopes are different, but whilst they travel

in the same train, it is their common interest and desire that the railway servants should do their duty, and that the passengers, during the journey, should refrain from robbery and assassination.

Since the preceding lines were written, I have read an interesting paper by Professor Goldwin Smith, in the *Forum*, bearing the interrogative title, "Will Morality survive Religion?" He appears to think that intelligent Europe is actually now passing from sacerdotal to scientific leadership, and suggests that "society may have a bad quarter of an hour during the transition, as it has had more than once before. As the twilight of Theism and Christianity still lingers, nobody expects a sudden change. Least of all does anybody expect a sudden outbreak of immorality among philosophers whose minds are elevated by their pursuit, and in whom the coarser appetites are sure to be weak." What Mr. Goldwin Smith looks forward to with apprehension is moral relaxation amongst certain classes, such as young workingmen in great cities, who are very sharp and intelligent, but not disciplined by an education strong enough to enable them to appreciate what is constructive in modern philosophy, whilst they can see what it destroys. There may be a danger of the same kind for thoughtless women in the upper classes, if they are no longer restrained by the dread of supernatural punishments. I agree with Mr. Goldwin Smith in the belief that these dangers are real, and this is precisely the reason why all thinking men who know the value of sound morality to a community ought to help in the formation of a robust public opinion. With regard to the decay of religious systems and the replacing of them by something else, the past may throw some light upon the future, and Mr. Goldwin Smith himself refers to it. A faith that becomes extinct is always succeeded either by another faith, by a philosophy, or by anarchy. A condition of mind very unfavourable to morality, especially in the upper classes, is that of assumed or affected faith. This is only anarchy under a false name, and the more dangerous that it chills enthusiasm and discourages effort, accepting a low moral state as a necessary condition of human nature that only the simple-minded hope to alter. The well-meant discouragement of progressive morality by more sincerely religious people may become almost equally dangerous, as morality, like law, presents new difficulties in advancing states of society.

P. G. HAMERTON.

JENNY LIND.

“**S**UCH as these have lived and died” is a thought to be reckoned with by the pessimist or the cynic of the period. That genius must be wild and unregulated—that a dash of vice adds the required piquancy to a great artiste—that virtue is the foible of weak minds—that to be good is necessarily to be dull—that Art is independent of Decency, and Music of Morals—are so many common propositions that receive the lie direct in the person of Madame Otto Goldschmidt, *née* Lind.

It is, indeed, a memorable fact that the greatest actress and the greatest singer of the nineteenth century was chiefly revered as one whose genius was disciplined by sacrifice, whose whole being was under perfect control, who, in the midst of a fiercer light than that which beats about a throne, wore the white flower of a blameless life.

There have been three other musical personalities that have excited an artistic enthusiasm approaching to the Jenny Lind mania—Mali-bran, Paganini, and Liszt. But there is only one other name which has been capable of exciting a sympathetic glow throughout the civilised world comparable to the ardour kindled by the name of Jenny Lind, and that is the name of Garibaldi. It may sound strange to bracket two such dissimilar personages together. But they were alike in their unique power of capturing. Both had genius—but genius alone merely dazzles. It was genius wedded to an intense humanity, a prodigious sensibility, a noble generosity, a childlike and holy simplicity of nature, which gave to both their strange power.

Two thick volumes have at last appeared about Jenny Lind. The Queen has herself been good enough to contribute, or correct, a few reminiscences. Her Majesty's personal admiration for the Lind is a

matter of history. Mendelssohn's "Green Volumes," containing the private records of his life, letters, and MSS., have also been laid under contribution. For the three last years of his life Mendelssohn kept up a constant correspondence with Jenny Lind, advised her in her business affairs, was absolutely in sympathy with her artistic aspirations and achievements, and was very frequently her companion. He wrote the soprano part of "Elijah" especially for her voice, and even meditated writing an opera expressly to suit her peculiarities. Mme. Schumann has also come forward and given letters and extracts from her own private diary. Then we have interesting excerpts from letters and diaries belonging to Mrs. Grote, the historian's wife, with whom Jenny lived much when she first came to England: from the Stanleys—*i.e.*, the Bishop of Norwich and his wife, and Mrs. Vaughan and her brother, the late Dean Stanley of Westminster—have also come notes and letters. Add to this the fact that Mr. Goldschmidt has called to his aid Canon Scott Holland, who knew Jenny Lind from boyhood, and Mr. W. S. Rockstro, a musical writer of repute, and we certainly have the materials for a unique literary portrait of Jenny Lind.

The present article can only pretend to be the fugitive glimpses of an impressionist, but still of one who was personally, though slightly, acquainted with her in later years.

A life of more ideal completeness than that of Jenny Lind it is hardly possible to imagine. All its aims were worthy; all were achieved; rise, development, progress, culmination, immense gifts, numerous opportunities, a great example of honest work and spotless integrity, and a splendid legacy of benefactions innumerable, in the shape of hospitals, schools, and institutes, founded by her own unaided efforts, in addition to unknown and unnumbered private bounties;—such is the record of Jenny Lind's life, and it has assuredly not been written in vain.

The phases of this unique career seem to follow each other with an almost dramatic propriety and scenic completeness. She appears to us on her way attended by the clamour, and heat, and vociferous applause of the surging multitude. But she moves like one all robed in white—a saintly presence, inspired, somnambulistic, and unconscious of the lower world—with eyes raised heavenwards, absorbed only in her most perfect and all-purifying work; passing through a troubled and polluted world of chicanery and lust—as a beam of sunlight passes into the depths of foul and noisome caverns, yet without contracting any stain. She seems to me at once the most real and the most ideal creature ever born. I can see the little plain girl of nine years old, with her sensitive face and spare figure—shrinking, suspicious, not kindly treated at home, but ever singing to herself and her cat "with the blue ribbon," both seated in the deep window niche. The passers-by stop to listen; the good Herr Crolius, Court

singing-master, is attracted, will have her officially trained. Behold, the incredulous and severe Herr Puke, who will hardly consent to listen to the little girl, and then bursts out crying at the exquisite pathos of the child's voice. What a gift of tears, what *larmes dans le gosier* she had! How many more were to cry at that voice in the coming years.

Little Jenny is at last installed as pupil at the Court Theatre, to be taught "piano, religion, French, history, geography, writing, arithmetic, and drawing," and so trained for the stage. She meets with kind people—specially her maternal grandmother, who impresses her sensitive, eager heart with that steady moral principle and those deep religious feelings which, as the years lengthened, became her most striking characteristics. At first Jenny seemed destined for the spoken drama; she was by nature a consummate actress—such abandon and spontaneity! But her extraordinary voice asserted itself irresistibly. It was said by a great critic, "If she had not been the greatest singer, she would still have been the greatest actress of the age." She was destined to be both. At eighteen, her singing-mistress listened to her in silence one day; Jenny had been doing her very best to please her, and felt disappointed at no least word of approval. "Am I then so stupid?" she said, with a little pout. "My child," said her mistress, whilst the tears coursed down her own cheeks, "I have nothing to teach you; do as Nature tells you!"

A crisis came early in her young life. She had much praise at Stockholm. The theatre directors already felt themselves repaid; they engaged her at a modest salary; the whole town was soon talking about her, but she was diffident—suspicious of herself. "On the 7th of May," she says, "I got up one creature, I went to bed another;" that night she had found her power, it was as "Agatha" in Weber's "Freyschütz" that she placed her foot firmly on the rung of that ladder of European fame she was about so laboriously but so triumphantly to scale. She now plunged into the full swing of an operatic career, appearing frequently in the "Vestalin," a part she considered her best—but which in England at least was discarded for "Sonnambula" and the "Daughter of the Regiment." "Zauberflöte," "Robert le Diable," "Lucia," "Norma," and almost all the other popular operas of that day afforded her opportunities for a succession of unique triumphs at the Court Theatre, Stockholm, where, by June 19, 1841, she had appeared 447 times. All were enraptured; she alone was dissatisfied—she alone *knew*. *She knew she could not sing*. She knew that no one in Stockholm could teach her what she wanted to learn. She could captivate, she could act, but no raptures could blind her to her own defects, nor for a moment dim the bright ideal of artistic excellence which she had divined for herself.

Jenny Lind must go to Paris. Firm, patient, little toiler with the plain face, whose smile Dean Stanley likened to Dr. Pusey's, whose eyes seemed lighted with the stars, whose laugh rang out like the merry notes of woodland birds. Face, with the magic of the heart in it, full of soul-beauty which had but to show itself, and all other stage beauties disappeared, and people cried and laughed, and went mad for joy, and waited for hours, and sat up all night, to get a fleeting glimpse of it. Brave little figure, already rounded with glowing, budding womanhood, no longer so *maigre*, beautiful in every movement, transfused with the flowing grace, the poetry of motion, which is of the soul—the soul ever shining through. What was the secret of that undulating, unconscious grace that riveted all eyes whenever she appeared? What was the magnetism of those movements, so chaste, so dignified, so ideally dowered with "the eternal feminine"? No one could tell, all could feel, but none could analyse. And such an one thought it needful, being what she was, with nobles at her feet, courts thrown open to her, mobs surrounding her in the street, this little plain Stockholm girl thought it worth while, knew it to be her duty, to toil and amass a little travelling capital, to leave all her home triumphs, and go far away to Paris, and pay 20 francs an hour for lessons, and live unknown and even unappreciated, if by any means she could get Garcia, the greatest singing-master in the world, to teach her *how to sing*. That was Jenny Lind all over, obstinately indifferent to every one's opinion in high art matters but her own, utterly unmoved by praise though sensitive to blame, only bent on the highest; for her it was ever this, and only this, "we needs must love the highest when we see it."

So to Paris she came, a lonely unknown wanderer, with only the faint murmurs of her Swedish reputation behind her. What was that to a world intoxicated with Persiani, Malibran, Sontag, Grisi, and Catalani? Little did Signor Garcia, when at last he consented to hear her, and she broke down in an aria from "*Der Freyschütz*," dream that this plain, trembling girl was destined to outshine all these stars. She came to Paris tired. She had oversung herself in her money-getting tour. She had a bad method; her voice was worn, and some notes very seriously injured.

"Mademoiselle," said the terrible Garcia, "it is useless for me to teach you; you have no voice left,"—not as is currently reported, "*vous n'avez pas de voix*," but "*vous n'avez plus de voix*."

But Jenny knew. She went back to Garcia again and again. He was moved by her earnestness. She became a docile slave. She learned to submit. She consented to rest absolutely, to study a new method, then to unlearn all the singing she knew. She filled reams of copybooks, followed out all Garcia's mandates to the letter, and thus he consented to do for her what he could.

She was satisfied. More than ever now she felt her defects, but she learned how to remove them. Not a touch of jealousy in her nature meanwhile. Inferior but better taught women took the lead of her. She admitted their right, rejoiced especially in the success of one such—"a sweet girl." She said, "I can learn all she knows, but she can never learn what I know." That again was Jenny all over: absolute consciousness of inborn power. "No one acts as I act," she said quite unaffectedly to an intimate friend. Of Garcia, after nine months of incessant work and personal obscurity, she says, "By Garcia alone have I been taught *a few important things*," but she added, "I sing after no one's method—the greater part of what I can do in my art I have myself acquired by incredible labour in spite of astonishing difficulties." In acting she neither sought nor required any instruction. Her acting was a kind of inspired second nature to her—*no one acts as I act*—and the age quite agreed with her.

Was Paris a disappointment to Jenny? Perhaps—yes and no? The fact that she was heard privately by Meyerbeer and one or two others on the grand Paris stage without appearing to be quite adequate, and that her occasional private singing in that spoilt capital does not at this period seem to have excited much enthusiasm, would certainly have justified some disappointment; but the Paris atmosphere stifled her, the moral tone displeased her. "What is wanted here is *admirers*," she writes home with a sort of chaste scorn; "there I say *stop!*" "The sacrifice of honour and reputation" was too great a price to pay for operatic success in Paris, and Jenny turned away sickened from the spectacle of frivolity, greed, and corruption, and longed to get home. How she bore herself in Paris is tenderly recorded with admiration by Madame Ruffiaques, with whom she lodged. "I could scarcely have believed," said that lady with evident emotion, "such dignity of conduct possible in a young person coming to Paris alone." But a change was at hand. Jenny was now pressed to go back and accept an engagement at the Royal Theatre, Stockholm—a modest engagement of only £150 a year. But the management who had trained her from childhood had already made proof of her surprising gifts, and expected a quick return, and they got it. She gave herself joyfully, ungrudgingly, gratefully—besides, was not Stockholm her home, and was not "Home, Home, Sweet Home!"—throughout life to be to her the most sacred of all words. "Land of my birth," she exclaimed; "oh! that I could one day show how dear thou art to me." According to a custom not uncommon in Sweden, she now assumed the position of a young girl acting on her own responsibility, and adopted a state guardian in the person of that excellent counsellor, Herr Munthe, who advised her wisely as long as he lived, and kept all her precious letters, which were found in a packet after his death, labelled "The Mirror of a Noble Soul."

After a steady round of operas at Stockholm, which served to settle her style, and fully proved the extent of her obligations to Garcia, who had helped her to add to the high priesthood of Nature the high priesthood of Art, Jenny made a triumphant tour through Denmark—meeting amongst other celebrities Hans Andersen and Gaiger, the poet, who continually urged her to seek a wider field—“he kicked me out into the world,” she used to say laughingly. She listened ever with reluctance to the voices beyond the sea, but was at last persuaded to go to Berlin. The offers made her were splendid. Meyerbeer was her enthusiastic sponsor. She accordingly went off straight to Dresden with her aunt to study German, and prepare herself for the great ordeal in the Prussian capital. As the time approached she grew desperately nervous and restless—a profound diffidence and astonishing distrust of self alternated oddly enough in her, or rather seemed to co-exist, with a deep-seated consciousness of inborn superiority. Indeed something like despair and the most profound depression seemed to seize upon her before each of her greatest triumphs at Berlin, Vienna, and London. What if her artistic reputation, so undisputed in Sweden, where she had reigned without a rival, should wither in a moment in the air still laden with the incense offered to Sontag and Malibran. A few days set the matter at rest. She did not appear at first in the part of Vielka (“Camp in Silesia”), destined for her by Meyerbeer, as she found it had been promised to some one else as well—but her appearance in “Norma,” although it gave rise to endless controversies, and directly traversed Grisi’s canonised conception of the *role*—was a veritable triumph. The sequel is almost historical, and it certainly forms one of the most singular episodes in the history of musical art. I can but glance at the oft-told tale; how one night the excitement in the Berlin opera-house reached to a frantic pitch—how the British ambassador received the young prima between the acts in his box, where, surrounded by members of the Berlin aristocracy, she found herself suddenly face to face with Mr. Bunn, the Drury Lane manager, whose overtures she had persistently declined—how under immediate pressure from Lord Westmoreland, our diplomatic representative, she was induced then and there to put her name to a contract with Bunn, in which she undertook to sing at Drury Lane—and then all the infinite annoyance and vexations which followed on her inability or unwillingness to fulfil the contract—and how she subsequently two years afterwards sang in London, not at Drury Lane for Mr. Bunn, but at Her Majesty’s for Mr. Lumley—into all this tangled story I have no mind to enter here—it is fully gone into, chapter and verse, in vol. ii., from which it plainly appears that there was no *mala fides* on the part of Jenny Lind, and that if she erred, it was from inexperience at first and generosity afterwards.

Bunn offered her £50 a night, which seemed to her a great deal then; but as he had paid Malibran £125 a night *in advance*, and had given her £5200 for forty nights in 1833, Bunn's proposal to Jenny Lind, whose attraction proved to be greater than Malibran's, was far from liberal, although she did not decline it on that account, but simply because she had a rooted objection to London, and found it impossible to learn English in the time.

In 1845 Jenny Lind first met our Queen and Prince Albert at the Bonn Beethoven Festival. The Queen was instantly struck with her supreme talent, and expressed a wish to see her in England. Jenny's progress through Germany was everywhere accompanied by the most singular demonstrations. People hung about the streets in crowds to catch a sight of her. Wherever she sang the prices went up, her hotels were besieged, the horses were taken out of her carriage, and she was constantly being dragged in state. The police, and even the cavalry, had to be called out. On one occasion, she had to stay nearly all night at the theatre, because the crowds waiting outside to see her come out rendered the streets dangerous, and nothing short of brute force would induce them to disperse. What was soon known throughout Europe as the "Jenny Lind mania" seemed to seize upon the whole population of a town when she entered it, and all this time, Jenny herself was devoured by the intense longing to hide away:—"Moi qui veut toujours être la dernière," as she said to Mrs. Grote. There was never any change in this extraordinary girl, she remained absolutely unaffected, simple and unspoiled in the midst of this frantic and unparalleled homage. What is more extraordinary still is that on approaching Vienna she was overcome with her old stage nervousness, and profound sense of unfitness to appear in so large a theatre. There was no affectation about this; Mendelssohn foresaw it, and wrote to Hauser, afterwards Director of the Munich Conservatoire, to stand by her with sound advice and encouragement.

Down to the last she dreaded new publics, and she was, as far back as 1844, bent upon retiring from the operatic stage altogether. She had a passionate love of dramatic art, a lofty conception of the powers and possibilities of the stage—she even broke off her engagement with a young man whose family prejudices seemed to her to cast a slur upon her profession as an actress—but the actual environments of the theatre, the low moral tone, the intrigue, the jealousies of stage life, were profoundly distasteful to her, and the downright exhaustion from excitement, late hours, stifling atmosphere, and long rehearsals tried her abnormally sensitive nervous system severely. She did not like crowds, she did not care for applause; she loved woods and water, and the quiet peace of country life. To wander amongst the hills, hand in hand with some friend—that was her paradise. She dreamed of a home of her own, too, sometimes.

She called her stage life "roofless and lonely." She was domestic and simple in her real tastes, ate and drank sparingly, took no wine, and at one time neither tea nor coffee. She had her own definite ideas about her future. She would get together a little money, enough to keep herself and her mother in comfort at Stockholm, and then enjoy the luxury of singing for charities, and helping the suffering and forlorn for the rest of her life. Her genius she fully recognised as a sacred trust—something that had been given her by God, to be used for His glory and the good of man. But to London she would not go, on that she was determined. She was sure they would not like her, and she did not want a new sphere even if they did. It was in 1846 that, after being besieged in vain by Lumley, of Her Majesty's Theatre, and promised even higher terms than Grisi, Mendelssohn, who had been adored in England, and who brought out his "Elijah" there at the Birmingham (1846) Festival, succeeded in overcoming Jenny's scruples. "I am going to London," she writes, "and Mendelssohn alone was able to induce me to do so."

Everything combined to make Jenny Lind's appearance in London truly sensational, without the least effort on her part. For ten years Sweden and Germany had been singing her praises, and the galaxy of operatic stars—Grisi, Tamburini, Sontag, Lablache, and Gardoni, who had for some time ruled managers with a rod of iron—had not prevented the fame of the Swedish nightingale from reaching our shores. Even the Bunn controversy had raised expectation to the highest pitch. At the same time, the fortunes of Her Majesty's, Covent Garden, were down. All the stars except Lablache had quarrelled with Lumley and gone over to Drury Lane. Lumley was on the brink of ruin. Where was the counterpoise to balance the attractions of Grisi, Mario, Alboni, and Tamburini? Lumley believed that the incomparable Jenny alone was equal to the task. At last, after endless delays and hesitations—weeks of mental agony to poor Lumley, who was organising performances to empty houses—at last she was coming. It is useless to try and picture her in words as she appeared to the critics of the period; to say she was "rather above the middle height, slender, but peculiarly graceful in figure and action; very fair, with a profusion of beautiful auburn tresses; the expression of the eyes, &c."—all this sort of talk is futile. Her own description of herself as "broad-nosed, ugly, and *gauche*" is scarcely more helpful. When we look at her early portraits the problem seems to grow no clearer. Besides a remarkable daguerreotype in the possession of Mr. Otto Goldschmidt, there are only two portraits—one by Magnus of Berlin, in 1846, and another by Södermark of Stockholm, in 1861—which make the Jenny Lind who was just then turning all the world crazy in the least intelligible. The quiet, intelligent eyes seem, indeed, capable of a world of meaning; the very sweet and delicately pencilled mouth is of extreme beauty; nothing can make the nose

good, nor is the forehead high, though the head is finely moulded. The arms and neck are well rounded, the pose exceedingly graceful, and every line of the body, as far as it can be defined, is harmonious ; but all that is not Jenny Lind.

To characterise her voice is equally impossible. Mendelssohn, who had heard everybody, said she was the greatest artist he had ever known. Sontag, whose voice was said to be naturally rounder and fuller, praised her to the skies. Lablache thought her incomparable. In listening to one of her wonderful cadenzas on a certain occasion, the open-mouthed band were so electrified that they forgot to come in, and Mendelssohn, who was wielding the bâton, instead of getting into a rage, burst out laughing. The hardened old maestro, Guhr, at the close of a scene in "Sonnambula," threw away his stick and burst into tears, and tears were often seen streaming down Balfe's face when he conducted the "Figlia del Regimento" at Covent Garden. Her shake held people breathless ; her *voix voilée* seemed to carry them up to the stars. I remember her singing Sullivan's setting of George Herbert's "Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright." The dream-like echoes of the notes still linger in my ear ; it was something unearthly—far away ; like the cry of a wild bird lost in the sunset. To say that she had a soprano *dramatico* and soprano *sfogato* in one—that her compass extended from B below to G on fourth line above, may be very true, but Queen Victoria said the best thing when she declared that the "charm" of Jenny's voice was "quite indescribable," and so we had better leave it alone.

On the 16th of April 1847 (the year of his death), Mendelssohn was walking up and down the western side of Belgrave Square one afternoon, watching the house of Mr. Grote in Eccleston Street. At last a four-wheeled cab drove up, and a plainly dressed, tired-looking girl alighted with her maid ; but she brightened up at the sight of Mendelssohn. Mrs. Grote thought she looked scared and tired ; but that very night she accompanied her hostess to Her Majesty's Theatre. Presently Mr. Lumley came into the box on the grand tier ; very soon all the house knew that Jenny Lind was there. Lablache was singing in the "Puritani," but few people present that night attended to anything but the retiring figure who sat a little in the shade, and whispered to Mrs. Grote as she watched the efforts of the prima donna, "I think I can do as well as that and perhaps a little better." But days went on and the fortunes of Lumley and Her Majesty's kept very low, and still Jenny would not attend a rehearsal. Strange, inscrutable temperament. She had come over at an enormous salary on purpose to appear, and now she only craved to be let off. She said she was frightened of Lablache, who afterwards became her staunch adviser and friend. "He is a father to us all," she once said. She was alarmed at the size of the house, alarmed at the public, terrified at Bunn, who threatened to prosecute her, afraid of herself. When at

last she learned that Lumley was on the point of ruin, she yielded to the combined pressure of Mendelssohn, Mr. Grote, Lablache, and Balfe, and consented to attend a rehearsal. From that moment she threw herself utterly into the work, was always first to come to the practices and last to leave. She electrified the band, and electrified everybody, down to the call-boys and stage-carpenters, who were wild about her. Her long delay and vacillation was perhaps the finest, though quite the most unpremeditated, advertisement she could have contrived. The public curiosity was now up to fever pitch. On the night of her appearance every approach to the theatre was thronged from an early hour by a constantly increasing crowd, which soon impeded the traffic. By the time the doors were open the file of carriages seemed interminable, and then an ugly rush took place. Strong men were carried off their legs, and women were mercilessly bruised and trampled upon. In a few minutes there was not standing room in the house. The Queen, the Prince Consort, and the Duchess of Kent were in the Royal box, Mendelssohn sat in the stalls, with his friend, Mr. Grote, the historian, and all the rank and fashion in town were there that memorable night. Jenny Lind sang her favourite part of Alice in "*Robert the Devil*." From the first moment of her appearance the excitement went on increasing. Such art, such nature, such interest, such dignity combined, had never been seen on that stage before. The exclamations which fell from the lips of the Queen were: "What a beautiful singer!" "What an actress!" "How charming!" "I had never seen Her Majesty moved to such enthusiasm," writes Mr. Lumley; "indeed, when Jenny Lind was summoned before the curtain, the Queen with her own hands cast at the feet of the young prima donna a superb bouquet of flowers, which lay before her in the Royal box." Lablache speaking to Her Majesty afterwards, observed: "I must say that I never heard anything like it before." From this moment the triumph of Jenny in England was assured. Of course Jenny Lind after her London triumph had to visit the provinces. Nothing like her progress had ever been known. Her portrait as the Vivandière in the "*Daughter of the Regiment*" was in every shop window, and cuts of Jenny as the *Sonnambula* were in every ale-house. Even cottages in remote, country places boasted of lithographs of Jenny Lind, in the low-neck dress and deep lace "*Bertha*" of the period. The artisans turned out in crowds to catch a glimpse of her, though they knew they could never hear her voice. Her route was telegraphed all along the lines, and crowds waited for her at the stations, as they have waited since for Garibaldi or Mr. Gladstone.

The famous Norwich episode has been immortalised by the pen of Arthur Stanley, late Dean of Westminster, who was then a youth. Stanley, his father, was the Bishop of Norwich, and had invited Jenny to stay at the Palace,—in those days an unprecedented and even risky compliment for a prelate to pay to an actress.

On the day of her arrival Mrs. Stanley writes: "The bells were rung, and the whole town was in an uproar. After her arrival at the Palace, I went to her room and found a poor creature in the last stage of exhaustion, looking ready to sink into the earth with fatigue; and no wonder—she had sung at Edinburgh till 3, then got into the train and travelled all night." The excitement at St. Andrew's Hall next day is thus described: "She looked very nervous at first, but I never saw anything so beautiful as her manner in coming forward on the orchestra, and receiving the thunders of welcome—a mixture of modesty, dignity, grateful feeling, yet perfectly unruffled—her voice was more wonderful than ever, like the warbling of birds. 'Was she always received with such transports?' I ventured to ask. 'Ah, Madame,—je suis gaté,' she replied. Her face at times wore an expression of deep thought and melancholy, yet she says, how happy she is, what a 'carrière' God has enabled her to go through. I alluded to the good effects of her example on others. '*Voilà ce que j'espère!*' she said simply." I should like to extract the whole of Mrs. Stanley's charming letter. Still more graphic, if possible, is that of A. P. Stanley, who was completely smitten with the Lind fever, and dwells on "the grace, the dignity, the joyousness and touching pathos of her entrance on the platform—the manner of a Princess, the simplicity of a child, and the goodness of an angel." "Coming back from the concert," writes Stanley, "I rode on the outside of the second carriage, in which sat the wonderful creature herself—the crowd rushing after with enthusiastic cheers." I cannot omit adding the touch of anticlimax which is quite in Stanley's best manner. He called it, "*Her* opinion of me!" Stanley was notoriously insensible to the attractions of music, which made his idolatry of the Lind all the more remarkable. "On the last day I told her that there was '*quelque chose d'extraordinaire dans sa voix*,' but that otherwise her singing in itself produced no impression whatever upon me. This she said was by far the most amusing thing she had heard and that she should never forget it!"

And now the rest must be very briefly told.

After a season of unparalleled success (1847) she left England in response to the imperious calls of Germany. Her dislike of stage life seemed to grow steadily upon her, and she was firmly resolved to retire, though only twenty-seven years old. We know how her resolution broke down for the last time when, on her return to England, she found her generous friend and admirer Mr. Lumley again on the brink of ruin, and consented to re-establish his fortune by a farewell series of performances. But these were positively her last appearances on the stage, and no bribes or entreaties ever shook her resolution again. How Mr. Barnum then stepped in, and induced her to visit America; how Otto Goldschmidt—most graceful of pianists, and a perfect accompanist, whom she had known and respected for some

years—played for her throughout her Transatlantic tour, and had the good fortune to woo and to win her for his own; how she took the whole of America by storm—as much as £130 being given for a single ticket at Richmond; and how she devoted the whole of her American gains, £30,000, to the institutions and charities of her native land; how, on her return, she devoted herself in like manner to English charities on a colossal scale, built a hospital at Liverpool, a new wing to the Brompton Hospital, an infirmary at Norwich, and so forth; all these things have now become parts of nineteenth-century history which can never be forgotten, on account of their deep spiritual significance as well as their material splendour.

Her dramatic success as an oratorio singer was equal to her supremacy on the boards. Some of us will never forget the celestial quality of her voice in "He shall give his angels charge over thee," and in the "Holy, holy" of the "Elijah." Nothing in the least like it has been heard since. She seemed to become divinely impersonal, the one angelic presence in the orchestra. No saintly aureole could have added any glory to her head: when she sang, the heavens were opened: her companions felt awed yet inspired.

In her retirement at South Kensington she continued to take a vivid interest in the singing schools of the Royal College of Music, and taught the pupils herself. She was also a constant working member in the Bach Choir. Never will a chorister of mine who was at a rehearsal there forget how on one occasion, not many years before her death, the soprano who was to have taken Mendelssohn's "O for the wings of a dove" failing to appear, Madame Lind-Goldschmidt at once volunteered—and the breathless wonder of the chorus in listening thus unexpectedly once more to her incomparable rendering of that sublime burst of melody which Mendelssohn wrote especially for her voice. But such occasions were rare indeed. Rare as when I was privileged to hear her sing "The three Ravens," which made one see ghosts, and "Sweet day so cool, so calm, so bright," which made one feel in heaven. This was at Moscheles' last concert in London.

From first to last Jenny Lind was a being apart, she was most truly in the world but not of the world. Her life was not as other lives. She had no regrets, no sad retrospects, no bitterness at retirement or loss of power. She used her unrivalled gifts as long as she could—but not for herself—she was simply the handmaid of the Lord. She had no disappointments; no craving for this world's applause. She retired willingly, even eagerly, from the blaze of publicity, but she never left off working for the good of others. She was happy in the love of her husband and children, and she was at peace with God.

H. R. HAWES.

THE LOCUST PLAGUE IN ALGERIA.

ON the 13th of May last I was travelling with my husband through Eastern Algeria. At six o'clock on a lovely summer's morning we had taken the train from Algiers, making our way along the shores of one of the most beautiful bays in the world, its blue waters shining in the early sunlight beneath the wooded heights of Mustapha, studded with its white Arab villas. We had left behind us the Maison Carrée, where Cardinal Lavigérie's Pères Blancs make the best of both worlds in manufacturing excellent wines, and in preparing for their life of self-denial in the Sahara. By nine o'clock we had reached Ménerville, where the fertile plain of the Métidja ends, and the mountain country of the Kabyles begins. We were toiling up a steep ascent, when the order was given for all the passengers to alight. There had been a landslip, making the passage of a viaduct dangerous, so we had to get out and walk across it while the train cautiously followed us. Suddenly a cry was raised: "Voilà, les sauterelles," and there before us, in the transparent air, looking like a summer snowstorm, we saw approaching a dancing cloud of winged particles. It was the advance guard of the dreaded locust army marching on Algiers.

For weeks nothing had been talked about in the neighbourhood of my old home but "les sauterelles." Everybody, French, English, or Arab, who owned a vineyard, or even a garden, was calculating the chances of the approach of the invading scourge, sometimes in a manner not intelligible to strangers. There was a lady not long arrived from England, whose knowledge of French was limited, and who asked me: "Who are these people, the Sauterelles, of whom every one is talking, but whom I have not yet met?" The day before starting on our journey I had been present at a wedding at one of the loveliest villas in Mustapha, to which the Governor-General,

Monsieur Jules Cambon, had come, the very morrow of his arrival on to show his regard for his English friend, the bridegroom. When it was rumoured that His Excellency had accepted the invitation, all the well-informed declared that the new Governor could not possibly be fulfilling social duties, when the locusts had appeared at St. Pierre-St. Paul, thirty-five kilometres distant from the capital. As a matter of fact, Monsieur Cambon, with the energy which characterises that most amiable and distinguished Frenchman, after assisting at the wedding, set out, twenty-four hours later, on a tour of inspection of the ravaged districts, and I only mention this incident to show how the advance of the locusts was the sole absorbing topic of the hour in Algeria.

Here at last we were face to face with, or rather surrounded on all sides by, the devastating hordes. The railway crawls up the Kabyle hill country, through a succession of gorges, interrupted here and there by a tunnel, and sometimes the line skirts the cliff-side, hanging on a terraced ledge over a rushing river of the colour of *café au lait*. The mountain defiles are thick with the flight of rushing insect life, but here in these barren passes there is nothing for them to prey upon, only a tuft of cactus here and there perched on the side of a torrent, or a solitary cluster of *acanthus*. But now the hills recede, and we are once more in the fruitful plains. How can I describe the glories of early summer in Algeria? English tourists come in the winter, and leave in the spring, taking away an impression of rare hours of sunshine, scattered among days of storm, and of scirocco, and sometimes, as this year, of snow; but it is in May that the full beauty of Northern Africa comes forth in its wealth of flowers. We were now passing through a valley bounded by majestic snow-crowned heights, which appeared literally to be carpeted with a luxuriant growth of gorgeously tinted flowers—yellow *marguerites*, white and pink *cistus*, scarlet poppies, purple orchids, crimson *gladiolus*, and blue *convolvulus*—and sailing above this gay ribbon border of the fresh green of the vineyards, sped along the fluttering host of locusts, farther in all directions than the eye could reach. It seemed like a never-ending swarm of bees, bees as large indeed almost as skylarks, or at all events as humming-birds, but instead of bringing with it the proverbial luck of “a swarm of bees in May,” it was carrying in its wake ruin and despair to the Mussulmans of the soil, and their Christian conquerors.

It is popularly supposed that the locusts eat their way from place to place, and that the whole region through which a flight of them has passed is left devastated and bare. We saw no trace of the passage of the plague on our way, and as a matter of fact, the locusts in their progress do comparatively little harm. The mischief is done when they settle and lay their eggs, which, when hatched, bring

forth myriads of young—"les criquets," and it is they which eat up the land. This explains the importance of paragraphs like the following, which appear every morning in the Algerian newspapers: "A Bon-Saada, les sauterelles se sont mises à pondre. Des gisements d'œufs existent à Djelfa où la lutte contre les sauterelles se poursuit avec vigueur. La recherche des œufs a donné des résultats extraordinaires. La quantité qui a été détruite ne peut s'imaginer"; or a telegram like the following from a luckier region: "Quelques vols de sauterelles aujourd'hui sur Milianah. Les locustes n'ont fait que passer." It is difficult without seeming to exaggerate, to attempt any estimate of the countless myriads of criquets which are produced by the sauterelles. I will only mention one example, which may afford some idea of their numbers. In one commune alone during the last two months the weekly destruction of eggs has amounted to from eighteen to twenty millions.

Some years ago, when I was very little, I remember seeing a flight of locusts on the Mediterranean as we neared the coast of Algeria on the voyage from Marseilles. My childish recollection of it was that in the distance we saw a dense cloud approaching, and that when the ship passed through it, we seemed to be enveloped in a London fog for the space of several minutes. I have often thought that my young fancy had exaggerated the phenomenon, but though the swarms we passed through to-day were not densely packed, the numbers we encountered must have immeasurably exceeded the mass which I then saw flying across the sea from headland to headland. From Ménerville to Bouira is a distance of seventy kilometres—between forty and fifty miles—yet never once was there a break in the procession. I had a reason for gazing attentively through the carriage windows. When I was seven years old I had driven by my father's side, in the days before railways were thought of in the Kabyle country, and as we approached the village at sunset, we saw a lion drinking at a stream. That is fourteen years ago, and it makes me feel a very ancient inhabitant of Algeria to think that I have seen, as a not extraordinary incident of a peaceful drive, a lion, which the most intrepid hunters have now to penetrate far into the heart of Africa to get a shot at.

After Bouira, as we approached the Department of Constantine, the locusts disappeared, and the next morning, in the picturesque capital of the Eastern province, we could not find a line about the sauterelles in the curious little sheets, half-a-dozen of which do duty as journals in every town of Algeria. Nothing of greater interest was paragraphed than the visit of Admiral Duperré and the officers of the fleet from Philippeville to the old Roman fortress, and the complimentary remarks of Lieutenant Viaud (better known to the world as

Pierre Loti) about the incomparable site of the rocky ramparts towering above the abysses of the Roumel.

A day later we went on to Hammam Meskoutine, where are the famous hot sulphur springs which rush steaming from the earth, forming cascades over petrified terraces of the dazzling whiteness of alabaster. Just as we were driving along the flower-bordered road which leads to this most beautiful sight, against a thundercloud which hung threateningly over the mountains, we espied between us and the dark background thousands of yellow flecks—they were our friends the locusts again. This lovely spot is in the midst of a vine country. Though the land was in full beauty, it was too late for tourists, and every one we saw there was connected more or less with the locality, from the Jewesses, in their grave mediæval costumes, come from Constantine or Tunis for the baths, to the small French proprietors, who sat round us at the *table-d'hôte*; and every tongue sounded the voice of lamentation at the appearance of the pest.

It was no passing cloud, as we realised the following morning, when we went on by train towards the frontier of Tunisia. The railway carriages of the Chemin de Fer de l'Est-Algérien are fitted with a little gallery which runs the length of the compartments, and very amusing it is to sit and watch the passengers lolling or promenading, especially as a large proportion of them are grave Arab chiefs, of charming manners and of splendid presence, in their graceful burnous. To-day the sons of the desert laid aside some of their dignified impassiveness, for no sooner had we started than we found ourselves among a host of locusts. It will hardly be credited when I say that far above the clatter of the train was heard the whirr of the countless wings. We passed through a mountain valley about a kilometre in width, and the whole expanse seemed blocked with the clamouring mob of insect life, and when the valley widened out into the fertile vine-clad plains that stretch around Guelma—where a generation ago Gérard, the renowned "tireur de lions" commenced his fame—as far as our sight could travel danced in the sunlight the yellow phalanx.

Algeria is so familiar to me, who have spent in that country nineteen out of my twenty-one winters, that I do not know if it be necessary to describe the geographical situation of the places I have mentioned, and of other localities ravaged by the locust plague. The three departments of Oran, Algiers and Constantine, which compose the Colony, stretch from Morocco on the west to Tunisia on the east, the city of Algiers standing about half-way between the two boundaries, and the whole coast line being about a thousand kilometres in length. The whole of this wide expanse is threatened by ruin, ruin compared to which the ravages of the phylloxera are mild. The last news which we had from the Western Province was that around Tlemçen, on the

frontier, flights of locusts were alighting unintermittently, and that a caravan just arrived there from Morocco had travelled for thirty-two days in the midst of locusts, the country being entirely devastated. I have said enough to show how the central department of Algiers is threatened, and now on the borders of Tunisia, advancing from the east, we had met once more with the dread hordes. The night before our arrival at Bône, the frontier port, a train coming thither from Tunis had been actually blocked for half an hour by a swarm at a little place called Oued-Zerga, and in the capital of the Beys the natives were trying to make the best of the plague by cooking and selling the sauterelles for food.

I have not the space, even if I had the technical knowledge, to describe the means by which Algerian cultivators are trying to stay the pest; how they set about the unpleasant work of destroying the eggs, and how, after incubation, they devise methods for stopping the march of the criquets, which, if unchecked, literally eat their way along, leaving the most verdant and fertile tracts a brown wilderness. Suffice it to say, that not only are the local authorities, the maires and sous-préfets, organising resistance and raising subsidies for the struggle, but what is more significant in a territory which is above all things a military training-ground for France, the general commanding the forces in Algeria has granted a remission of thirteen days to all cultivators called to serve with the colours, whose properties are menaced by the locusts.

My last glimpse of the country, which I have the greatest reason for loving that a woman can have, was across the vineyards whose leafy lines stretch in never-ending vistas over the rich plains by the Tunisian frontier, and I thought of the sinister Arab prophecies which foretold that, after the conquest by the Franks of this fair land, an army of invaders, worse even than they, should come up from the desert, and extend the boundaries of the Sahara to the shores of the Mediterranean.

EVELYN FRANCES BODLEY.

THE MANIPUR BLUE-BOOK.

THIS Blue-book is hard to read for an ordinary reader, but not harder than other Blue-books. In these publications the arrangement of facts is always jungly and labyrinthine. But out of this jungle I shall extract those passages which illustrate the course of events that ended unhappily, for the consideration of those who cannot be expected to penetrate this thicket of facts, giving always the page of the Blue-book, for those who care to verify. I shall then state the several questions which suggest themselves as arising from these facts, and offer my deliverance on each question.

Manipur is a little Native State, on the borderland between Eastern Bengal and Upper Burmah; an upland plateau, with forest-bearing hills around it, with a scanty, small population, Hindus in the midst of hill-tribes with an aboriginal faith. The petty capital is also called Manipur. The place has during the last few years fallen more and more under British protection, its situation being politically important. The protectorate began a century ago.

Primarily, then, the narrative of facts must be presented. In September last, 1890, there was an armed commotion in the Palace of Manipur (Blue-book, page 5). Mr. Grimwood, the Political Agent, describes the outbreak thus. He was sleeping in the British Residency, just outside the fortified palace of the native Sovereign, and just outside the native town also. At two o'clock in the morning he was awakened by the sound of continuous firing in the palace. A few bullets came over the Residency. The Maharaja came to the Residency as a fugitive, in a fright. The firing continued in the palace. The Senapati—the Maharaja's brother—was in the palace in possession of the four guns (presented some time ago by the British Government) and the magazine. The Political Agent sends for the

Senapati, who refuses to attend. He makes the Residency as secure as possible: the basement had been some time ago rendered defensible, though the thatched roof might be very possibly set on fire. The presence of the Maharaja in the Residency was thought a source of danger. On the flight of the Maharaja from the palace the Senapati came in—his own home being separate—and proceeded to strengthen the palace against any attempt to retake it. The Maharaja straightway flies to the British territories, and profound quiet is restored in Manipur. But Grimwood was told by his superior at a distance to defend himself against possible attack. The affair was merely a palace *emeute*, and there was no popular commotion (p. 11).

This occurrence of last year has been thus mentioned because it was the origin of the further facts which have become notorious.

The *emeute* arose out of quarrels between the Maharaja's brothers—the eldest of whom is styled the Juberaj, and the next the Senapati; there are other brothers who need not be named. The Juberaj was ready to retire for awhile; but was proclaimed Regent on the departure of the Maharaja, and has borne the title of Maharaja in the events which followed. The ruling and leading spirit was evidently the Senapati (p. 21).

This Senapati is described by Grimwood as a popular man. But he had a cruel, violent temper, of which there are some horrid examples given in pp. 83 to 98 of the "Blue-book." As will be seen hereafter, he was described by Grimwood (who knew him well) as a desperate man, who would resist to the last. Indeed, he was the one fighting man amidst the mild Manipuris. But he, or any other mischief maker, could call in the aid of levies from the surrounding hill-tribes, men of sterner stuff.

Having abdicated, with the intention of living as a pilgrim in one or other of the sacred places in British territories, the ex-Maharaja changes his mind, and wishes to go back to his State (p. 11). But this is strongly deprecated by the political authorities, first by Grimwood (p. 19), and then by Quinton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, of which Manipur is a dependency (p. 11).

The ex-Maharaja, now at Calcutta, petitions the Chief Commissioner, recounting, *inter alia*, his services to the British cause during our warlike affairs on the Eastern border during many years past (p. 14). This summary is very interesting, but there is not space for it here.

The opinion of the Government of India is found at p. 20. They remember the evil record of the Senapati, and regard him as a turbulent and dangerous man. They do not approve of Grimwood's having let the Maharaja fly away so quickly and leave the game in the hands of the Senapati. They instruct Quinton to go himself and see to the affair. They leave it to him to settle, whether the ex-Maharaja shall be reinstated, or the Juberaj regent be confirmed. In either case they will not let the Senapati remain at Manipur to pull the

strings there. They will have him deported at all events. They say, "We have now a stronger interest in Manipur than we had in past years." They apprehend that trouble there may have had a bad effect on the hill-tribes around, and they mean to assert their predominance and their mastery of the situation. The sum of their instructions to Quinton may be given thus:

"The Governor-General in Council thinks that you should visit Manipur, for the avowed purpose of making, and, if necessary, enforcing, a decision on the merits of the case. You should probably have with you a sufficient force to overcome the conspirators. It is probable that a very small body of troops would be enough, and that sufficient numbers could be taken from Cachar or Kohima." As the troops at both those places are but few, it is clear that a small demonstration only was contemplated.

This bears date 24th January 1891. Early in February Quinton visits Calcutta to confer with the Viceroy. On the 21st of that month the Government of India agree to Quinton's view that it is of no use to attempt the restoration of the ex-Maharaja. In other respects they reiterate the instructions already mentioned, and the Senapati is to be either deported, or interned, or placed under restraint as a rebel against his lawful Sovereign. The Regent Juberaaj is to understand that if he is recognised as Maharaja this recognition is to be owing to the will of the British Government, and not to the successful rebellion of his brother the Senapati—in other words, he is to reign as the vassal of the British Paramount, and not as the puppet of his strong-minded brother the Senapati.

By the 18th of March Quinton is approaching Manipur to execute his mission there, as above described. He telegraphs thus to the Government of India: "I propose to require the Regent and the Durbar to meet me on arrival, announce the decision of the Government, arrest the Senapati, and inform him that the length of his exile and his return depend on his conduct and the tranquillity of the country. The Senapati to come away with me on 25th." The Government of India briefly approve by telegram. These are the telegrams which form the basis of much that happened afterwards.

The events which followed are summarised by the Government of India in a despatch to the Secretary of State in London, which in justice to them should be given *in extenso*.

"Quinton left Calcutta February 21st, taking with him our letter of same day, which contained his instructions. He was directed to visit Manipur and make known the decision of the Government of India regarding recent disturbances. Decision was that Regent should be recognised as Maharaja, and that Senapati, who had revolted against the former Maharaja, should be removed from State. Quinton was to take sufficient troops to enforce our orders. On March 7th, Quinton left Golaghat (in Assam) for Manipur, with 400 men. The number of the escort was fixed after careful consultation between Quinton and General Officer commanding in Assam. Record of consultation shows that possibility of resistance on

part of Senapati was fully understood by Quinton from beginning, and explained to Collett and Skene. Quinton also pointed out that Senapati had some guns. A force of 500 Goorkhas in Manipur, supported by 200 *en route* from Silchar, was, however, considered ample to overawe malcontents. Papers show that Quinton himself would have been content with even smaller force. On march from Golaghat, Gurdon, Assistant Commissioner, was sent on in advance to see Grimwood, Political Agent in Manipur, and obtain his opinion on the situation. Gurdon reached Manipur on the 15th. He informed Grimwood of his intention to deport Senapati; asked Grimwood the best way to arrest him, without affording opportunity for forcible resistance. Grimwood replied that Senapati personally would resist to the utmost. Grimwood could not suggest any means of obtaining possession of Senapati without giving him opportunity of forcibly resisting. . . . Four miles from Manipur, on the 22nd, Quinton was met by Senapati, who had with him two regiments. Streets of Manipur were lined by Manipur troops to number of about 500. Outside the fort Quinton was received by Regent. Quinton then said Durbar would be held in Residency at 12 o'clock. When time came, Regent appeared at Residency Gate, but guard of honour had been late in falling in, and Grimwood asked Regent to wait a little. After a few minutes Regent came on to Residency steps. Then it became known that Senapati had not come, and he was sent for. He refused to come on score of illness, and Quinton declined to hold Durbar unless he appeared. After two hours Regent went away. During the afternoon Grimwood went to the palace to confer with Ministers, and after conference another Durbar was fixed for 9 A.M. on 23rd. When time came no one appeared. Grimwood then paid a second visit to the palace, but without result. Senapati would not attend. Then Quinton wrote a letter to the Regent stating that unless Senapati were surrendered he would be arrested. Grimwood delivered this letter about 2 P.M. on the 23rd, and informed the Regent that he would not be recognised as Maharaja unless he gave up Senapati next morning. You know what followed. You may repudiate in the strongest language the idea that the Government of India intended to sanction treachery towards Senapati, and we believe that Quinton was incapable of carrying out instructions in a treacherous manner. Imputation of treachery arises from misconception of Senapati's position and that of Manipur State. The State is subordinate to the Government of India, and Senapati must have known that his conduct in conspiring against Maharaja, who had been recognised by us, rendered him liable to punishment. There was no question of alluring him to Durbar under false sense of security. It is very doubtful whether he ever meant to attend Durbar. According to Gurdon, Grimwood did not believe that he ever left the palace to do so on morning of 22nd. If he did not, he apparently expected arrest."

It will be observed that Gurdon's name is mentioned for the first time in this narrative. He was an officer sent on as a precursor by Quinton to Manipur. He conferred with Grimwood there, and then returned to the camp of Quinton, who was marching to Manipur. Later on he sent a telegram to the Viceroy, which is given at pp. 80-1 thus: "Arrangement was, orders of India were to be announced at Durbar, and Senapati was to be told to surrender. If he refused, Colonel Skene was to arrest him at Durbar. Troops were kept in readiness round Residency, where Durbar was held, in case of resistance."

It should be added that when the Senapati went out for a short way to meet Quinton on the march for Manipur, and had a short conversation with the British Chief, nothing was said at that moment about arrest. This brings the narrative up to 22nd of March, and it is no longer necessary to pursue the events further. The public knows that on the 24th of March last an ineffectual attempt was made by armed force to arrest the Senapati in his own house; that then the Manipuris opened fire with guns and musketry on the Residency; that Quinton, Grimwood, Skene, and others went unarmed to the Palace to parley with the insurgents, and were then treacherously murdered; that the attack was kept up against the Residency, which was evacuated during the night by about half of the small British force that remained there under the charge of the surviving British officers; that their retreat was effected under the sorest distress, heroically endured, and perils, gallantly confronted, till they were met by the detachment already mentioned as coming up from Cachar. Had it not been for this meeting, they must have perished in the jungle. There are, of course, subsequent events regarding which the public news is in advance of the Blue-book.

This disaster, though petty in its dimensions, is grave in its character. It has already been retrieved most amply. The loss of European life by murder and treachery is always most serious in India; in this case it is aggravated by the rank of the victims—the ruler of a province, the political agent, the military commander. The question still remains as to what shall be done with the State, and how shall its position strategically and politically be utilised, so that future good may be educed from the present evil for the strengthening of our important border between Eastern Bengal and Upper Burmah. I do not, however, touch on these questions, which are apart from the Blue-book.

But from the Blue-book, as I have summarised it, there arise certain questions on which a deliverance ought to be given.

First, was the Government of India just and considerate in the policy prescribed? Certainly, yes. Nothing could be more wise, moderate and judicious than their orders, on the one hand; while on the other hand, a masterful attitude was preserved, as becomes the Paramount. Indeed, a patriotic Englishman ought to feel pride and satisfaction in noticing the carefulness and attention which, amidst manifold distractions, the Government of India devoted to this little State.

But granting the merits of the decision and the necessity of enforcing it, the question arises, Were the means actually used adequate for such enforcement? Certainly not. That goes without saying, in the face of the sad result.

Then further comes the question—Ought the authorities, local and Imperial, to have foreseen that the force employed might prove

insufficient? I regret to be obliged to say that they ought. No doubt the 500 men employed (Goorkhas) are excellent soldiers, among the good soldiers, not only of India, but of the world. Like Wellington's men, they would go anywhere, and do anything. In Asiatic warfare they are invaluable. But with insufficient ammunition, against overweening numbers, against fortifications, deep moats, and artillery, they are, of course, but flesh and blood. In their retreat, though sinking under exhaustion and hunger, they kept up their resolution. Now, all these overwhelming odds were well known to the authorities. The support of 200 men from Cachar had not arrived in time. For that the Government of India was not answerable. But Quinton might have waited for these troops, and their presence might have made all the difference. There may have been a thought that the Manipuris would not rise. But such a thought was wrong. There had been a rising in the previous autumn, as already shown in these pages, from which our authorities ought to have taken warning. Moreover, the services on which we had employed Manipuris for their credit and our advantage during recent years ought to have shown us that they might fight if they had a native leader. Now, it was known that they had such a leader in the Senapati, whose restless and daring disposition was fully appreciated. It was also known that if pressed or beset our men were separated from India by a zone of forest-clad hills, and that many days must elapse before aid could reach them.

The situation was made much worse by insufficiency of ammunition—a difficulty perhaps aggravated by the old, old story of one kind of cartridge and another kind of rifle. The Blue-book hardly enables us to judge of this purely military matter; all we know is that the ammunition was somehow insufficient. This is all the more blameworthy because there were no guns with the force, and it was known that if the force came to fight it would be opposed to guns. Colonel Skene, the commandant, is not alive to answer. But primarily he was the authority responsible. Of course it was an object to march as lightly as possible, and to avoid weight-carrying on a line of march extending over several days where transport and supplies of all sorts were hard to procure. But even this consideration should not have been allowed to affect military safety.

Then we cannot avoid the question, Who is answerable for the insufficiency of the force? This responsibility must be shared alike by the Government of India, the Chief Commissioner (Quinton), and the military authorities. Among the latter, Colonel Skene was primarily responsible. He was an able officer. He was made acquainted with everything, and he acquiesced. He is not alive to answer, and there is no knowing how far he may have been controlled by some military superior, perhaps by General Collett of Assam already mentioned. Still, he was the man in charge, and had he consistently

declared that the force was insufficient, he must have been listened to. The responsibility of the Government of India is clear. They from the outset said that a small force would suffice. Quinton, certainly concurred in that. Whatever may have been thought either by the Government of India or the military authorities, he was absolutely bound to satisfy himself. In his position the affair rested on him, and in this fatal respect he erred. No doubt when we come to employ force the military authority is the one to judge and decide. Still, so much depends on the views and the knowledge of the political authority that he cannot escape censure in the event of failure. In justice to the Government of India it should be added that they reckoned on 200 men from Cachar for whom Quinton did not wait.

Alas ! in this case the Indian Jupiter, whose thunderbolts have been launched with effect in countless trials over an Imperial area, was caught nodding for a moment—just once in a way !

Lastly, there come the questions, which, though speculative rather than practical, yet cause much notice in England, Was it intended to arrest the Senapati in the Durbar, and, if so, Was such intention wrong ? I call these questions speculative because nothing was actually done ; but I am sorry to be compelled to answer them both in the affirmative—that is to say, I find that there was such an intention, and that it was wrong. The first intimation of this came from the widow, Mrs. Grimwood, who was saved in the retreat. Her evidence by itself does not suffice, because she could not have been present, and could only have heard of it from her husband, whom she might have misunderstood. But Gurdon, whose telegram I have quoted, says the same. Now he is a man of business in a position to know—and must have known—and he is explicit. If it were worth while to pursue the inquiry, he ought, of course, to be cross-examined ; but doubtless he would maintain the main fact. This intention, if its existence be held proven, was wrong. The word Durbar, like the English word Court, has two meanings. It means sometimes the *personnel*. It means also the place where the *personnel* assembles. To this Durbar the family, including the Senapati and Council of the Maharaja, were summoned. This summons was peaceful for them—they were not to be arrested. There was one exception—the summons was not peaceful for the Senapati, as he was to be arrested ; and yet he was not warned. Now this cannot be right ; no arguments about the rights of the Paramount can make it so. There is no separate standard of morality for such cases in India. On the contrary the standard ought to be the strictest and highest. What then should have been done ? Why, of course, immediately on Quinton's arrival the Senapati should have been summoned to surrender unconditionally, and military measures for instant enforcement in case of refusal should have been taken. This is the straightforward British way. Had the force been sufficient the step must have succeeded. Even though the troops were insufficient it would have

probably succeeded if promptly adopted. I do not advert to the collateral question as to whether Quinton could have arrested the Senapati at their meeting on the road to Manipur on the morning of the 22nd, because that would have been sharp practice politically, as the man had gone out on a peaceful errand in the hope of finding favour—but even then the significant fact that he had two regiments with him on the occasion ought to have given Quinton a hint.

Quinton was a man of the highest honour as well as experience, and would have shrunk from the proceeding, had it occurred to him that there was a shade of wrong. But he is solely responsible for this. The Government of India is not responsible at all in this particular. They instructed Quinton to hold a Durbar to announce their intentions, and to arrest the Senapati. But they did not instruct him to make the arrest in the Durbar. They never could have considered exactly the circumstances of the arrest, which they rightly left to Quinton on the spot. Grimwood was to all appearance against attempting the arrest at all. Skene, Gurdon, and others, would only be obeying orders in this matter. Thus the question is narrowed to Quinton alone. He doubtless wished to avoid disturbance and bloodshedding. But we cannot admit the validity even of this reason. His memory is beloved and respected, and in the presence of death under its most tragic form criticism may be softened, as the dead cannot answer. But the requisite lessons may be deduced from the events for the benefit of us who survive. Among the lessons there is this, that the British Residency was much too near to the Native fort, so near as to be commanded thereby.

Grimwood appears to have done his duty in warning his superiors of the real character of the Senapati. The only fault attributable to him was the permitting the Maharaja to fly the country last autumn. This was unfortunate, as it may have been the original cause of the subsequent mishaps. He should at least have detained the Maharaja till instructions could be had from the Government. He was known to be a good and experienced officer.

In conclusion, a tragedy has been enacted that will long linger in the sorrowful memory of Englishmen. Otherwise, the Manipur affair has no political importance in an adverse direction. It hardly detracts at all from the mighty fame which the Government of India has won by a long course of glorious achievement. Its only possible importance consists in this, that it may, under Providence, be made the occasion of vastly improving the Eastern frontier of India.

RICHARD TEMPLE.

ERRATUM.—In the article on "Sofia Revisited," p. 547 *ante*, for "Crawford College" read "Robert College." This great institution on the Bosphorus was founded by a New York merchant, Mr. Christopher R. Robert.



